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IHSAN ABBAS, American University, Beirut. 553.
Z. ABRAHAMOWICZ, University of Cracow. 723, 767.
AZIZ AHMAD, University of Toronto. 6.
S. MAQBUL AHMAD, University of Kashmir, Srinagar. 938.
M. MÜNIR AKTEPE, University of Istanbul. 277, 837.
J. P. ALATA, Paris, 252.
MARIE M. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA BULGARU, University of Bucarest. 278.
HAMID ALGAR, University of California, Berkeley. 41, 301, 486, 1222.
[J. ALLAN, London.] 684.
J. W. ALLAN, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. 357.
A. ALPARSLAN, University of Istanbul. 225.
P. A. ANDREWS, University of Cologne. 601, 637, 1220, 1261.
R. ARNALDEZ, University of Paris. 99, 513, 579, 614, 844, 894, 1263.
[T. W. ARNOLD]. 353, 549, 1230.
ʿABD AL-KARĪM AL-AS̲HTAR, University of Damascus. 1257.
the late E. ASHTOR, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 557, 967.
NURHAN ATASOY, University of Istanbul. 19, 761.
M. ATHAR ALI, Aligarh Muslim University. 1214.
A. S. ATIYA, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. 95.
[FR. BABINGER, Munich]. 32, 171, 283.
J.-L. BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 32, 35.
EVA BAER, University of Tel-Aviv. 17, 18, 993.
M. A. BAKHIT, University of Jordan, Amman. 594.
[W. BARTHOLD, Leningrad]. 24, 31, 136, 247, 300, 314, 384, 397, 400, 852.
[R. BASSET, Algiers]. 367, 379, 540.
M. CAVID BAYSUN, University of Istanbul. 273.
A. F. L. BEESTON, University of Oxford. 120.
[M. BEN CHENEB, Algiers]. 345, 373, 517, 807.
R. BENCHENEB, Paris. 1030.
Mme M. BERNAND, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 242.
[H. BEVERIDGE]. 74.
A. BIRKEN, Hamburg. 776.
E. BIRNBAUM, University of Toronto. 836.
A. D. H. BIVAR, University of London. 223, 231.
W. BJÖRKMAN, Uppsala. 770.
J. R. BLACKBURN, University of Toronto. 1242.
A. J. E. BODROGLIGETI, University of California, Los Angeles. 539.
[TJ. DE BOER, Amsterdam]. 579.
the late TH. BOIS, Paris. 147, 447, 470, 479, 486.
B. J. BOLAND, Oegstgeest, Netherlands. 715.
S. A. BONEBAKKER, University of California, Los Angeles. 322, 841, 902.
P. N. BORATAV, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 5, 246, 270, 953.
J. BOSCH-VILÀ, University of Granada. 587, 632, 683.
C. E. BOSWORTH, University of Manchester. 1, 31, 37, 46, 47, 48, 59, 76, 102, 108, 182, 184, 243, 247, 251, 264, 280, 283, 287, 312, 353, 357, 359, 360, 361, 364, 375, 378, 385, 389, 391, 392, 497, 498, 501, 502, 521, 539, 542, 551, 581, 631, 649, 656, 685, 692, 698, 765, 769, 859, 897, 939, 954, 1028, 1156, 1258, 1259.
CH. BOUYAHIA, University of Tunis. 498.
G. BÖWERING, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. 547.
the late J. A. BOYLE, University of Manchester. 300, 376, 498.
[H. H. BRÄU]. 541.
YU. BREGEL, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 274, 582.
MARTHA L. BRILL, Paris. 24.
[C. BROCKELMANN, Halle]. 584.
K. L. BROWN, University of Manchester. 761.
J. T. P. DE BRUIJN, University of Leiden. 167, 176, 583, 835, 1027, 1105.
[F. BUHL, Copenhagen]. 1156.
R. BULLIET, Columbia University, New York. 1157.
R. M. BURRELL, University of London. 576, 646.
J. BURTON-PAGE, Church Knowle, Dorset. 233, 785, 889, 1258.
CL. CAHEN, University of Paris. 22, 73, 104, 254, 272, 821, 865, 1029, 1159.
J. CALMARD, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 372, 665, 676.
G. CAMPS, University of Aix-en-Provence. 757.
the late M. CANARD, University of Algiers. 106, 820.
MEHMED ÇAVUŞOĞLU, University of Istanbul. 116.
NIHAD M. ÇETIN, University of Istanbul. 694.
P. CHALMETA, University of Madrid. 377, 782.
D. CHEVALLIER, University of Paris. 798.
J. W. CLINTON, Princeton University. 649, 957.
D. COHEN, University of Paris. 525.
[G. S. COLIN, Paris]. 652, 1203, 1207.
R. CORNEVIN, Académie des Sciences d'Outre-Mer, Paris. 253, 279, 281, 287, 753.
[A. COUR, Constantine]. 49, 528.
PATRICIA CRONE, Oxford. 23.
F. DACHRAOUI, University of Tunis. 1244.
the late L. CH. DAMAIS, Paris. 228.
A.-M. DELCAMBRE, Paris. 23, 25, 127, 639.
the late G. DEVERDUN, Paris. 655.
A. DIAS FARINHA, Institute of African and Oriental Languages, Lisbon. 367.
A. DIETRICH, University of Göttingen. 252, 787, 820, 1168.
[E. DIEZ]. 296.
F. TH. DIJKEMA, Leiden. 225.
HICHEM-DJAÏT, University of Tunis. 351.
B. DJURDJEV, University of Sarajevo. 32.

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https://archive.org/details/bk1302/page/n6/mode/1up

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E. VAN DONZEL, Netherlands Institute for the Near East, Leiden. 809.
A. J. DREWES, University of Leiden. 763.
W. EAGLETON, Department of State, Washington. 1214.
R. M. EATON, University of Arizona, Tucson. 550.
R. Y. EBIED, University of Sydney. 369, 514.
A. ELAYED, University of Tunis. 916.
N. ELISSÉEFF, University of Lyons. 125, 593, 898, 922, 927.
the late L. P. ELWELL-SUTTON, University of Edinburgh. 201, 502, 657, 819, 839.
J. VAN ESS, University of Tübingen. 385, 936.
T. FAHD, University of Strasbourg. 101, 235, 399, 693, 860.
RAVAN FARHADI, Kabul. 73.
[H. G. FARMER]. 937.
SURAIYA FAROQHI, Middle East Technical University, Ankara. 1171.
[G. FERRAND, Paris]. 945.
C. V. FINDLEY, Ohio State University, Columbus. 1086.
K. FISCHER, University of Bonn. 549.
H. J. FISHER, University of London. 359.
the late H. FLEISCH, Université St-Joseph, Beirut. 645.
BARBARA FLEMMING, University of Leiden. 28, 194, 651, 1106.
A. D. W. FORBES, University of London. 588, 771, 847, 849, 850, 852, 938, 1123.
G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, Sheriff Hutton, Yorks. 105, 107, 223, 247, 278, 656, 1031, 1158.
F. GABRIELI, University of Rome. 710.
J.-C. GARCIN, University of Aix-en-Provence. 99, 515, 519.
L. GARDET, Paris. 238.
H. GAUBE, University of Tübingen. 10, 593.
E. GELLNER, University of London. 715.
I. GÉRIÈS, University of Haïfa. 1227.
the late S. D. GOITEIN, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. 339.
M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN, University of Istanbul. 263, 269.
L. GOLVIN, University of Aix-en-Provence. 221.
G. GOODWIN, London. 256, 274, 366.
the late H. L. GOTTSCHALK, Salzburg. 953.
A. G. GOULD, University of California, Los Angeles. 284.
O. GRABAR, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 299, 344.
R. GRAMLICH, University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau. 1029.
W. J. GRISWOLD, Colorado State University, Fort Collins. 729.
[A. GROHMANN, Academy of Sciences, Vienna]. 71, 345, 391, 895.
A. H. DE GROOT, University of Leiden. 248, 250, 283, 309, 678, 764.
U. HAARMANN, University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau. 50, 55.
ABDUL-HADI HAIRI, Meshed. 25, 62, 311, 1088, 1090.
A. HADJ-SALAH, University of Algiers. 806, 917.
H. HALM, University of Tübingen. 527.
the late L. HAMBIS, Collège de France, Paris. 39.
A. Y. AL-HASSAN, University of Aleppo. 973.
J. A. HAYWOOD, Lewes, Sussex. 204, 962, 1107.
G. HAZAI, Academy of Sciences, Budapest. 126, 136, 373.
[B. HELLER, Budapest]. 234, 714, 813, 833.
C. J. HEYWOOD, University of London. 40, 271, 313.
D. R. HILL, Great Bookham, Surrey. 530, 862, 973.
R. HILLENBRAND, University of Edinburgh. 1154.
M. HINDS, University of Cambridge. 1164.
P. M. HOLT, Dryden Spinney, Kirtlington. 70, 73, 595, 1253.
[E. HONIGMANN, Brussels]. 369.
[J. HOROVITZ, Frankfort]. 375.
[CL. HUART, Paris]. 246, 247, 256, 509, 647.
J. O. HUNWICK, Northwestern University, Evanston. 395, 1166.
the late H. R. IDRIS, University of Bordeaux. 61.
S. M. IMAMUDDIN, University of Dacca. 785.
C. H. IMBER, University of Manchester. 250, 507, 838.
H. İNALCIK, University of Chicago. 35, 566, 883.
SH. INAYATULLAH, University of the Panjab, Lahore. 44.
FAHIR İZ, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul. 197, 264, 271, 283, 359, 367, 710, 711.
P. JACKSON, University of Keele. 546, 588, 599.
K. JAOUICHE, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 527.
M. A. JAZAYERI, University of Texas, Austin. 1099.
R. C. JENNINGS, University of Illinois, Urbana. 719, 1173.
A. H. JOHNS, Australian National University, Canberra. 205, 433, 526.
J. JOLIVET, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. 123.
F. DE JONG, University of Utrecht. 285, 546, 949.
ABDALLAH S. JUM'AH, Dhahran. 40.
G. H. A. JUYNBOLL, The Hague. 572.
GY. KÁLDY-NAGY, Budapest. 1024.
J. B. KELLY, London. 71, 184, 509, 538.
H. KENNEDY, University of St. Andrews. 1239.
D. K. KERMANI, 384.
M. KIEL, Castricum, Netherlands. 266, 535, 725, 728, 774, 776, 816.
D. A. KING, University of Frankfort. 88.
M. J. KISTER, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 80, 318.
J. KNAPPERT, University of London. 177, 206, 963.
[T. KOWALSKI, Cracow]. 275.
[J. H. KRAMERS, Leiden]. 147, 176, 281, 356, 538, 641, 729, 835, 1221.
P. KUNITZSCH, University of Munich. 543, 1025.
R. J. I. TER LAAN, Amsterdam. 759.
M. LAKHDAR, Rabat. 53.
ANN K. S. LAMBTON, Kirknewton, Northumberland. 44, 166, 171, 876.
[H. LAMMENS, Beirut]. 632.
J. M. LANDAU, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 570, 1079, 1101.
D. M. LANG, University of London. 714.
the late H. LAOUST, Collège de France, Paris. 10.
J. LASSNER, Wayne State University, Detroit. 566.
J. D. LATHAM, University of Edinburgh. 362.
B. LAWRENCE, Duke University, Durham. 1210, 1230.
O. N. H. LEAMAN, Liverpool Polytechnic. 834.
[G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, Rome]. 362, 520, 526, 763.
[E. LÉVI-PROVENÇAL, Paris]. 707, 832, 1008, 1203, 1209, 1240, 1246.
N. LEVTZION, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 279.
T. LEWICKI, University of Cracow. 654, 697, 698, 1022, 1165, 1183, 1230.
D. P. LITTLE, McGill University, Montreal. 572.
D. M. MACEOIN, University of Cambridge. 502.
D. N. MACKENZIE, University of Göttingen. 480.
K. S. MCLACHLAN, University of London. 888.
K. MCPHERSON, Western Australian Institute of Technology, Bentley. 648.
W. MADELUNG, University of Oxford. 27, 65, 363, 434, 1033, 1238.

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G. Makdisi, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. 234, 388, 1134.
L. Martínez Martín, University of Barcelona. 951.
R. Mauny, University of Paris. 387, 651.
M. Meinecke, University of Hamburg. 286.
Irène Mélikoff, University of Strasbourg. 644.
A. Melvinger, Uppsala. 1121.
[Th. Menzel]. 210, 644.
A. Mérad, University of Lyons. 597, 712.
J.-L. Michon, Geneva. 18.
M. Mines, University of California, Santa Barbara. 583.
[V. Minorsky, London]. 289, 297, 464, 497, 554, 604, 617, 646, 657, 714, 819, 826, 828, 829, 832, 1171.
A. Morabia, University of Toulouse. 707.
[J. H. Mordtmann, Berlin]. 534.
D. O. Morgan, University of London. 300, 554.
M. Morony, University of California, Los Angeles. 185, 946, 1118, 1213.
H. Müller, University of Freiburg-im-Breisgau. 379.
R. Murphey, Columbia University, New York. 985.
T. Nagel, University of Bonn. 176, 181, 500.
E. Neubauer, University of Frankfort. 937.
R. Neumann, Department of State, Washington. 1214.
A. C. Niemeijer, Eindhoven. 7.
H. T. Norris, University of London. 892.
M. Ocaña Jimenez, University of Cordova. 220, 512, 994, 1008, 1010.
R. S. O'Fahey, University of Bergen. 268.
the late C. Orhonlu, University of Istanbul. 45, 53, 103, 144.
Solange Ory, University of Aix-en-Provence. 218.
the late R. Paret, Tübingen. 129.
J. D. Pearson, Cambridge. 432.
[J. Pedersen, Copenhagen]. 1134.
Ch. Pellat, University of Paris. 3, 20, 43, 71, 118, 187, 297, 373, 375, 438, 505, 525, 528, 529, 541, 581, 586, 610, 640, 710, 1029, 1103, 1221, 1223.
J. R. Perry, University of Chicago. 835, 1240.
D. Pingree, Brown University, Providence. 131.
X. de Planhol, University of Paris. 589, 647.
[M. Plessner, Jerusalem]. 499, 551.
I. Poonawala, University of California, Los Angeles. 815.
Hassanein Rabie, University of Cairo. 864.
Munibur Rahman, Oakland University, Rochester, MI. 345, 615, 1033, 1136.
R. Rashed, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 123.
[W. H. Rassers]. 310, 1155.
H. A. Reed, University of Connecticut, Storrs. 678.
B. Reinert, University of Zürich. 902, 1026.
M. Rekaya, University of Toulouse. 70.
G. Rentz, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, California. 63.
R. C. Repp, University of Oxford. 35, 263.
the late J. Reychman, University of Warsaw. 767.
M. E. J. Richardson, University of Manchester. 68.
the late S. A. A. Rizvi, Australian National University, Canberra, 644, 690, 1240.
the late U. Rizzitano, University of Palermo. 105.
F. C. R. Robinson, Royal Holloway College, Egham. 781, 803, 1082.
J. M. Rogers, British Museum, London. 298, 682.
F. Rosenthal, Yale University, New Haven. 110, 122, 571, 616.
G. Rotter, University of Hamburg. 381.
M. J. Rubiera de Epalza, University of Madrid. 1109.
J. Sadan, University of Tel-Aviv. 509, 798, 1159.
J. Salmi, University of Rabat. 918.
J. Samsó, Facultad de Filosofia y Letras, Tenerife. 47.
Mahmud Sana'i, London. 921.
R. M. Savory, University of Toronto. 29, 63, 66, 81, 103, 124, 245, 397, 437.
[J. Schacht, New York]. 180, 732, 810.
O. Schumann, University of Hamburg. 310, 540, 786, 1155.
R. Sellheim, University of Frankfort. 174, 175, 208, 711.
[C. F. Seybold, Tübingen]. 512, 994.
Ursula Sezgin, Frankfort. 948.
C. Shackle, University of London. 611.
Irfan Shahid, Georgetown University, Washington. 120, 632, 634.
M. Sharon, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 3, 803.
S. J. Shaw, University of California, Los Angeles. 314.
A. Shiloah, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 234, 646.
I. H. Siddiqui, Muslim University, Aligarh. 887.
Susan A. Skilliter, University of Cambridge. 67.
G. R. Smith, University of Durham. 602, 895, 954, 1242, 1245.
P. Smoor, University of Amsterdam. 935, 1212.
the late Hanna Sohrweide, University of Hamburg. 682, 814.
D. Sourdel, University of Paris. 398.
Janine Sourdel-Thomine, University of Paris. 216.
the late O. Spies, Bonn. 1122.
B. Spuler, University of Hamburg. 143.
J. Stewart-Robinson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. 958, 1028.
N. A. Stillman, State University of New York, Binghamton. 7, 234, 374, 750, 813.
Yedida K. Stillman, State University of New York, Binghamton. 742, 747, 750.
[M. Streck, Jena]. 811, 946.
[R. Strothmann, Hamburg]. 1242.
Abdus Subhan, Asiatic Society, Calcutta. 31, 635, 639.
[H. Suter, Zürich]. 566.
the late F. Taeschner, Münster. 173.
M. Talbi, University of Tunis. 52, 518, 1161, 1247.
Aida Tibi, University of Tripoli, Libya. 896.
G. Troupeau, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 121, 242, 567, 955.
A. L. Udovitch, Princeton University. 130.
M. Ullmann, University of Tübingen. 90, 107, 115, 567.
the late G. Vajda, Paris. 833.
P. J. Vatikiotis, University of London. 4.
P. Vérin, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 945.
J. Vernet, University of Barcelona. 1110.
Ch. Vial, University of Aix-en-Provence. 193.
F. S. Vidal, University of Texas, Arlington. 436.
Maria J. Viguera, University of Madrid. 393, 498.
Fr. Viré, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 9, 134, 391, 652, 1230.
J. D. J. Waardenburg, University of Utrecht. 366, 1094.
J. R. Walsh, University of Edinburgh. 5.
W. Montgomery Watt, Dalkeith. 101, 116, 435, 446, 895, 998.
B. M. Weischer, University of Hamburg. 166.
A. T. Welch, Michigan State University, East Lansing. 429, 1102.
C. Wendell, University of California, Santa Barbara. 839.

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[A. J. Wensinck, Leiden]. 4, 22, 41, 75, 83, 395, 396, 437, 698.
G. E. Wheeler, Epsom, Surrey. 28.
G. M. Wickens, University of Toronto. 956.
[E. Wiedemann, Erlangen]. 357, 397, 537, 548, 1169.
[G. Wiet, Paris]. 386.
R. B. Winder, New York University, New York. 1007.
M. Winter, University of Tel-Aviv. 915.
R. Wixman, University of Oregon, Eugene. 1, 8, 55, 81, 284, 285, 498, 579, 618, 730.
M. E. Yapp, University of London. 1080.
M. J. L. Young, University of Leeds. 514, 860.
[G. Yver, Algiers]. 352, 532, 597, 1010, 1184, 1196.
E. A. Zachariadou, Montreal. 268.
H. Zafrani, University of Paris. 207.
A. H. Zarrinkoob, University of Tehran. 605.
[K. V. Zetterstéen, Uppsala]. 437.

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P. 972b, AL-**BALĀDHURĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: Khalīl Athamina, *The sources of al-Balādhurī's* Ansāb al-ashrāf, in *JSAI* v (1984), 237-62.

VOLUME II

P. 1a, **ČAGHĀNIYĀN**, *add to Bibliography*: C. E. Bosworth, *The rulers of Chaghāniyān in early Islamic times*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the Brit. Inst. of Pers. Studies*, xix (1981), 1-20.

P. 75b, **DADALOGHLU**, *add to Bibliography*: K.-D. Wannig, *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik*, Freiburg i.Br. 1980. (Studien zur Sprache, Gesch. und Kultur d. Türkvölker, i).

P. 571bf., **DJUDDA**, *see now* G. R. Hawting, *The origin of Jedda and the problem of al-Shuʿayba*, in *Arabica* xxxi (1984), 318-26, who finds no sound evidence that Djudda existed in pre-Islamic times or that the exact location of its predecessor as the port of Makka, al-Shuʿayba, can be pinpointed with any certainty.

P. 585a, **DJUGHRĀFIYĀ**, l. 5., *instead of* 56/1166 *read* 561/1166

P. 721b, **EXISTENCE**, *to reference add* and ANNIYYA.

P. 840b, **FATḤPŪR-SĪKRĪ**, *add to Bibliography* S. A. A. Rizvi and V. J. A. Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*, Bombay 1975.

VOLUME III

P. 227b, AL-**ḤARRA**, *add to Bibliography*: M. J. Kister, *The Battle of the Ḥarra. Some socio-economic aspects*, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon, Jerusalem 1977, 33-49.

P. 679a, **IBN ʿABD AL-ẒĀHIR**, ll. 19-14 from bottom, *instead of the sentence beginning* He composed the genealogy of al-Ḥākim . . . *read* He composed the genealogy of al-Ḥākim, which was confirmed by the *ḳāḍī*, and read it in the assembly of dignitaries; he also composed the *ʿahd* of al-Nāṣir Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], see Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, x, 116 ff.

VOLUME IV

P. va l. 24, *instead of* J. W. ALLEN . . . 1105 *read* [J. ALLAN, London], 1105
l. 19 from below, *instead of* Princeton University *read* Hebrew University, Jerusalem

P. xi, *instead of* Taeschner . . . Gotha 1926 *read* Taeschner, *Wegenetz* = Franz Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz nach osmanischen Quellen*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1924-6.

P. 118b, **ISHBĪLIYA**, *add to Bibliography*: *Crónica del Moro Rasis*, ed. D. Catalán and Maria Soledad de Andrés, Madrid 1974, 91-6, 305-6; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat al-ansāb*, Cairo 1962, index; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, index.

P. 137b, AL-**ISKANDARIYYA**, *add to Bibliography*: Numerous pieces of information about the working of the port of Alexandria are given in the *Minhādj* of al-Makhzūmī, in the parts translated and commented upon by Cl. Cahen, *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranéens de l'Égypte médiévale*, in *JESHO* (1965), reproduced in idem, *Makhzūmiyyāt*, Leiden 1978. Furthermore, the author called al-Nuwayrī, Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, author of the *Ilmām al-aʿlām*, should be clearly distinguished from his homonym, the celebrated author of the *Nihāya*.The *Ilmām*, written in regard to the attack. on Alexandria by Peter of Cyprus in 1367 and from which come the extracts studied in the articles of Combes cited in the *Bibl.*, has now been edited by A.S. Atiya in 4 vols. in the Ḥaydarābād Series, 1968-72.

P. 322b, **KAʿBA**, *add to Bibliography*: G. R. Hawting, "*We were not ordered with entering it but only with circumambulating it.*" Ḥadīth *and* fiqh *on entering the Kaʿba*, in *BSOAS* xlvii (1984), 228-42.

P. 471b, **ḲALAM**, *add to Bibliography*: C. E. Bosworth, *A medieval Islamic prototype of the fountain-pen?*, in *JSS* xxvi (1981), 229-34.

P. 501b, AL-**ḲĀLĪ**, l. 1, *instead of* 189 *read* 289
ll. 10-12, *instead of* from memory . . . into account *read* from memory in his new home, or he made critical observations and commentaries, following the ʿIrāḳī tradition which he knew, upon
l. 25 from below, *after* 1392/1972 *add* (cf. *MMMʿA* xx/2 (1974), 49-130)

P. 546b, **KANNANŪR**, *add to Bibliography*: G. Bouchon, *Mamale de Cananor, un adversaire de l'Inde portugaise (1507-1528)*, Hautes études islamiques et orientales d'histoire comparée 7, Paris 1975.

P. 599a, **KARADJA OGHLAN**, *add to Bibliography*: K.-D. Wannig, *Der Dichter Karaca Oğlan. Studien zur türkischen Liebeslyrik*, Freiburg i.Br. 1980. (Studien zur Sprache, Gesch. und Kultur d. Türkvölker, i).

P. 733a, **KASRAWĪ TABRĪZĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: E. Jung, *Aḥmad Kasrawī. Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte Persiens im 20. Jahrhundert*, Diss. phil. Freiburg i.Br. 1976.

P. 757a, **KATIB**, l. 24, *instead of* M. Kanter *read* M. Carter

P. 772b, **ḲAṬRAN**, l. 35 from below, instead of κεδία, read κεδρία; instead of *ḳaariya* read *ḳadriyā*

P. 814a-b, **KAY KĀʾŪS B. ISKANDAR**, last para and *Bibl.* Five completely independent Old Ottoman versions of the *Ḳābūs-nāma* have in fact survived, the best known of which is that of Merdjümek Aḥmed [*q.v.*]. The version at Kazan in 1882, 1889, etc. (and not in 1298/1880-1) is not by this last Ottoman author, but is a version in what is called by H. F. Hofman (*Turkish literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, Section III, Part 1 v 6, p. 65) "Old Tatar", possibly via an Ottoman intermediary.

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P. 870b, **KEMĀKH** *add to Bibliography*: R. H. Ünal, *Monuments salğūqides de Kemah (Anatolie orientale)*, in *REI*, xxxv (1967), 149-72.
P. 902b, AL-**KHAḌIR**, *add to Bibliography*: H. Schwarzbaum, in *Fabula*, iii (1959), 251 ff.
P. 910a, **KHᵛĀF**, *add to Bibliography*: J.Aubin, *Un santon qūhistānī de l'époque timouride*, in *REI*, xxxv (1967), 185-216.
P. 914a, **KHAFD**, *add to signature* and O. MEINARDUS.
P. 962a, AL-**KHALĪL** B. **AḤMAD**, l. 39 from below, *instead of* AL-FARĀHIDĪ *read* AL-FARĀHĪDĪ
l. 17 from below, instead of *Falknerliteratur* read *Falknereiliteratur*
P. 962a, l. 36, instead of *ibn Aḥmad* read *ibn-Aḥmad*
l. 37, instead of *Sībawayhs* read *Sībawaihs*
l. 18 from below, *instead of* 266 *read* 366
l. 14 from below, *instead of* 4075 ff. *read* 4075 f.
P. 963b, l. 32 instead of *Fā'id* read *Fā'it*
l. 18 from below, *after* author *add*, a pseudo-al-Khalīl,
P. 963a, l. 19, *instead of* 303 *read* 304
l. 22, *after* 67-80 *add*; A. Spitaler, in *DLZ* 81 (1960), 612-16; cf. J. Fück, in *ZDMG* 111 (1961), 464-69, Arabic tr. in *MMLᶜA* (Cairo) 18 (1964), 33-47
ll. 34 and 37, *instead of* ff. *read* f.
l. 22 from below, *instead of* 37-9 *read* 37-42
l. 17 from below, *after* 1960; *add* H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, Beirut 1961, i, index; ᶜA. al-Zubaydī, *al-Khalīl al-mūsīkār*, in *al-Mawrid* iv/4 (1975), 23-29;
l. 2 from below, *after* 1373/1954 *add*, 43-7
P. 964a, **KHALĪL** B. **ISḤĀḲ**, l. 14, *instead of* born in Cairo *read* died in Cairo
P. 1034b, AL-**KHARĀDJ**, l. 32, *add*: R. S. Cooper, *The assessment and collection of kharaj tax in medieval Egypt*, in *JAOS* 96 (1976), 365-82 (important).
P. 1090b, **KHĀṢṢĪ**, last line, *after* 123 *add*; this belief has been affirmed by Muslim law; see R. Brunschvig, *Averroès juriste*, in *Études d'orientalisme . . . Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, i, 65, n. 79 = *Études d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, ii, 197, n. 79.
P. 1099b, AL-**KHĀṢṢA** WA-'L-ᶜĀMMA, l. 30 from below, *after* mischief-makers. *add* (It should be noted, however, that the Shīᶜites applied the term *ᶜāmma* disparagingly to the Sunnites; see R. Brunschvig, *Fiqh fatimide et histoire de l'Ifriqiya*, in *Mélanges . . . G. Marçais*, Algiers 1957, ii, 13 = *Études d'Islamologie*, Paris 1976, i, 64.)
P. 1111a, AL-**KHAṬĪB** AL-**BAGHDĀDĪ**, l. 18 from below, after *ḥadīth* add (*ibid.*, i, 417)
l. 17 from below, *after* Kūfa *add* (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 246)
l. 14 from below, *after* Nīshāpūr *add* (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, v, 67; x, 383)
l. 12 from below, *after* Rayy *add* (*ibid.*, xi, 115)
l. 8 from below, *instead of* 1922 *read* 1911.
l. 6 from below, *after* Dīnawar *add* (Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 12; ²iv, 29)
P. 1111b, l. 20, instead of *Udabā'* i., read *Udabā'*, i,
l. 25, *instead of* 210-17 *read* 210-27.
l. 25 from below, *instead of* 1974, i, 69-73 *read* 1976, i, 70-74
l. 17 from below, *after* Baghdād *add* a year later
P. 1112a, l. 22, instead of *Ilâhiyat* read *İlâhiyat*
l. 27, *after* 1971; *add* ²Beirut 1974;
l. 23 from below, *instead of* 69-73 *read* 70-74
l. 22 from below, *after* *'l-tafrīḳ*, *add* a work about traditioners with similar names and their identification,
l. 18 from below, *after* 175 ff. *add*; printed Beirut 1975
l. 17 from below, *after* *al-ᶜamal add*, a small paraenetic book concerning 201 *aḥādīth abyāt* and *aḳwāl* by well-known individuals, named and anonymous poets, prophets and sages (e.g. quotations from the Torah), on both concepts *ᶜilm* and *ᶜamal*, always introduced by *isnāds*
after by al-Albānī, *add* Beirut 1386/1966, ³1389/1969,
P. 1112b, l. 12, *after* 13 *add*; ³iv, 33.
P. 1155a, **KHAYR** AL-**DĪN PASHA**, l. 13-14 from below, *instead of* G. S. van Krieken *read* idem
l. 11 from below, *instead of* idem *read* G. S. van Krieken
P. 1162r, AL-**KHAYYĀṬ**, ABŪ 'L-ḤUSAYN, l. 14 from below, *instead of* Abā *read* Abū
P. 1162b, l. 9, *delete* about
P. 1163b, l. 6, *instead of* 7 *read* -7
l. 29, *instead of* 6 *read* -6
l. 19 from below, *instead of* 5 *read* -5
l. 14 from below, *instead of* 4 *read* -4
last line, *instead of* 6 ff., 85, 11. 5 ff. *read* -6 ff, 85, 11. -5 ff.
Plate XLVII, **KHAZAF**, *caption No. 1 belongs to the left-hand photograph, caption No. 2 to the right-hand photograph.*
P. 1171a, *Add to Bibliography, section 'General'*: E. J. Grube, *Islamic pottery of the 8th to the 15th century in the Keir collection*, London 1976; G. Öney, *Islamic tile art*, Osaka 1975; J. Zick-Nissen, *Islamische Keramik*, Katalog, Düsseldorf 1973; *Keramos*, No. 64, Berlin, April 1974 (in conjunction with the preceding reference). — *Section 'Technique'*: J. C. Gardin, *Code pour l'analyse des formes de poteries*, CNRS Paris 1976. — *Section 'China and Islam'*: Y. Crowe, *Certains types et techniques de la céramique de Suse*, in *Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale della ceramica*, Albisola 1974. — *Section 'Turkey'*: W. B. Denny, *The ceramic revetments of the mosque of Rüstem Pasha and the environment of change*, New York 1977; M. Meinecke, *Fayence Dekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*,

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in *DAI Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, xiii, Tübingen 1976; G. Öney, *Turkish ceramic tile art*, Tokyo 1976; idem, *Türk çini sanatı*, Istanbul 1976. — *Section 'Special studies'*: G. A. Brikina, *Karabulak*, Moscow 1974.

VOLUME V

P. 84b, **ḲIBLA**, l. 9: al-Djaghmīnī lived *ca* 618/1221-22, since, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (though not in the printed versions of the *Kashf al-ẓunūn*), this was the date of composition of his treatise on astronomy.

P. 85a, 2nd formula from bottom: the quantity Cos φ_M is to be multiplied by the preceding quotient and the product is to be added to Sin φ_M Sin φ.

P. 85b, l. 8, *before* $\frac{\text{Cos } \varphi_M \text{ Cos } \Delta L}{R}$ *insert* =

l. 10, *before* $\frac{\text{Sin } \varphi_M \text{ Sin } \varphi}{R}$ *insert* =

l. 15, *before* $\frac{\text{Cos } \varphi_M \text{ Cos } \Delta L}{R}$ *insert* =

ll. 16 and 17, *instead of* OMf *read* OM_3

P. 86b, l. 4, *after* sin θ_3 *insert* =

1st and 2nd equations beneath Fig. 5, *insert* =

P. 87, Table 1, instead of *ij* read φ

P. 87b, ll. 1 and 9, instead of $f\varphi$ and $g\varphi$ read f_φ and g_φ.

P. 88b, *add to Bibliography*: On the problems of mosque orientation see D. A. King, *Astronomical alignments in medieval Islamic religious architecture*, in *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1982.

P. 106a, **ḲILWA**, l. 10 from below, instead of Kivinye *read* Kivinje

l. 8 from below, *instead of* Dar es Salam *read* Dar es Salaam, the official spelling

P. 142-3, **ḲİRİM**, *add to Bibliography*: *Le khanat de Crimée dans les archives du Musée du Palais de Topkapı*, prés. par A. Bennigsen, P. Boratav et autres, Paris/Den Haag 1978; M. Berindei and G. Veinstein, *La présence ottomane au sud de la Crimée et en Mer d'Azov dans la première moitié du XVI^e siècle* in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique xx* (1979), 389-456; G. Veinstein, *La population au sud de la Crimée au début de la domination ottomane*, dans *Mémorial Ömer Lûtfi Barkan*, Paris 1980, 227-49 (Bibl. de l'Inst. Français d'Archéol. d'Istanbul, xxviii); *Catalogue des microfilms des ouvrages intéressant les musulmans de l'U.R.S.S. . . .*, iii: *Crimée*, Paris 1963 (stencilled).

P. 243a, **ḲİZ**, 3rd paragraph: Ewliyā Čelebi and, following him, Mamboury are wrong when saying that the Ḳız-tashı, i.e. the Byzantine "Maiden's stone" (of porphyry), was incorporated into the Süleymāniyye Mosque. The order books (1550-7) of the Süleymāniyye mention the transportation of a column from the Ḳıztashı Maḥallesi to the mosque, but that one was from granite. See C. Mango, *Antique statuary and the Byzantine beholder*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* xvii, Washington 1963, 61; O. L. Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve inşaatı*, Ankara 1972-9, i, 344-6, ii, 23-4, Nos. 44-5; J. M. Rogers, *The state and the arts in Ottoman Turkey*, i, *The stones of the Süleymaniye*, in *IJMES* xiv (1982), 79.

P. 268b, **ḲORDOS**, The correct name in Ottoman Turkish of the city of Corinth emerges rather as Körides or Gördes in the pages of Ewliyā Čelebi, where it is consistently spelt with *kāf/gāf* and not with *ḳāf*, confirmed by such European renderings as Gourdese (Bernard Randolph, 1689) and Ghiurdos (W. M. Leake, *ca*. 1805). *Add to the Bibliography*: P. A. MacKay, *The fountain at Hadji Mustafa*, in *Hesperia, Jnal. of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, xxxvi (1967), 193-5; idem, *Acrocorinth in 1668, a Turkish account*, in *op. cit.*, xxxvii (1968), 386-97, with map, plan and photographs.

P. 428b, **ḲUR'ĀN**, *add to Bibliography, section "General studies"*: A. Neuwirth, *Studien zur Komposition der mekkanischen Suren*, Berlin 1981.

P. 507b, **ḲURṢĀN**, l. 12, *instead of* Khārk I Island *read* Khārk Island

P. 508a, l. 7, *instead of* Malcom's *read* Malcolm's

P. 552, **ḲUṬB MINĀR**,, *place Plates XXVIII-XXIX between pp. 548 and 549.*

P. 557b, **ḲUṬN**, l. 24 from bottom: *instead of* Bozdeghan *read* Bozdoghan

l. 23 from bottom: *instead of* Čalishu *read* Čalïshlu

P. 558b, l. 19 from bottom: *instead of* Eluçay *read* Uluçay

P. 559a, l. 8 from bottom: *instead of* muslim *read* muslin

P. 560a, l. 26 from bottom: *instead of* of *read* or

P. 562a, l. 10: *instead of* 875/1470 *read* 875/1470s

l. 39: *instead of* muslims *read* muslins

P. 563a, l. 5: *instead of* Starrhemberg *read* Starhemberg

P. 564b, l. 7: *instead of* Morcmer *read* Morimer

P. 565a, l. 20 from bottom: *instead of* 1241/1225 *read* 1241/1825

l. 12 from bottom: *instead of* journalist *read* journalists

P. 565b, l. 25 from bottom: instead of *heyatı* read *hayatı*

P. 566a, l. 14: *instead of* Edsedy *read* Ecsedy

P. 570b, al-**KUTUBĪ**, l. 7 from bottom: A part of the *ʿUyūn*, edited by Fayṣal al-Sāmir and Nabīla ʿAbd al-Munʿim Dāʾud, has been published in Baghdād in 1397/1977. Following an unconfirmed report another part has been published in Cairo in 1980 and further parts are planned.

P. 604, **LĀHAWR**, *place Plates XXX-XXXI between pp. 600 and 601.*

P. 878b, **MĀʾ**, section 7: Irrigation in North Africa and Muslim Spain, *add to Bibliography*: R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 210-13 and the bibliography given there.

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P. 1027ᵃ, **MADJĀZ** l. 4, *instead of* more *read* mere
l. 31 from below, *after* mind *insert* to

p. 1056ᵇ, **MADJLIS**, *add to bibliography of section on Jordan*: R. G. Khoury, *Jordan Assembly meets, clears way for elections*, in *International Herald Tribune*, 10 January 1984, p. 1.

P. 1059ᵃ, *Add to bibliography of section on ʿUmān*: D. F. Eickelman, *Kings and people: Oman's state consultative council*, in *MEJ* 38/1 (Winter 1984), 51-71.

P. 1077ᵃ, *Add to bibliography of section on Israel*: J. M. Landau, *The Arab vote*, in D. Caspi, A. Diskin, E. Guttman (eds.), *The roots of Begin's success*, London 1984, 169-189.

P. 1103ᵇ, **MADJNŪN LAYLĀ**, l. 7 from below, *after* his love *add* of

P. 1164ᵃ, AL-**MAGHĀZĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: *Maghāzī rasūl allāh li-ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr bi-riwāyat Abī 'l-Aswad ʿanhu (al-nuskha al-mustakhradja)*, ed. M.M. al-Aʿẓamī, al-Riyāḍ 1401/1981 (extracted from later compilations); A. A. Duri, *The rise of historical writing among the Arabs*, ed. and tr. L. I. Conrad, Princeton 1983 (being an annotated trans. of al-Dūrī, *Baḥth* . . ., referred to above).

P. 1166ᵃ, AL-**MAGHĪLĪ**, l. 3 from below, *add*: J. O. Hunwick, *Al-Maghīlī and the Jews of Tuwāt: the demise of a community*, in *SI* lxiv (1984).

P. 1166ᵇ, l. 5 f., *instead of* Critical text and tr. in Hunwick, *Al-Maghīlī's Replies read* Critical text and trans. in J. O. Hunwick, *Sharīʿa in Songhay. The replies of al-Maghīlī to the questions of Askia al-Ḥājj Muḥammad*, Oxford 1984 (Fontes Historiae Africanae, Series Arabica, v).

P. 1171ᵃ, **MAGHNISA**, *add to Bibliography*: Yuzo Nagata, *16. yüzyılda Manisa köyleri*, in *Tarih Dergisi* xxxii (1979) (= Ord. Prof. İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı hâtıra sayısı'ndan), 731-58.

P. 1231ᵇ, AL-**MAHDĪ**, l. 12 from below, *add to end of paragraph*: The Companion ʿAbd Allāh b. Busr al-Ḳaysī, who died in Ḥimṣ between 88/707 and 96/715, attributed the following tradition to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār: "The Mahdī will send (an army) to fight the Rūm, will be given the knowledge (*fiḳh*) of ten and will bring forth the Ark of the Divine Presence (*tābūt al-sakīna*) from a cave in Antioch in which are the Torah which God sent down to Moses and the Gospel which he sent down to Jesus; and he will rule among the People of the Torah according to their Torah and among the People of the Gospel according to their Gospel."

P. 1232ᵇ, ll. 8-19, *replace by*: The theme was evidently adopted from the tradition ascribed to Kaʿb by ʿAbd Allāh b. Busr in Ḥimṣ.

P. 1238ᵃ, *add to Bibliography*: W. Madelung, *The Sufyānī between tradition and history* (forthcoming).

SUPPLEMENT

P. 343ᵇ, AL-**ḤĀKIM** AL-**DJUSHAMĪ**, *add to Bibliography*: ʿAdnān Zarzūr, *al-Ḥākim al-Djushamī wa-manhadjuh fī tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, Beirut 1972.

P. 393ᵇ, **IBN MIḲSAM**, *add to Bibliography*: A. Jeffery, *The Qur'ān readings of Ibn Miqsam*, in *Ignaz Goldziher memorial volume*, i, Budapest 1948, 1-38.

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K

CONTINUATION

KHEMSHIL [see KHEMSHIN].

KHEMSHIN (other designation, Khemshili), a numerically small group of Muslim (Sunnī) Armenians who had been converted from Christianity in the beginning of the 18th century. In the U.S.S.R. (population 629, according to the 1926 Soviet census), they now inhabit the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border. In Turkey they live in compact settlements along the Fırtına and Karadere rivers (Bash Khemshin) and in the mountains not far from Hope (Hope Khemshin). The traditional economy is based on sheep and goat herding, and related activities. The Khemshin dialect (like the Erzurum, Cilicia and Istanbul dialects) is part of the western dialect group of the Armenian language. The Khemshin have been, to a great extent, assimilated by the Turks, nor have they been listed in either the 1959 or 1970 Soviet censuses). (R. WIXMAN)

KHĒRLA, a fortress of mediaeval India, lying to the south of Mālwa and east of Khāndesh [*q.vv.*], and in the extreme northern part of Berār [*q.v.*], just to the south of the headwaters of the Tāptī River. It is in fact some 50 miles west of modern Deogafh; in British India it fell within the Central Provinces, now Madhya Pradesh.

The foundation of the fortress is attributed to a Rādjput *rādjā*, the last of whose line is said to have been killed by a commander of the Dihlī Sultans, perhaps in the time of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī; but the fortress as it stands today is Islamic in construction. During the revolt of the Deccan in the latter years of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ, it fell into the hands of a local Gond dynasty. In the early 9th/15th century, the Gond ruler Narsingh was made subject to the ruler of Mālwa, Hushang b. Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī (808-38/1405-35), appointed to Mālwa by the Tughluḳids. It now became a subject of discord and covetousness between the rulers of Mālwa and the Bahmanī sultans of the northern Deccan [see BAHMANĪS]; thus in 831/1428 Hushang suffered a crushing defeat at Khērla at the hands of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī. Forty years later, in 871/1467, there was again fighting over possession of Khērla between Maḥmūd Shāh Khaldjī of Mālwa (840-73/1436-69) and the Bahmanī Muḥammad Shāh III Laṣhkarī, but Maḥmūd managed to retain Khērla and possibly northern Berār as far as Eličpur [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 994/1586 the Mughal governor of Mālwa, Aʿẓam Khān, attempted to take over Berār; he failed to capture Khērla, but plundered the capital Eličpur before being repelled by the combined forces of Khāndesh and the Niẓām-Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar [*q.v.* and NIẒĀM-SHĀHĪS]. Berār subsequently came under Mughal rule, and the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann and Jarrett², Calcutta 1939-48, ii, 237, lists Khērla as a *sarkār* of the *ṣūba* of Berār with a revenue of 17½ million *dams*.

Bibliography: Sir Wolseley Haig, in *Camb. hist. of India*, iii, index. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHIḌĀB (A.), a term denoting the dyeing of certain parts of the body (and especially, in regard to men, the beard and hair) by means of henna [see ḤINNĀʾ] or some similar substance. It is still used in this sense today, but is used moreover for the items of make-up and cosmetics employed by modern women; the reader may find under MAKEUP information about those items of cosmetics used by women attached to the traditional usages. (ED.)

KHIDĀSH (or Khaddāsh, cf. Wellhausen, 509; his real name was probably ʿAmmār or ʿUmāra b. Yazīd) one of the leaders of the early Hāshimiyya movement in Khurāsān. Having played a part unacceptable to the ʿAbbāsids in the formative stages of their *daʿwa* in Khurāsān, the official ʿAbbāsid propaganda later obliterated as much as possible of his memory, minimised his part in the *daʿwa* and presented him as a heretic. This propaganda succeeded to such a degree that his life and achievements are hardly mentioned in the Arabic sources and doubt was even cast as to his real name. Consequently, orientalist scholarship, in those few cases when it mentions him, is highly influenced by this. Wellhausen, with his unusual historical instinct, was the first to understand his significance in the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, and B. Lewis also mentions his role as one of the first emissaries of the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān [see ʿABBĀSIDS]. Cl. Cahen and Lewis both tend to accept at least some of the accusations of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda, namely that he was a Khurramī, and they raise doubts as to whether Khidāsh was an ʿAbbāsid emissary at all (Cahen, *Point de vue sur la révolution ʿAbbāsidе*, 324-5). However, with the discovery and publication of the anonymous source *Aḵẖbār al-ʿAbbās* (ed. Dūrī and Muṭṭalibī under the title *Aḵẖbār ad-dawla al-ʿabbāsiyya*), a fresh study is possible, based on new material which permits a reconsideration of the already-known traditions about him.

According to the ʿAbbāsid tradition, Khidāsh was a nickname derived from *ḵẖ-d-sẖ* "to tear apart", "to scratch" because "he has torn religion to pieces" (*ḵẖadasẖa al-dīn*) (Ṭabarī, ii, 1503; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, f. 292b). This is a clear indication of the efforts made on the part of the ʿAbbāsids to blacken his name, especially after his death. In another tradition, however, Ṭabarī says that it was Khidāsh who adopted this name whereas his real name was ʿAmmār or ʿUmāra b. Yazīd (ii, 1588, cf. *Ansāb*, f. 292a, *inf.*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut 1965, v, 144). As far as the

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name is concerned, Khidāsh is not an uncommon name in Arabic, derived from the third form of the verb *kh-d-sh* (cf. Lane's *Lexicon* and *LA*, s.v. and *Aghānī*, xix, 52 and index). It is quite possible that the ʿAbbāsids added their interpretation to the name later, when already there existed a tradition according to which the Prophet disliked the name Khaddāsh. (Ibn Wahb, *Djāmiʿ*, Cairo 1939, 97, cf. Kister, "*Call yourselves by graceful names*", in *Lectures in memory of Prof. Martin M. Plessner*, Jerusalem 1975, 12). However, whether Khidāsh was his name or not, it does not make much difference to the fact that his activities in Khurāsān for over eight years as head of the Hāshimiyya [*q.v.*], caused so much trouble to the ʿAbbāsids that his memory was almost completely obliterated from the records of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*.

In order to understand the enigmatic personality of Khidāsh, one must remember that in the early phases of the *daʿwa* the contacts between the centre of its activity in Khurāsān and the parallel centre in Kūfa were, for security reasons, very weak. The same considerations necessitated extreme caution in the contacts between the Khurāsānis and the ʿAbbāsid *Imām* in Ḥumayma. Although the sources say that the propagandists in Khurāsān acted in the name of the ʿAbbāsids, it is highly improbable that Umayyad intelligence failed to uncover this connection or to discover the identity of the *Imām* until the very end. The contents of the *daʿwa* teachings were extremely ambiguous throughout, and its propagandists spoke in general terms about the rights of *Ahl al-bayt* (cf. al-ʿImrānī, *al-Inbāʾ*, ed. Samarrai, Leiden 1973, 571 l. 18) a term which was accepted to mean the family of the Prophet (cf. M. Sharon, *The ʿAbbāsid daʿwa re-examined*, 9, n. 23). Thus through most of its phases, the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān was, in fact, nothing but an extension of the Hāshimiyya of Kūfa. It is thus highly possible that even the leaders did not known what exactly were the essential ideas that differentiated their activities from those of the other Shīʿis in Khurāsān, and especially those in Nīshāpūr and its environs.

The only information about Khidāsh supplied by Ṭabarī and Balādhurī is as follows. After Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī had killed several of the first propagandists of the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān, headed by Abū ʿIkrima, and had severely punished some of the others, another leader was sent from Kūfa to Khurāsān. The new leader was Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Kaṯīr b. Saʿd. As he was an uneducated man (if the term *ummī* in Ṭabarī's account is to be understood thus), Khidāsh was able to overcome him and assume the leadership (Ṭabarī, ii, 1503, *Ansāb*, f. 292a).

In another tradition there is some more and rather different information about Khidāsh. According to this tradition, it was Bukayr b. Māhān, one of the veteran adherents of the Hāshimiyya who, in 118/736 sent ʿAmmār b. Yazīd to Khurāsān as a "leader of the Shīʿa of Banu 'l-Abbās" (*Wāliyan ʿalā shīʿati bani 'l-ʿabbāsi*). He resided in Marw and changed his name to Khidāsh (a custom common to the early adherents of the *daʿwa*, who for reasons of secrecy, used to adopt new *kunyas* once initiated into the movement [see ḲAḤṬABA]. He began making propaganda for Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, in which he was very successful. According to another tradition in the *Ansāb*, it was Muḥammad b. ʿAlī who nominated him. Sometime later, however, Khidāsh changed his original propaganda and "turned away from the *Imām*'s instructions and began to teach improper and disgraceful ideas. Therefore, the adherents of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī fell upon him and killed him. Some say that it was Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī that killed and crucified him" (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, f. 292a). The "disgraceful ideas" according to Ṭabarī (*loc. cit.*) were those of the Khurramiyya [*q.v.*]. His execution by Asad took place, according to Ṭabarī, in 118, during the governor's second term of office (ii, 1588-9; Wellhausen, 510). Although these traditions reflect clearly the later ʿAbbāsid distortion of the information about Khidāsh, it is possible, however, to build the following picture, from the combination of the above narrations with the information transmitted in the *Akhbār*. Khidāsh's predecessor as the leader of the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān, Kaṯīr b. Saʿd, led the movement in Marw from *ca.* 108/726 for three years until *ca.* 111/729. It was probably in that year that Khidāsh arrived from Nīshāhpūr, a centre of Hāshimī activity, and took over. For at least seven years, until his execution in 118/736, he was the leader (*ṣāḥib*) of the Hāshimiyya there (Ṭabarī, ii, 1589, l. 2) and the one responsible for creating its sound organisation, as Wellhausen rightly observes. He was the first to achieve a real and enduring success and to gain wide support among both Arabs and *mawālī*. The lists of the leaders of the *daʿwa* in his time show people from Tamīm, Rabīʿa, Azd and other Arab tribes, including Sulaymān b. Kaṯīr of Khuzāʿa, who was later to replace him (Wellhausen, 514, Ṭabarī, ii, 1586-7, *Akhbār*, 216-22). There is no neutral evidence whatsoever that he was Khurramī, though Wellhausen, Cahen and Lewis tend to accept ʿAbbāsid traditions which attributed to him Khurramī and Mazdakite theories (this tradition is presented in its complete form by al-Nāshiʾ al-Akbar, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 32-5, cf. Wellhausen, 515-18; Cahen, *Point de vue . . .*, 324-5). Cahen, however, points out that many people who fell out of favour were accused of *zandaḳa*, and this is clearly true of Khidāsh; a tradition which presents him as a Christian from Ḥīra should be understood also as representing the same trend (*Ansāb*, *loc cit.*). From a unique tradition in the *Akhbār*, we know exactly the nature and content of his propaganda, and this also explains why the ʿAbbāsids later hated him. This tradition speaks of a group of Khidāsh's adherents in Nīshāpūr, called the Khālidiyya after its leader, a certain Abū Khālid. The group acted against the ʿAbbāsids from the very beginning of their reign, and in the time of Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr changed its name and became the Fāṭimiyya. They argued that, since after the death of Ibrāhīm al-Imām [*q.v.*] a new *imām* was not nominated in the way of *waṣiyya*, the *imāma* must return to the ʿAlids, now already represented by the descendents of Fāṭima (*Akhbār*, 403-4).

From the statement that the Khālidiyya-Fāṭimiyya continued the former Khidāshiyya, it is clear that Khidāsh as a Hāshimī leader furthered the cause of the ʿAlids.

Having worked for a while in Nīshāpūr, Khidāsh seized the opportunity of the growing activity of the Hāshimiyya in Marw in order to move there in 111/730, and being intellectually superior to Kaṯīr b. Saʿd, he was able to depose him and take over the leadership of the movement there. For the Hāshimiyya of Marw, both his leadership and ideology were congenial. After the death of Abū Hāshim, the original Hāshimiyya continued in general terms to support the cause of the House of the Prophet, which became more and more identified with the Fāṭimid ʿAlids. This development disturbed Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, and on one occasion he is said to have warned one of his early emissaries to Khurāsān, the Kūfan leader Abū ʿIkrima, about the ʿAlid leaders in Nīshā-

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pūr, whose names include one Abū Khālid al-Djawāliḳī (*Akhbār*, 204, cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 101). His influence in Khurāsān, however, was too slight to act against Khidāsh, and he may have had to give his tacit approval to the latter's position. Khidāsh built a strong centre in Khurāsān which was completely independent and detached from both Kūfa and Ḥumayma.

During the seven years of his activity, the ʿAlid cause gained wide support there, while the ʿAbbāsid *Imām* was kept completely in the shade. Khidāsh spoke in favour of *al-Raḍī min Āl Muḥammad* or *al-Ḳāʾim min ahl al-bayt*, slogans which were common to all the ʿAlid adherents in Khurāsān and the early *daʿwa*.

Khidāsh's independent ideas, which were inconsistent with the aims and aspirations of the ʿAbbāsid *Imām*, are explicitly indicated in *Taʾrīkh al-Khulafāʾ*, ed. Griaznevitch, ff. 252b l. 18-253a l. 6, and especially in a unique note on the margin of the manuscript, f. 253a, which is the key for an understanding of the whole problem. It runs as follows: *Khidāsh, radjulun intaḥala maḳālatan bi-Khurāsāna wa-intasaba ilā l-ḳāʾimi min ahli bayti rasūli allāhi fa shtubiha ʿalāʾ l-shīʿati amruhu*.

Muḥammad b. ʿAlī understood that the new independent centre in Khurāsān had to be connected *directly* with him and not through Kūfa, but as long as Khidāsh was alive this was impossible, and it was difficult even after Khidāsh's death in 118/736.

The new leader, Sulaymān b. Kathīr, went to see the *Imām* in Ḥumayma in 120/739, but this meeting led to a crisis. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī tried to reproach the Khurāsānī for accepting Khidāsh's wrong ideas, but Sulaymān and the Khurāsānī could not see what was wrong in pure ʿAlid-Hāshimī ideology, and for over five years the relations between Khurāsān and the ʿAbbāsid *imām* were almost non-existent (Ṭabarī, ii, 1640, 1727, 1769, Balādhurī, f. 292b).

Only in 126/744 were relations restored, and the centre in Khurāsān acknowledged the leadership of the new *Imām*, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (Muḥammad died in 125/743). Sulaymān welcomed Bukayr b. Māhān in Marw and sent money with him to the *Imām* (Ṭabarī, ii, 1869, Balādhurī, *loc. cit.* This improvement in the atmosphere was due to the great crisis in the Shīʿa that followed in the wake of the collapse of Zayd b. ʿAlī's revolt in Kūfa in 122/740 and the execution of his son Yaḥyā in 125/743. The messianic expectations of the Shīʿa which were connected with these two were replaced by the usual feelings of sorrow and repentance after their death. This feeling was especially acute in Khurāsān, where black garments were worn everywhere as a sign of mourning for the dead ʿAlīds and where newborn children were named Zayd and Yaḥyā after them (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, Beirut 1965, iii, 212-13). This was also the moment when a new leader was needed to avenge their blood. The circumstances were, therefore, ripe for coming to terms with the ʿAbbāsid *imām* and for turning the *daʿwa* into an ʿAbbāsid one. Even so, this change was not easily accepted. Not only did the pro-ʿAlid Khidāshiyya continue to exist under a new leader, but also (as Balādhurī reports, *Ansāb*, f. 305a), Muḥammad the son of Sulaymān b. Kathīr was himself an adherent of the Khidāshiyya who was opposed to the transference of the movement in Khurāsān to Abū Muslim. Because of the activities of Khidāsh we can now understand that it was not until 126/744 that the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān was changed from a purely ʿAlid one to an ʿAbbāsid one. But the ʿAbbāsids, even after reaching power, knew, as al-Manṣūr is reported once to have said, that "the love for the Āl Abī Ṭālib in the hearts of the people of Khurāsān is mixed with the love for us" (*Fragmenta*, ed. De Goeje, 246).

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KHIDĀSH B. ZUHAYR AL-AṢGHAR B. RABĪʿA B. ʿAMR B. ʿĀMIR B. ṢAʿṢAʿA AL-ʿĀMIRĪ, *mukhaḍram* poet who is said to have attacked Ḳuraysh because his father had been killed in the War of Fidjār [*q.v.*]; it is possible that he himself took part in this struggle, and it is precisely in the chapter devoted to this war that the *Aghānī* (ed. Beirut, xxii, 70 ff., cf. iii, 219) cites him at greatest length, since several pieces of his are given there, one of them considered as a *ḳaṣīda munṣifa* (see Ch. Pellat, in *Mélanges Marcel Cohen*, 279-80), but he boasts there of a victory of the Hawāzin over Ḳuraysh which seems to be an invention. All the same, it is not impossible that these verses, and also a *ḳaṣīda* in praise of Ḳuraysh (*Aghānī*, xxii, 76), where allusion is made to Muḥammad's presence amongst the combattants, were written at a later date and by another poet. Khidāsh was still a pagan at the Battle of Ḥunayn [*q.v.*]. Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 119-22) classes him in the fifth *ṭabaḳa* and cites a certain number of his verses. An edition of his *dīwān* has been put together and is being prepared in Baghdād.

Bibliography: As well as the sources cited above, there are notices and verses quoted in Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 18; idem, *Ḥayawān*, i, 20, 364, vi, 50; idem, *Bukhalāʾ*, 388; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 87; idem, *Shiʿr*, 627-30; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 235, 248, ii, 3, iii, 90; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 406; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ii, 66; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 180; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 73, 107-8; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, tab. 108 and ii, 347; ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 240; *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 300; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 230-2, iv, 337-8; Wahhābī, 71-3; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, s.v. (CH. PELLAT)

KHIDHLĀN (A.), nomen actionis from the root *kh-dh-l*, "to leave in the lurch", a technical term in Islamic theology, applied exclusively to Allāh when He withdraws His grace or help from man. The disputes regarding it first appear in connection with the quarrel over *ḳadar* [*q.v.*]. A starting point is found in Sūra III, 154/160: "but if He abandon you to yourselves (*yakhdhul-kum*), who will help you after Him? Let the faithful therefore trust in God". On this al-Rāzī observes: "The Companions deduce from this verse that belief is exclusively a result of Allāh's help (cf. John, vi, 65), while unbelief is a result of His *khidhlān*. This is obvious, as the verse points out that the matter is entirely in God's hands".

A more detailed exposition is given by Ibn Ḥazm (iii, 50 f.) "Right guidance and assistance consist in God's preparing (*taysīr*) the believer for the good for

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which He has created him; while *khiḏhlān* consists in His preparing the *fāsiḳ* for the evil for which He has created him. Linguistic usage, the Ḳurʾān, the force of logic, and the attitude of the *fuḳahāʾ* and those in the past who handed down traditions and of the Companions and Successors as well as of those who came after them and of the whole body of Muslims with the exception of those whom God has led astray as regards their intelligence, namely such as belong to the followers of slanderers and outcasts, like al-Naẓẓām, Thumāma, al-ʿAllāf and al-Djāḥiẓ, are all unanimous". Then follows this reasoning: Allāh has given man two forces, hostile and opposed to one another, *tamyīz* (power of discrimination) and *hawā* (passion, desire). When Allāh protects the soul, *tamyīz* prevails by His help and power. But when He leaves the soul to itself (*khaḏhala*), He strengthens the *hawā* with a strength which amounts to leading astray (*iḍlāl*).

Khiḏhlān is therefore, according to Ibn Ḥazm, the opposite of *hudā* and *tawfīḳ* and the conception approaches that of *iḍlāl*. The Muʿtazilīs (as already indicated by Ibn Ḥazm's words) see in it a contradiction to Allāh's justness: according to them, Allāh does not urge a man to evil. In their terminology, *khiḏhlān* therefore means the refusal of divine grace (*manʿ al-luṭf*), while, according to the Ashʿarīs, *khiḏhlān* is "the creation of the ability to disobey".

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KHIDĪW, Khedive, title of the rulers of Egypt in the later 19th and early 20th centuries, deriving from Persian *khidīw*, *khadīw* "lord, prince, ruler". The use of the Arabic form of the title *khidēwī* "khedival" is associated with Ismāʿīl Pasha [*q.v.*], *wālī* or viceroy of Egypt 1863-79, even though his predecessors, ʿAbbās I Pasha (1848-54) and Saʿīd Pasha (1854-63) used it unofficially on occasion. Certain government departments, in particular the Department of the Interior, even under Ismāʿīl's grandfather, Muḥammad ʿAlī the Great (1805-49), founder of the dynasty, were known as *dīwān al-khidēwī*. In a way, it was a unique title among the vassals of the Ottoman Sultan, which the ambitious viceroy of Egypt sought precisely in order to set himself apart and above so many other governors and viceroys of Ottoman dominions. Closely related to his efforts to render his rule more secure within his family was Ismāʿīl's ambition to acquire the more formal accoutrements of sovereignty in relation to his master in Istanbul and the European powers. After lavish gifts in Istanbul, the distribution of outright bribes to influential courtiers and vast expenditure in supplying troops to help his sovereign suppress a rebellion in Crete, the title of *khidīw* was formally conferred by the Sultan upon Ismāʿīl in a *firmān* issued on 8 June 1867, two years before the formal opening of the Suez Canal. From a mere *wālī*, viceroy of the Sultan in Egypt, Ismāʿīl assumed a rank which elevated his standing to a position closer to royalty. A more important concession which Ismāʿīl received along with this title was the virtual independence of Egypt and her right to enter into special treaties and agreements governing posts, customs and trade transit. These provisions were to give Ismāʿīl freedom in the financial, administrative and judicial arrangements of the country. The title remained in use until 1914, and was assumed by Ismāʿīl's son Tawfīḳ Pasha (1879-92), and Tawfīḳ's son ʿAbbās II Ḥilmī (1892-1914) [*qq.v.*]. When soon after the outbreak of the Great War Egypt was declared a British Protectorate and ʿAbbās II was deposed, his successor, his uncle Ḥusayn Kāmil, assumed the title of Sultan of Egypt.

Bibliography: P. Crabités, *Ismail the maligned Khedive*, London 1933; E. de Leon, *The Khedive's Egypt*, New York 1878; E. Dicey, *The story of the Khedivate*, London 1902; P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, London 1966; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The modern history of Egypt*, London 1969. (P. J. Vatikiotis)

KHIḌR BEG, Ottoman scholar and poet of the 9th/15th century, and the first *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul. The unique source for his biography is the Arabic original of *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya* by Tashköprüzāde who, however, distorts the chronology of an otherwise convincing account of his career by an implausible anecdote which would place his first important appointment as late as the beginning of the reign of Meḥemmed II (*ca.* 855/1451). Disregarding this, and an equally suspect interpolation made by Medjdī in his translation of the work in which his mother is identified as the daughter of the legendary Turkish jester, Naṣr al-Dīn Khwādja (Nasreddin Hoca), the details of his life are as follows: He was born in Sivriḥiṣār, where his father, Djalāl al-Dīn, was *ḳāḍī*—though the fact that the latter was, also, known as Amīr ʿĀrif would suggest that he was a dervish rather than a member of the learned profession—and a source used by Brockelmann dates the birth to 1 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 810/6 August 1407. He completed his studies in Bursa under the famous scholar Mollā Yegān, whose daughter he married, and is then said to have returned to Sivriḥiṣār as a teacher. He acquired such a reputation for learning that he was appointed to the *madrasa* of Meḥemmed I in Bursa with an increase in stipend, and certain of his pupils here were subsequently to become scholars of great eminence. Next he taught at the *madrasa* of Bāyezīd I in Bursa, again with an increased stipend, and in addition was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Inegöl. From here he moved to the newest of the two *madrasas* in the Üč Sherefeli mosque in Edirne, and thence to Yanbolu (in present-day Bulgaria) as *ḳāḍī*. After the conquest of Istanbul in 857/1453, he was appointed its first *ḳāḍī*, in which post he remained until his death in 863/1458-9. He is buried in the Zeyrek quarter of Istanbul (*ʿOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, i, 290), where he also built the mosque later attributed to a certain Ḥādjdjī Ḳadīn (*Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, i, 86). His three sons, Yaʿḳūb Pasha, Müftī Aḥmad Pasha and Sinān Pasha, were also notable scholars, the latter being the author of the famous *Taḍarruʿāt*.

Although Khiḍr Beg is reputed to have introduced the versified chronogram into Ottoman literature, very few of his Turkish poems have survived (Sehī, 39) and his reputation rests on three poems in Arabic. The first, a didactic *ḳaṣīda* in the *basīṭ* metre on the creed, is known as the *Nūniyya* and has been the subject of several commentaries, most notably that by his pupil Khayālī (Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1348; Brockelmann, II, 229, S II, 321). Another *ḳaṣīda*, also a *nūniyya* dealing with the creed, but in the *wāfir* metre, is usually known as the *ʿUdjāla layla aw laylatayn* (Brockelmann is incorrect in saying that he translated this into Persian). Finally, there is a *mustazād*, in a Persian variety of the *hazadj* metre, which was greatly admired and attracted imitations for over a century (ʿAlī, *Künh*, v, 230-1; Aḥmed Pasha, *Dīwān* ed. Ali Nihat Tarlan, Istanbul 1966, 357). Bursalı

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Meḥmed Ṭāhir mentions a translation into Persian of the *Maṭāliᶜ* which he made at the request of Sulṭān Meḥemmed II, the work in question probably being the *Maṭāliᶜ al-anwār*, on logic, by Sirādj al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Urmawī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1715).

Bibliography: Tashköprüzāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuᶜmāniyya*, Arabic text in margins of Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aᶜyān*, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 151-5; Medjdī's Turkish translation (Istanbul 1269, 111-4) omits many important details. Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ᶜOthmānlī müʾellifleri*, Istanbul 1333, i, 290; Ḥusayn Aywānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiᶜ*, Istanbul 1281, i, 86; Edirneli Sehī, *Hesht bihisht*, Istanbul 1325, 39; Muṣṭafā ᶜĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, Istanbul 1285, v, 229-32; Süheyl Ünver, *Hızır Bey Çelebi, hayatı ve eseri*, Istanbul 1945. The biography given in the entry for Khiḍr Beg in von Hammer's *Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, Pest 1836, i, 142, is actually that of his son, Sinān Pasha.

(J. R. Walsh)

AL-**KHIḌR ḤUSAYN** [see AL-KHAḌIR B. AL-ḤUSAYN].

KHIḌR-ILYĀS (in Turkish, Hıdrellez), is the name, in Turkish tradition, of a popular festival in the spring and celebrated on the 5-6 May, this date being considered as marking the beginning of the season of summer, extending from then till 7 November (*Kasım*). The two dates correspond respectively with the feastdays of St. George (23 April) and St. Demetrius (26 October).

Khiḍr (Tkish. Hızır) also symbolises in Turkish tradition the renewal of vegetation in the spring. It is believed that, when this personage shows himself upon the face of the earth, the dry vegetation becomes green again as he passes; that he leaves a green impression on the hands which he touches; and that he brings abundance, fertility and happiness. Another feature of his legendary personality is that he comes to the aid of beings in distress, and in particular, of those in danger of drowning in the sea or lost in the desert. In regard to Ilyās, beliefs and traditions are somewhat rare. In the written literary texts and in oral tradition they are limited to allusions to his supernatural aid to beings in distress on land or sea, a power which he shares with Hızır; according to certain beliefs, Ilyas is the master of the seas, and Hızır that of the land, but others hold the inverse of these attributions (see *Halk bilgisi haberleri* = *HBH*, i (1930), 182; *Gedik*, No. 73 (1944); O. Bayatlı, *Bergama'da efsaneler, âdetler*, Istanbul 1941, 54; Ewliyā Celebi, *Seyāḥat-nāma*, iii, 90; Yazıdjıoghlu, *Muḥammediyye*, lith. Istanbul 1312/1894-5, 77; Sadettin Nüzhet, *Turk şairleri*, i, 57; in one poem the popular poet of the 17th century Ḳaradjaoghlan calls him "guardian of the seas, mounted upon a grey horse"; in the Oghuz epic *Dede Ḳorḳud* he is likewise described as a horseman). Ilyās is further mentioned in beliefs which explain the name *Hıdrellez*. It is generally held that each year, on the night of 5 May, these two beings, both of them immortal after having drunk from the "Water of Life", come to meet together on the earth. Their meeting place is often pictured as a spot by the sea shore. According to a local belief of Balıkesir (*HBH*, i, 181), they are two brothers. A legend recorded at Halkalı near Istanbul tells how they were two lovers. Hıdr a youth and Ellez a girl; for long they were unable to come together again, but at last met on the night of 5 May, and then both died of joy from their reunion (Alî İmer, *Halkalı'da Hıdrellez*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 96 (1957)).

Hıdrellez is a festival the greater part of whose ceremonies are reserved for women and girls. They comprise three main sequences: (1) On the night of 5 May, various practices are performed and rites observed in order to ensure the fulfillment of divers vows, such as abundance, prosperity, happiness in general, or more specifically, the acquisition of a house, the birth of a child, etc. (2) Early the next morning, there takes places the "drawing from the divinatory pitcher". The previous evening, there are placed in the pitcher, to the accompaniment of appropriate rites, various small objects belonging to women and girls who wish to ask Fate about their future destiny; the pitcher is then placed under a rosebush during all the night. In the morning, a young girl draws out the objects in the pitcher one after the other, and woman recites the "divinatory quatrain", which is interpreted in regard to the future fate of the owner of the corresponding object. (3) On 6 May, there is an outing to go and eat, in groups of relatives, neighbours and friends, in the countryside, usually by some sanctuary. Games and amusements, including swings, the preferred pastime for this festival, are organised.

The festival and its attendant ceremonies are normally limited to two days only. Nevertheless, they form a sequence of seven weeks in the ᶜAlawī villages of a mountainous region in the province of Kırklareli. During the month which precedes the day of Hidrellez, the ceremony of "drawing from the divinatory pitcher" takes place every Thursday evening. The seventh Thursday is called "the day of Nazari", when a communal meal is eaten, prepared from the meat of sacrified animals. On this same day, the children, carrying flowers and willow branches, search out, and organise for themselves, communal meals by a sanctuary; they also carry out other rites which are, moreover, to be connected with those aimed at summoning rain [see ISTISḲĀʾ]. On returning to the village, they throw their crowns of flowers and leaves into the river (Etem Utük, *Yukarı Kanara köyünde Nazari şenlikleri*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 267 (1971)).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources cited in the article, see P. N. Boratav, *Ḫızır*, in *IA*; idem, *Türk folkloru*, Istanbul 1973, 122, 270-4; Kemal Güngür, *Anadolu'da Hızır geleneği ve Hıdrellez törenlerine dair bir inceleme*, in *Türk etnografya dergisi*, No. 1 (1956), 56-76. (P. N. Boratav)

KHIḌR KHĀN, founder of the "Sayyid" dynasty which ruled at Dihlī from 817/1414 to 855/1451. His designation as a *sayyid* is traced in the near-contemporary *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* firstly to a remark hagiologically attributed to the Ṣūfī Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, and secondly to his own excellent character, and has been accepted by later historians like Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, Badāʾūnī and Firishta; but this has been regarded as dubious by modern British and South Asian historians. The other near-contemporary source, Bihāmad Khānī's *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī* (compiled or revised in 842/1438-9) is silent on the point. While false genealogies are quite common in Indo-Muslim history, Khiḍr Khān's selection by Tīmūr [*q.v.*] as his "deputy" in Dihlī suggests that he may have been regarded as *sayyid* in his lifetime, since Tīmūr's regard for *sayyid*s is well documented.

Khiḍr Khān was the son of Malik Sulaymān, an adopted son of Mardān Dawlat, the *iḳṭāᶜ-dār* of Multān under Sulṭān Fīrūz Tughluḳ [*q.v.*]. Sulaymān Malik succeeded to that *iḳṭāᶜ* after the death of Malik Shaykh, Mardān's son, and Khiḍr Khān was assigned the *iḳṭāᶜ* in succession to his father. In 798/1396 he lost the *iḳṭāᶜ* during his strife with Sārang Khān,

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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When Tīmūr invaded India in 801/1398-99, he took refuge in Mēwāt, but later entered Tīmūr's service, and was appointed governor of Dihlī and *iḳṭāʿ-dār* of Multān and Deopālpūr. However, it was not until 817/1414 that he finally took possession of Dihlī. He regarded himself a vassal of Tīmūr, and later of the latter's son Shāh Rukh [*q.v.*], whose names were recited in the *ḵẖuṭba* and inscribed on the coinage. He obtained Shāh Rukh's permission in 820/1417 to affix his own name also on the coinage; he chose for himself not the title of *sulṭān*, but that of *rāyat-i aʿlā*, suggesting presumably that he was a standard-bearer of the Tīmūrids.

His reign of seven years, until his death in 823/1421, was full of campaigns undertaken by himself and by his able and loyal *wazīr* Tādj al-Mulk which extended the frontiers of his authority and re-united Pandjāb with Dihlī. Punitive expeditions were organised against rebellious nobles, especially the Türk-bačas; there were also several expeditions against Hindu *rādjās* such as those of Katahr and Gwāliyār [*q.vv.*] in order to collect taxes and tribute. Near-contemporary chronicles regard him as a kind and benevolent ruler who brought to Dihlī and the other areas which he governed relief from the economic sufferings and insecurity which had continued since the invasion of Tīmūr.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Taʾrīḵẖ-i Mubārak Shāhī*, Calcutta 1931, 166-82, Eng. tr. by K. K. Basu, Baroda 1932, 168-99; *Taʾrīḵẖ-i Maḥmūd Shāhī*, B.M.Or. 1819 (Rieu, iii, 966-7), s.v.; Muḥammad Bihāmad Khānī, *Taʾrīḵẖ-i Muḥammadī*, B.M.Or. 137, ff. 306-12; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1935, i, 265-70, Eng. tr. by B. De, Calcutta 1927, i, s.v.; Firishta, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, Lucknow 1322/1904, i, 161-3; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāʾūnī, *Muntaḵẖab al-tawārīḵẖ*, Calcutta 1868, i, 284-9; Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn wa-madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn*, B.M.Or. 1291, s.v.

2. Studies. M. Habīb and K. A. Nizami (eds.), *The Delhi sultanate: 1206-1526* (= Vol. v of *A comprehensive history of India*, New Delhi 1970), 630-40; R. C. Majumdar *et al.* (eds.), *The Delhi sultanate* (= Vol. vi of *The history and culture of the Indian people*), Bombay 1960, 125-8; T. Wolseley Haig (ed.), *The Cambridge history of India*, iii, *Turks and Afghans*, repr. Delhi 1958, 106-10; K. K. Basu, *Account of the first Sayyad kings of Delhi*, in *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, xiv (1928), 29-35; A. Halim, *Foundation of the Sayyad dynasty —Khizr Khan 1414-1421 A.D.*, in *Journal of Indian History*, xxxi (1953), 199-212; idem, *Local administration of the Sayyid dynasty*, in *Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, v (1960), 35-62; E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871, 333, 336-9. (Aziz Ahmad)

KHILʿA (pl. *ḵẖilaʿ*), "robe of honour," also called *tashrīf* (pl. *tashārīf* and *tashrīfāt*). Throughout much of the Middles Ages, the term *ḵẖilʿa* did not designate a single item of clothing, but rather a variety of fine garments and ensembles (*hulla* or *badla*) which were presented by rulers to subjects whom they wished to reward or to single out for distinction (hence the alternate name *tashrīf* "honouring"). These robes, the most common of which was the *ḳabāʾ* (see LIBĀS), were normally embellished with embroidered bands with inscriptions known as *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] and were produced in the royal factories (*dār al-ṭirāz*).

(i) *Origin of the custom.*

The custom of bestowing garments of honour in the Near East is very ancient. The Patriarch Jacob singled out his favourite son Joseph from amongst his brothers by giving him a *ketōnet passīm* (Gen. xxxvii, 3) which was a ceremonial or royal robe (see commentary of E. A. Speiser, *Genesis*, Anchor Bible, Garden City 1964, 290). Joseph was later similarly honoured by Pharaoh, who had him dressed in garments of linen (Gen. xli, 42). Herodotus reports that the Egyptian king Amasis sent to Croesus of Lydia as a royal gift a corselet of linen embroidered with gold thread and cotton with the figures of animals woven into the fabric (*Hist.*, iii, 47).

This custom had a most important precedent in Islam with Muḥammad's gift of the *burda* [*q.v.*] which he was wearing to the poet Kaʿb b. Zuhayr (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1301, ii, 133-4). The very word *ḵẖilʿa* denotes the action of removing one's garment (A. *ḵẖalaʿa*) in order to give it to someone (*TA*, v, 322). L. A. Mayer has suggested that this was "originally more a promise of personal security (*amān*) than a token of distinction" (*Mamluk costume*, 56), but this is an overstatement.

(ii) *Development of the custom in Islam.*

The term *ḵẖilʿa* does not appear until ʿAbbāsid times, when the practice became so institutionalised that the bestowal of garments of honour was an almost daily occurrence. Members of the caliphal entourage came to be known as *aṣḥāb al-ḵẖilʿa* "those who wear the *ḵẖilʿa*". The presentation of a robe of honour was a standard mark of investiture. Such was the case for an heir-apparent (see e.g. Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 365), a vizier (e.g. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Taʾrīḵẖ al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 176), or a provincial governor (e.g. Ṭabarī, iii, 2194). The bestowal of *ḵẖilaʿ* and other gifts to favourites was an occasion for poetical compositions and was noted by historians (e.g. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādiṯ al-djāmiʿa*, ed. M. Djawād, Baghdād 1351).

In the heyday of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt, the new *haute bourgeoisie* found itself with the means to emulate—after a fashion—many of the luxurious practices of the aristocracy. Anomg these was the custom of bestowing *ḵẖilaʿ* upon friends and relations (Y. K. Stillman, *The importance of the Cairo Geniza manuscripts for the history of medieval female attire*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 582).

The Mamlūks with their strong military psychology and a marked penchant for heraldic symbolism, standardised the *ḵẖilaʿ* in accordance with the class of the wearer and his rank within that class. The three major classes of *ḵẖilʿa* wearers were the military (*arbāb al-suyūf*), the civil service (*arbāb al-aḳlām*), and the religious scholars (*al-ʿulamāʾ*). Maḳrīzī, drawing upon the *Masālik al-abṣār* of al-ʿUmarī, describes in detail the great variety of *ḵẖilaʿ* worn by these three important classes of Mamlūk society (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 227-8; tr. by Mayer, in *Mamluk costume*, 58-60). A special official, the *Nāẓir al-Khāṣṣ* (Keeper of the Privy Purse) oversaw the *ḵẖilaʿ* in the Great Treasury (*al-ḵẖizāna al-kubrā*) which contained only robes of honour (*ibid.*). In addition to garments, the Mamlūk military *tashrīf* could consist of arms, such as gold-ornamented swords, and a horse from the sulṭān's own stable (*min al-iṣṭabl*), fully outfitted with saddle, bridle, and caparison (*kanbūsh*).

Money or other valuables were also given as part of the *ḵẖilʿa*/*tashrīf* (e.g. Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *al-Muḵẖtaṣar min Taʾrīḵẖ al-bashar* [*Annales Moslemici*] v, ed. J. J. Reiske, Copenhagen 1794, 294). In the Ottoman Empire, a sum of money was sometimes given in place of the robe of honour. This monetary gift was called *ḵẖilʿet behā* ("the price of a *ḵẖilʿa*"). It specifically referred to money distributed to Janissary

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officers upon the accession of a sulṭān (C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, Paris 1881, i, 709), so that this term is to a large extent synonymous with that of *djulūs akčesi* "accession payment".

Robes of honour were given on all sorts of occasions and for a variety of reasons. Thus, there was the *khil'at al-niyāba* or *kh. al-istiḳrār* (robe of appointment), the *kh. al-wizāra* (robe of viziership), the *kh. al-riḍā*[3] or *kh. al-riḍā* (robe of pardon), and the *kh. al-'azl* (robe of dismissal—with honour of course). The *kh. al-ḳudūm* was given to a guest from afar, while the *kh. al-safar* was given upon his departure. A sulṭān might give a *kh. al-'āfiya* (robe of health) to a favourite who had recovered from an illness (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 61-2, and the sources cited there).

The custom of bestowing robes of honour remained widespread throughout the Muslim world until recent times. In 19th century India a *khillaut* (also *khelat*, *khilut*, *killut*) might consist of anywhere from a minimum of five articles to as many as one hundred and one (Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*[2], London 1917; repr. Karachi 1974, 148-50; see also Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*[2], London 1903, repr. London 1968, 483-4).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the text, see Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, tr. Quatremère, ii, Paris 1845, 70-4; F. W. Buckler, *Two instances of Khil'at in the Bible*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxiii (1922), 197 ff.; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, pp. lxxxvii-xcv; Y. K. Stillman, *Female attire of medieval Egypt*, unpublished diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1972, 16-8, 93-6. The most detailed survey of *khil'a* is to be found in L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Geneva 1952, 56-64 *et passim*.

(N. A. STILLMAN)

KHILĀFA [see KHALĪFA]

KHILĀFA, KHILĀFAT MOVEMENT, a politico-religious movement in British India, manifesting itself in the years after the First World War. On the one hand, it had its roots in Pan-Islamism, which came to the fore about 1900. On the other hand, is was stimulated by nationalism [see ḲAWMIYYA. In Muslim India and Pakistan]. Turkey's defeat in the First World War spelt serious danger to the position of the Ottoman Sulṭān-Khalīfa. Would his power remain great enough to protect Islam? Would the Holy Places of Islam remain under his sovereignty (or at least suzerainty)? Arab nationalism posed a threat, and Greece, France and Italy wanted to rob him of extensive territories in Thrace and Asia Minor.

In September 1919, when rumours about the coming treaty of Sèvres were rife, the Khilāfa movement was organised. Khilāfa conferences met in several cities in Northern India, and a Central Khilāfa Committee constituted itself at Bombay. Seth Chotani, a wealthy merchant, became its president. Prominent leaders were Muḥammad and Shawkat 'Alī (the "'Alī brothers"), Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, Dr. Anṣārī and Ḥasrat Mohani. An important part was played by the *'ulamā'*, organising themselves in the Djam'iyyat al-'Ulamā'-i Hind. Their most influential leaders were 'Abd al-Bārī (of Farangī Maḥall) and Maḥmūd al-Ḥasan (of Deoband). In January 1920, a Khilāfa deputation presented an address to the Viceroy. It stated that "the preservation of the Khilāfa as a temporal no less than a spiritual institution" was "the very essence" of their faith, and that this meant full Muslim control over the Arabian peninsula, the Khalīfa's wardenship over the Holy Places and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire—claims which, by the way, constituted a check on Arab nationalism and the ambitions of the Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca. Another deputation, headed by Muḥammad 'Alī, went to Europe and had two (unsuccessful) interviews with members of the British Government in March 1920.

The Khilāfa movement started as a communal movement and met with mass approval within the Indian Muslim community (only among upper-class Muslims was there a marked tendency to hold aloof from it). Large funds were collected, partly by petty contributions. But it also got the support of the Indian National Congress. Thereby the Khilāfatists became more and more involved in the nationalist movement, which entered upon its first non-cooperation campaign (1920-2). Gandhi became a member of the Central Khilāfa Committee and issued a Khilāfa Manifesto in March 1920. The Khilāfatists, however, accepted Gandhi's creed of non-violence only conditionally: if it did not bring success, they would have to resort to *djihād* and *hidjra*. The former seemed possible in connection with an Afghān invasion; the latter was actually performed in the summer of 1920. Some 30,000 *muhādjirīn*, most of them coming from Sind or the Pandjāb, crossed the Afghān border, but about 75% of them came back, disillusioned by their reception in Afghānistān. These aspects of the Khilāfa movement had an adverse effect upon Hindu-Muslim relations, which were vital to its nationalist character. Gandhi's suspension of non-cooperation in February 1922, constituted a severe blow in this respect; Indian Muslims felt betrayed by the Hindus after bearing the brunt of the nationalist battle.

No less deadly blows came from the Turks. The nationalist government at Ankara succeeded in restoring Turkey's position. The Khilāfatists supposed that Kemāl Pasha was acting on behalf of the Sulṭān-Khalīfa, but this proved to be an error. In November 1922, the Sultanate in Turkey was abolished and the Khalīfa lost all temporal power; he was "Vaticanised" (a condition which the Khilāfatists had declared to be incompatible with his office). Khilāfa leaders tried to explain away the fact, but their followers left them. The movement wholly collapsed when in March 1924 the Ottoman Khilāfa was abolished. Some leaders, like Abu 'l Kalām Āzād and Dr. Anṣārī, remained in the Congress; others found their way back to the Muslim League, which up to 1919 had been the political organisation of Indian Muslims. Other leaders again, like the 'Alī brothers, tried to save the Khilāfa organisation, but to direct it towards communalist goals. It grew into an instrument to further Muslim interests as opposed to Hindu ones, but even in this form, the organisation had lost all significance by 1928.

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(A. C. NIEMEIJER)

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Miniature in the MS. of Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmi' al-Tawārīkh* in Edinburgh University Library representing Maḥmūd of Ghazna donning a *khil'a* sent by the caliph al-Ḳāhir in A.D. 1000.

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KHILĀT [see AKHLĀT].

KHILDJĪ. [see KHALDJĪ].

KHINALUG (self designation: Kättitturdur; Russian, Khinalug [from the *aul*-Khinalug]), a people of the eastern Caucasus. Khinalug is a numerically small ethnical group, which forms an independent branch of the Northeastern Ibero-Caucasian language group. According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were (ethnically) 105 Khinalugs, and linguistically 1,540. The Khinalugs are Sunnī Moslems of the Shāfiʿī rite.

The Khinalugs inhabit the *aul* Khinalug on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chay, in the Mount Shakhdagh area of Konakhkend rayon (Azerbaidjan S.S.R.). The Khinalug traditional economy was based on sheep-raising (transhumance system) and horticulture.

The Khinalug language is purely a vernacular, and Azeri is used as the literary language; the Khinalug are in fact being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

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KHINZĪR (A., fem. *khinzīra*, pl. *khanāzir*) or *khinzīr barrī* designates, amongst the pachyderms, all suidae or porcines belonging to the palaearctic zone, without any distinction between the pig (*khinzīr ahlī*), domesticated since farthest antiquity, and the wild boar, *Sus scrofa* (*khinzīr waḥshī*), its feral relative, frequenter of wooded slopes and dense scrub in the valley bottoms.

The word *khinzīr* (Hebrew *khizīr*) is to be attached to the root *Kh. Z. R* with the idea of "having small eyes", and has no link with the root *Kh.N.Z.R* which implies the idea of bulk, mass; this at least is the general opinion amongst philologists, but a coming-together of both ideas is not to be excluded. Without being everywhere in current usage, *khinzīr* is known to all arabophone populations; however, the term *ḥallūf* (pl. *ḥlālīf*, *ḥlālef*; cf. Berber *ilf*, pl. *ilfan*) is preferred to it in the Maghrib, whilst the Touaregs keep for the animal its name *aẓubara* / *taẓubarat* (pl. *iẓubaraten* / *tiẓubaratin*). Even within the porcine species, whilst the sow and the wild sow have no special name except for the feminine derived normally from the masculine (*khinzīra*, *ḥallūfa*), the boar is called *khanzuwān* and the wild boar, whether under three years old, a three-year old, a four-year old or an old boar, is called *ratt* (pl. *rutūt*) and *ʿufr* / *ʿifr* (pls. *ʿifār*, *aʿfār*). In the Maghrib, where the wild boar is common in the mountain massifs, it is differentiated from the pig which is freely raised by some Berber groups by the expressions *khinzīr djabalī* "mountain pig" and *ḥallūf al-ghāba* "forest pig"; an old boar is called, according to the places, *shīfī* / *shīlī*, *shnikhrī*, *bū ḏarwa* and *bū ḏrīwa*. The young of suidae, piglets or young wild boars, have retained almost everywhere in the Islamic world their classical name of *khinnaws* (pl. *khanānīs*) in the form of dialectical deformations *khannūs*, *khannūsh*, *khanshūsh* and *khantūsh*; in the Maghrib we have also the diminutive *ḥlīlef*. From the anatomical point of view, the suidae are distinguished by a long muzzle, a snout in the case of the pig and a shaggy head in the case of the wild boar, and Arabic underlines these features by a series of evocative terms like *khurṭūm*, *kammāra*, *zanfara* / *zanfūra*, *khannāfa* / *khannūfa*; in the wild boar, its defensive tusks, the snout's powerful weapon, are called *zalzūm* / *zalzūm* and *khanḏjal* (pl. *khanāḏjil*), a probable deformation of *khanḏjar* "dagger", i.e. having a curved blade.

In Ḳurʾānic law, suidae are included in the same divine anathema as monkeys (V, 65/60) [see KIRD], and since their flesh involves the major impurity (*naḏjas al-ʿayn*), no Muslim can eat it (Ḳurʾān, II, 168/173, V, 3/4, XVI, 115/116). This food prohibition inherited from the Old Testament (Lev. xi, 17; Deut., xiv, 8) was abolished by Christ for Christians (Matt. xv, 17-20; Mark, vii, 15-23). In Islam, the prohibition of eating pig meat implies *ipso facto* the illegality of buying it or of raising the animal, whose presence near a person praying renders void the prayer; only the use of its bristles for making footwear is tolerated. These bristles are provided by Christian pig breeders who obtain them by scalding the beasts in boiling water after they have been slaughtered, whence the saying *akrah min kirāhat al-khinzīr li ʾl-māʾ al-mūghar* "showing more aversion than the pig for boiling water".

Al-Djāḥiẓ, although admitting the excellence of the pig's flesh, which had pride of place on the tables of the Caesars and the Persian Emperors (*Ḥayawān*, i, 234, iv, 40), is careful to point out, in regard to the animal and its behaviour, its most unattractive habits, aiming perhaps at justifying the strict terms of the Ḳurʾānic prohibition. It is omnivorous, though not really coprophagous (*ḏjallāla*), but it devours on occasion excrement. It consumes snakes, like the porcupine, certain raptors, the cat and the Purple Gallinule (*shahmurk*). Its zeal to prolong the act of copulation (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 52, iii, 186, 354, 400, 496, 525, iv, 50) suggested scornful sayings like *aṭyash min ʿufr* "more flighty than a boar" and *akbah min khinzīr* "more vile than a pig". The sight of a pig squelching in the mire or a wild boar wallowing in mud (*manṣaʿa*), present in everyone's mind, did not lessen the obloquy heaped on the species, without even having to recall the legend current about its base origin. This legend (*Ḥayawān*, v, 347-8, vii, 204) stated that Noah, distressed when in the Ark by the pestilence left by the evacuations of the pair of cats which Jehovah had created out of the lion's sneeze in order to end the great spreading of rats in the ship, appealed once again to the Almighty, who sent down to him, out of an act of defecation of the elephant, a pair of pigs (or wild boars), who soon set to work gorging on the filth; from this hardly credible mode of generation arose the Arabic definition of the suidae, *al-fīl abu ʾl-khinzīr* "the elephant is parent to the pig". Like the monkey, in popular belief the hog was considered to be the metamorphosis of an impious person expiating the divine punishment; according to al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt*, i, 304), there was a tradition current that Christ himself had changed a group of hostile Jews into swine. The comparison of the pig, as of the monkey, with a hated person or persons, has always been one of the sharpest insults, and one which the Spanish Muslims used for the Christians, who, as elsewhere in Islam, raised pigs for food consumption.

At the side of this generally unfavourable view of the suidae, some Arabic writers were able to note and observe the qualities peculiar to the species, by way of rehabilitation: the mother's attachment for its young, its endurance of bad weather, the ease of keeping and raising it, the speed by which it grew fat and its sociable temperament; al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, ii, 48-9) goes so far as to say that, by way of emulation, horses put on flesh when one keeps them

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in the neighbourhood of pigs. The fact was noted by E. Reclus (*Nouvelle géographie universelle*, Paris 1884, ix, 190) that in many stables in Fārs there was the custom of keeping horses in the company of piglets and that a most close affection grew up between the two very different creatures. On the Christians' farms, the pig rivalled the cock in the role of waking people in the morning, since its cries for its food allowance could be heard from the earliest hours of the day (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 294-5).

The ancient empirical forms of medicine attributed curative virtues to various organs of the pig. Thus its liver was an antidote against the venom of reptiles and soothed colics; its dried and powdered gall sprinkled on haemorrhoids made them go down; inserted in the nostrils, this last soothed coryza; a bone carried as a talisman secured against the quartan ague; and an ointment of its lard rubbed on the body gave protection against all evil and against maleficent spirits. Numerous other beneficial properties were attributed to its blood, urine and dung, as well as to the wild boar's tusks (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, i, 306, and in the margins, al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ii, 224-6).

Arabic cynegetic literature is poor in material relating to hunting the wild boar in particular and to the dangers involved in this. It was considered to be a dangerous beast because of its bad temper and its depredations, so that battues for its destruction were held by local rulers and officers; it was hunted with the lance, hunting spear, bow and sabre on these occasions. In Syria, the farmers preferred to let the lion roam on the fringes of their lands rather than try to exterminate it, since it was a sure protection against the possible nocturnal ravages of herds of pachyderms through their crops (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 49). Kushādjim [*q.v.*] simply recommends that a person on foot charged by a wild boar should feign death, face downwards on the ground (*Maṣāyid*, 215). In the 6th/12th century, the valiant lord of Shayzar, Usāma b. Munḳidh, tells in a realistic fashion of his perilous encounters with the black beast which, in his time, abounded in the Orontes lowlands (*K. al-Iʿtibār*, Princeton 1930, 202, 223-4). ʿĪsā al-Asadī (7th/13th century), in his encyclopaedia of hunting *al-Djamhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara* (Escurial ms., Ar. 903, f. 162a), advises farmers that, in order to ward off the depredations of wild boars, they should cause to boom out in the middle of the night a big cauldron, emptied and placed upside down, and with a drum skin stretched over its mouth; a bunch of hairs should then be flicked between the fingers with an alternating movement of the two hands. He also gives directions for making a trap (*ḥuḳna*), roofing over the mouth of a conical hole dug in the normally-used pathway of the animals (*op. cit.*, ff. 303b-304a). Finally, a century later, the Mamlūk Ibn Mangīl, completing al-Asadī, brings to bear the fruit of his experience for anyone wishing to measure his strength against the savage beast, whether on foot or mounted (*Uns al-malaʾ bi-waḥsh al-falāʾ*, B. N. Paris ms. Ar. 2832, ff. 17b-18b, and annotated tr. F. Viré, in the press). The arms which he recommends for fighting with it are the double-edged sabre (*ḥilidjūrī*) and the arrow with a flat-edged head (*yāsidj*), which the attacker should plunge right into the animal's forehead or pierce with them its paws. If the hunter is thrown to the ground by the beast's charge (*ḥamla*), he should flatten himself on the ground and strike upwards with a slashing motion in order to cut the tendons of one of the beast's limbs. He should also lie in wait for the moment when the beast turns round in order to spit it with a backwards action and rip it open. Another secret of success is perfect mastery of one's mount, which must not take the bit and bolt when it sees the attacking beast. With a lance or hunting spear, the best way is to gouge out one of the beast's eyes, which cannot then survive this wound. Finally, Ibn Mangīl records that, according to the ancients, the best talisman against the wild boar's viciousness is to carry a crab's claw hung on the arm.

At the present time, in the mountainous regions of the Maghrib, where the wild boar is sometimes abundant, hunting it is used as a tactical means of training for troops practising firing in the countryside, and the dead victims are left on the ground for wild carnivores.

The term *khinzīr* plus other terms is also used to designate several other wild animals which have a long muzzle: the potamocherus (*Potamochoerus porcus*) of Africa is therefore called *khinzīr al-nahr* ("wild boar of the river") or *khinzīr al-māʾ*, wrongly identified by Kazimirski with the hippopotamus [see FARAS AL-MĀʾ in Suppl.]; the two other African suidae, the phacocherus (*Phacochoerus aethiopicus*) and the hylocherus (*Hylochoerus meinertzhageni*) are lumped together under the name *khinzīr abū ḳarnayn* because of their highly-developed defensive tusks; with its long snout for grubbing up ant-hills, the orycterops (*Orycteropus afer*) is called *khinzīr al-arḍ*; whilst the dolphin and the porpoise are called *khinzīr al-baḥr* "sea pig". Finally, in pathology, the plural *khanāzīr* denotes scrofulous growths on the neck.

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(F. VIRÉ)

AL-KHIRAḲĪ, ʿUMAR B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-BAGHDĀDĪ (d. 334/946), better known under the name of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Khirakī, was one of the first and most celebrated of Ḥanbalī jurisconsults. He was first guided into the *maḏhab* of the *Imām* Aḥmad by his father Abū ʿAlī al-Khiraḳī (d. 299/912), who was himself a pupil of Abū Bakr al-Marwadhī (d. 275/899). He also knew Aḥmad's two sons, Ṣāliḥ (d. 266/880) and the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903).

On the eve of the arrival of the Shīʿī Būyids in Baghdād, al-Khiraḳī left the ʿIrāḳī capital as a *muhādjir* seeking refuge in Damascus, where a Ḥanbalī school was already taking root. He died there soon after his arrival there, in 334/945, although the exact date of his death is not known. He was buried in the cemetery of the Bāb Ṣaghīr, at the side of the martyr's tombs (*Ḳubūr al-shuhadāʾ*), and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage. Ibn Baṭṭa visited it when he passed through Damascus, and it still existed in Ibn Kathīr's time (*Bidāya*, xi, 214).

Shams al-Dīn al-Nābulusī (d. 797/1394-5), in his résumé of the *ḳādī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn's *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, 332, tells us, on the basis of a report going back to Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma, that al-Khiraḳī had denounced publicly in Damascus a "reprehensible practice" (*munkar*), whose nature is not otherwise specified; because of this, he was condemned to be flogged and died as a result of his wounds. However, this version of his death does not seem to be given by his other biographers.

Al-Khiraḳī's only work which has come down to us is his famous *Mukhtaṣar*, the first précis of Ḥanbalī *fiḳh*, which was to enjoy a considerable success and to contribute to the education and formation of numerous generations of legal scholars.

It is said that he wrote numerous other works whose titles are not specified and which have all

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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been lost. He had left his personal library in Baghdād in the care of a friend in the Darb Sulaymān, before leaving for Syria. A fire there destroyed it (*Bidāya*, xi, 214).

Ibn Kathīr remarks, *loc. cit.*, that the *Mukhtaṣar* was written when the Black Stone was in the hands of the Carmathians. In fact, al-Khiraḳī tells us in the *Mukhtaṣar*, iii, 383, when describing the Pilgrimage rites, that "The pilgrim must kiss the Black Stone if it is in its proper place". It is well-known that this last was carried off in 317/930 and restored in 339/950; one may accordingly conclude that the *Mukhtaṣar* was put together between 317/930 and 334/945, after the death of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923).

Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/974), called Ghulām al-Khallāl, gave out that he did not follow the views of the *Mukhtaṣar* on 60 questions (*masʾala*). The *ḳāḍī* Abū 'l-Ḥusayn, in his *Ṭabaḳāt*, ii, 76-118, returns to this problem and enumerates 98 points of divergence between the two scholars, whilst defending that doctrine which he deems the best.

A large number of commentaries were written on the *Mukhtaṣar*, of which three became especially celebrated, sc. those of Ibn Ḥāmid (d. 403/1011), of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Yaʿlā (d. 458/1066) and of Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma (d. 620/1223). The first two have been lost, but the third, known under the title of *al-Mughnī*, has been published in Cairo by Rashīd Riḍā (12 vols., 1341-8/1922-30). But there were also many other commentaries, and no text of Ḥanbalism was so much commented upon. The *shaykh* Badrān, in his *Madkhal*, 214, states that 300 commentaries still existed in the time of Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503), a Ḥanbalī known as a historian of Damascus.

Various disciples are known to us of al-Khiraḳī, including the following: (1) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Ḥārith Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Tamīmī (d. 371/981), prolific author and founder of a famous line of legal scholars (*Ikhtiṣār*, 342); (2) Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Samʿūn (d. 387/998), one of the most famous preachers of his generation and a Ṣūfī master (*ibid.*, 350-3); (3) ʿAbd Allāh b. Baṭṭa (d. 387/998), even though he does not mention al-Khiraḳī amongst the authorities upon whom he based his credo (*ibid.*, 346); and (4) Abū Ḥafṣ al-ʿUkbarī (d. 387/998), considered one of the best-informed scholars of Ḥanbalism.

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KHIRBAT AL-BAYḌĀʾ, an early Arab structure in the Syrian Desert. Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ or Ḳaṣr al-Abyaḍ is situated about 100 km. southeast of Damascus, looking out to the east over the Ruḥba, a fertile depression in the middle of the southeastern Syrian *ḥarrāt*. It is a structure set out as a square, 60 m. × 60 m. At every angle and in the centre of each side, except for the eastern one, there are circular towers. The eastern side contains the gate, giving on to a courtyard of *ca.* 43 m. × 43 m. This courtyard is surrounded on the other sides by ranges of rooms, 7.6 m. deep and *ca.* 5.0 m. (type *a*), 6.5 m. (type *b*), 7.6 m. (type *c*), and 5.8 m. (type *T*) wide, forming the schema *c-a-b-a-T-a-b-a-c*. All these rooms were living quarters. On the eastern side there were two small rooms flanking the entrance and four long rooms, which must have served as store-rooms. On the southern and northern sides the rooms were articulated into two groups with the schema *c-a-b-a* and *a-b-a-c* respectively. Entrance from the courtyard was given by doors in the *b*-rooms, whence doors led to the *a*-rooms and further doors led from there to the *c*-rooms. On the western side were two groups of rooms following the schema *a-b-a* which were also accessible through doors in the *b*-rooms. Thus we have on three sides of the courtyard two groups of rooms separated by isolated room of the *T*-type. The residential character of the building is attested by the organisation of the rooms, together with the abundant mural decoration especially on the lintels. First impression suggest that Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ was another example of the genre of Umayyad palaces. Closer investigation, however, reveals this identification to be impossible. It lacks many elements shared by Umayyad palaces, principally the *bayt*-organisation of the rooms, the peristyle, brick and vaulted construction, and stucco decoration. Both the decoration and the technique of construction demonstrate an ambitious local Syrian craftsmanship. The decoration shows this craftsmanship to be working with oecumenical patterns of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The relations of this local craftsmanship can be more closely determined. Masonry comparable with that of Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ is found in northeastern Syria, not in the neighbouring Ḥawrān. Equally, the decoration is not Ḥawrānian in type, but resembles closely the ornament found in the region northeast of Ḥamā. This suggests that Khirbat al-Bayḍāʾ is not an Umayyad structure but was built in the 5th and 6th century by one of the Arab rulers, clients to the Byzantine state.

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KHIRBAT AL-MAFDJAR, popularly known as Ḳaṣr Hishām, is the modern name for the ruins of an unfinished Umayyad mansion in the Wādī 'l-Nuwaʿīma, north of Jericho. The ruins comprise three separate buildings: a palace proper, a mosque and a bath attached to a hall. On the east side of this complex stood a colonnaded forecourt with an ornamental pool at its centre. Additional architectural remains lie north of these buildings, but have not yet been excavated. Foundations of a wall, found north of the site, suggest that the buildings were originally surrounded by a walled estate, comprising cultivated land, agricultural settlements and perhaps a game preserve. A complex irrigation system, developed already in Roman times and based on three neighbouring springs—ʿAyn al-Sulṭān, ʿAyn al-Nuwaʿīma and ʿAyn al-Duyūk, provided the water for the residential buildings as well as for the cultivation of the land. The modern name of the site, meaning "a place where water springs from the earth", attests to the abundance of water in this area.

The site, which has not yet been identified with any place mentioned in written sources, was first visited and described by Captain Ch. Warren and Mr. F. J. Bliss on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund (*Survey of Western Palestine*, iii, 1883, 211-12;

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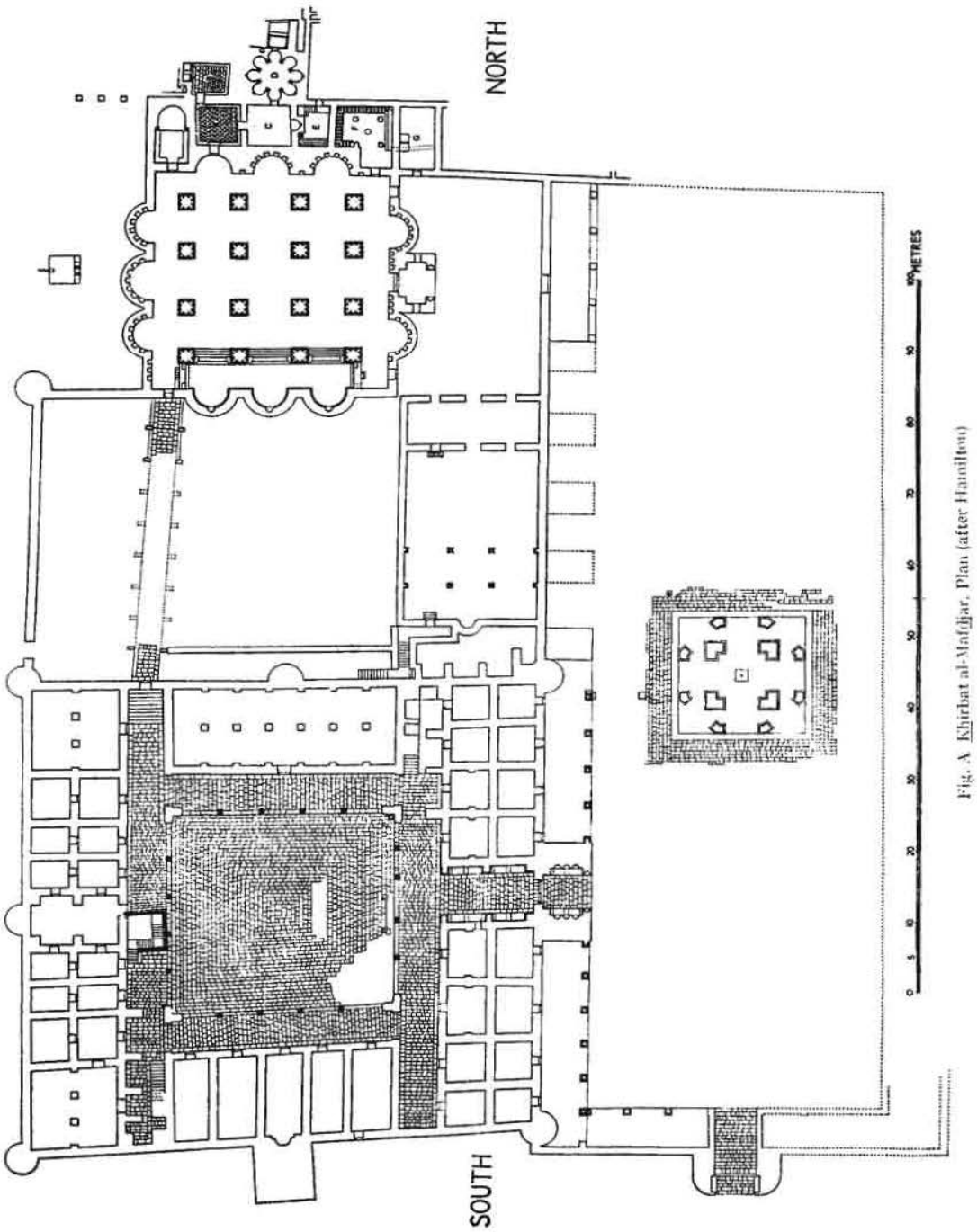

Fig. A Khirbat al-Mafdjar. Plan (after Hamilton)

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PEFQS, 1894, 177-81). Our main knowledge, however, derives from the excavations conducted between 1935 and 1948 by the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, under the direction of R. W. Hamilton with D. C. Baramki as field director. Their finds which appeared first as preliminary reports in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, were later published by Hamilton (*Khirbat al-Mafjar, an Arabian mansion in the Jordan valley. With a contribution by Dr. Oleg Grabar*, Oxford 1959).

1. *Architecture.*—A glance at the plan of Khirbat al-Mafdjar reveals some remarkable irregularities and a somewhat awkward relation between the main units of the building complex (Fig. A). The walls of the square, two-storeyed palace, which was by far the largest part of the whole complex, are of uneven length (the south and west walls, 67.28 m. externally; the north wall, 67,21 m.; the east wall, 63,86 m.), its façade is asymmetrical, and there are further oddities in its inner division. However, the plan of the palace conforms to those of other Umayyad castles. A three-quarter round buttress-tower stood at each of the four corners and a semi-circular one in the middle of the west and north walls. In the middle of the southern wall only there was a square tower—presumably the base of a minaret—and another rectangular porch-tower faced the entrance in the east. The rooms of the palace were arranged around a central porticoed court. They were generally not connected, although along the west side of the palace they were arranged in communicating pairs, one behind the other, with a group of five intercommunicating rooms in the centre. The central room in the south was provided with a niche, probably a *miḥrāb*, flanked by two colonnettes. The northern wall had a single elongated hall with a row of six piers down the centre. Six pairs of parallel wall piers suggest that this hall was divided by lateral arches into two times seven bays. In the centre of the western portico, but not aligned with the axis of the central room, three flights of stairs descended to a small forecourt preceding a *sirdāb*, a small room supplied with cold water and intended for refreshment. A balustrade around the top of the staircase clearly blocked the direct access to the central room.

At a distance of about seven metres from the north-east corner of the palace and aligned with its eastern wall stood a mosque (23.6 m. × 17.1 m.). It could be reached in two ways: either by a staircase which descended from the first floor of the palace and led to a door in the *ḳibla* wall, or by three doors in its northern wall. The door in the *ḳibla* wall, next to the *miḥrāb*, was probably used by the owner of the palace and his close attendants exclusively, while the openings in the northern wall were presumably used by the public.

The mosque was preceded by a small courtyard or vestibule, which had three additional openings in its northern wall. The *miḥrāb* was flanked by two cylindrical columns and was covered with white plas-

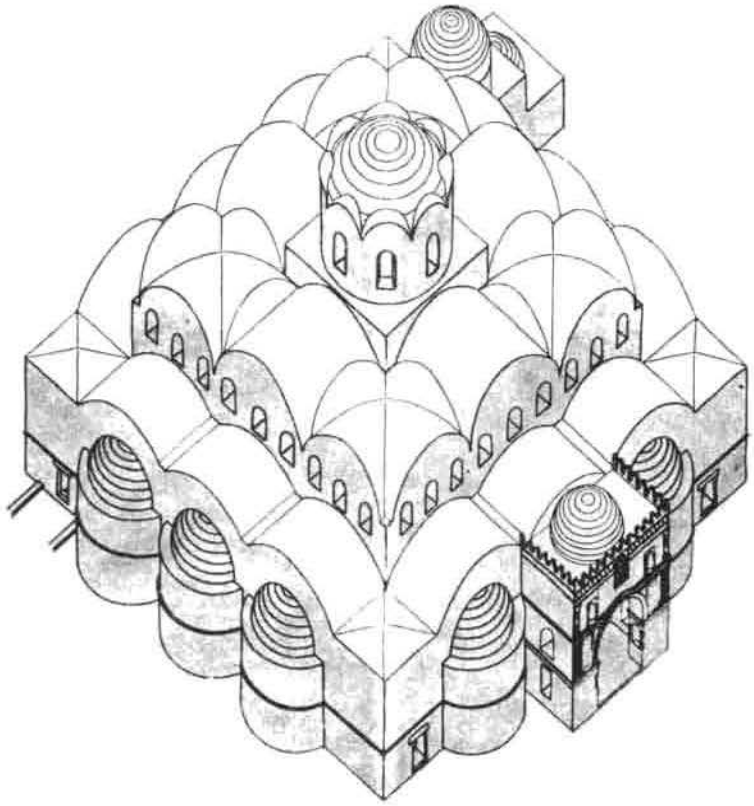

Fig. B "Bath Hall". Revised isometric reconstruction (after Hamilton).

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ter which remained undecorated. In front of the *miḥrāb* the excavators found the fallen remains of two arcades composed originally of three arches each. These arcades must have sheltered a strip of slightly more than 10 m. of the enclosure. The construction of the mosque was probably never finished, for the walls nowhere stood more than three courses high, and the excavators found no traces of a floor.

About 40 m. north of the palace are the ruins of a second large building complex which was separated from the palace by an open area. A wall and a buttress tower enclosed the area on the side aligned with the western palace wall, and the mosque bordered it on the east. A paved and originally covered passage crossed the open space, connecting the palace with the northern buildings. The dominant feature of this complex was a square hall (north wall, 30.28 m.; south wall, 30.33 m.; west wall, 30.42 m.; east wall, 29.79 m.). The north, south and west sides each had three horse-shoe shaped exedrae, while a stately entrance porch, flanked by similar exedrae, occupied the eastern wall. Two additional entrances were found at either end of this wall. Each of the eleven exedrae was flanked by a pair of engaged columns, whose bases stood about a metre above the floor. Between and inside these exedrae were small rectangular niches which stood about 1.10 m. above floor-level and were covered by arched heads. Square pilasters with three-quarter round shafts at their corners supported the roof and divided the hall into nine central bays and an ambulatory. The piers were interconnected by stone-built arches carrying intersecting walls which rose high enough to provide room for windows. According to Hamilton's reconstruction (Fig. B) (*Mafjar*, 67-91, Pl. CV and *Levant*, 63 and Fig. 1 for revised isometric restoration), the four corner bays were square and had cross-vaults, while the axial naves were rectangular and barrel-vaulted. The central bay was raised above the rest and carried a dome over a cylindrical drum which was also pierced with windows. Except for the four compartments at the corners, the bays of the ambulatory were barrel-vaulted. The spacing of the piers was such that the central nave, connecting the porch with the central apse in the west, like the main north-south axis, was wider than the other passages (5.50 m. to 5.60 m. as against 4.40 m. to 4.60 m. for the flanking aisles and 2.50 m. to 3.36 m. for the aisles closest to the walls).

Along the southern wall of the hall, and including its three exedrae, there was a pool. It was bordered by a barrier built between the four southern piers of the hall and continued at either end in a right angle towards the wall. This pool, the floor of which was at about the same level as the rest of the hall, was apparently not included in the original plan of the hall and only added subsequently.

The main entrance into the hall was by way of a monumental porch (8.45 m. wide) in its eastern façade. This porch was entered by an arched opening with stepped and undercut crenellations at the top edge. It was covered by a dome resting on pendentives carrying its high drum. Within the porch was a pair of arched recesses, and there was another part of niches in the jambs of the entrance arch. A doorway connected the porch with the main hall.

Attached to the hall at the north-west corner was a small, originally domed, room with a semi-circular apsis, the *Dīwān*, used apparently for private audiences. There were extensive latrines at the north-eastern corner (F). In the centre of the northern wall there was the bath proper, comprising two rectangular rooms (A, B) with benches along the walls (and two tanks in room B), and two additional rooms (C, D). Their floors, built over hypocausts, were heated by a furnace in the stoke-hole (E). The first room (C) was nearly square with a single niche in the east, while the other, a circular originally doomed chamber, was surrounded with eight horse-shoe shaped niches, one containing the door to room (C). These two were the more temperate and the hotter *caldaria* respectively, while the first two chambers may have served as waiting rooms or vestiary (A) and *frigidarium* (B).

The rooms of the *ḥammām* are remarkably small and could be reached from the large hall through chamber (A) only. There was no direct connection between the bath and the disproportionally large latrines.

2. *Decoration.*—Apart from the mosque, which was never finished, and the ground floor of the palace, the buildings at Khirbat al-Mafdjar were lavishly decorated. There were mosaic floors at the *sirdāb*, the hall adjoining the bath, and the *dīwān*. The façade, the porches and the walls of the hall and the *dīwān* were covered with stone and stucco panels respectively. The walls of the upper floor of the eastern wing of the palace, and of the bath hall, showed remains of paintings; figural sculptures, many of them nearly life size, were placed in niches or arcades at different parts of the buildings. The mosaics were of natural stone in a rich colour scale of red, brown or yellow, bluish, grey and white grades. While those in the *sirdāb* are technically of mediocre quality, the mosaics in the hall and *dīwān* are extremely fine. There are forty-two carpets altogether (thirty-eight in the hall and four in the *dīwān*). They are partly adapted in size and pattern to the architectural superstructure, and their placement appears to have been guided by the purpose and function of these buildings (Pl. Ib). The majority of these patterns show geometric or abstract designs and interlacings which are enriched by stylised floral devices. In the centre of the Hall a radiating rosette pattern accentuates the main axis and "reflects" the central dome above it (Panel 17 in Hamilton's chart, *Mafjar*, 328, Fig. 258). Roundels containing concentric interlacings decorate the floors of the four corner bays which were apparently cross-vaulted. There is a continuous mosaic panel in each of the outer corridors (Nos. 1, 2, 3 in Hamilton's chart). The rectangular panel between the entrance porch and the central rosette, in its composition and ornament, leads towards the central axis of the Hall. Finally, the design in the central apse (No. V in Hamilton's chart) is distinguished from the other apses by a large rosette in its interior and a semi-rosette at its base (Pl. IIa). The pavement includes only two figural designs: one at the base of the central apse, representing a citrus fruit, a branch and a knife; and the other in the dais of the *dīwān* showing a fruit-bearing tree flanked to the right by a pair of gazelles and to the left by a lion attacking a gazelle (Pl. IIb).

Together with Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī [*q.v.*], Khirbat al-Mafdjar provides the richest accumulation of early Islamic architectural decoration so far known. Apart from stone—and occasionally marble—the artists made abundant use of plaster for elaborating the interior and exterior of the mansion. This technique, not used in Syrian architecture until later Umayyad times, had the advantage of being comparatively cheap, and its flexibility allowed it to be used for life-size sculpture. Moreover, it could be painted, and since it lent itself to modelling in a wide variety of forms, these stucco carvings must have contributed to the impression of richness and sumptuousness of the buildings.

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Generally speaking, two groups of motifs predominate in the architectural surface decoration of Khirbat al-Mafdjar. The first, and largest one consists of vegetal elements, such as acanthus leaves, full and half palmettes, vine garlands, flowers and fruit. The other comprises geometric elements and various abstract designs. Pure geometric compositions, however, are comparatively rare. In general they appear together and interwoven with vegetal designs, such as interlaced roundels, or roundels alternating with rectangles filled with rosettes, or diamond-shaped units filled with rosettes and palmette leaves respectively (Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. XLIII, 2). In most of the plaster ornaments the geometric units are interrupted and combined in such a way that the resulting patterns completely conceal their original rigid construction (Balustrade panels from Palace, Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. LIX, 13, 14 and pp. 245-61, Figs. 185-210. The same principle was used in the mosaic pattern).

Wall paintings were found in two areas only: in the rooms of the east wing on the first floor of the Palace, and in the "Bath Hall". Painted on plaster, in both fresco and tempera, hardly any of these paintings were found *in situ*, and all that has remained are fragments. Since we know so little about Umayyad painting, this situation is all the more deplorable. Professor Oleg Grabar has studied these fragments and found that in subject matter, style and iconography the fragments in the Palace differed from those in the "Bath Hall". In the north part of the eastern wing of the Palace Sasanian textile motifs predominated. In addition to floral ornaments, such as heart-shaped leaves, rosettes, lotus and palmette designs, a pattern of interlacing circles with a simurg painted within each of the roundels could be reconstructed. In the rooms to the south the excavators found architectural and figural remains as well as painted imitations of marble. The style is less homogeneous than in the north part; yet the Roman-Byzantine tradition is most conspicuous. The paintings in the "Bath Hall", which originally decorated the walls and piers above the level of the window-sills, were less spectacular and more limited in subject matter. Their main purpose was to emphasise the architectural setting of the construction; in particular, the groups of three niches in the clerestory were richly painted (Hamilton, *Mafjar*, Pl. XIII and p. 73, Fig. 33, for restored sketch). At the floor level all the apses were plastered white. The only exception was apse V in the centre of the western wall, whose archivolt was decorated with meandering bands which enclosed panels with various fruits (including pomegranates), vegetables in a bowl, etc. Another panel with painted fruit and rosettes covered an arch which had spanned a western aisle of the northern ambulatory, south of the *Diwān*. The importance of this fragment lies in the affinities of its rosettes to the type of rosette which is repeatedly depicted in the mosaic floor of the same Hall, particularly in front of the main apse, in the ambulatory and in the main panel between the entrance porch and the large central medallion (Pl. Ib).

Khirbat al-Mafdjar abounded in monumental sculpture of various human and animal forms. Although none of the statues were found *in situ*, they were evidently concentrated in three areas: the Palace porch and entrance, the porch leading to the "Bath Hall", and the *Diwān*. The human statues included an almost life-size princely figure, generally interpreted as a caliph, which came from a niche surmounting the entrance to the "Bath Hall" (Fig. C and Pl. Va), male and female entertainers (Pl. Vb) and miscellaneous figures connected with courtly pleasures. A quick glance at these statues reveals that they were sculptured in a remarkably homogeneous style: they are rendered frontally, in nearly identical conventionalised postures, and their rigidity and lack of movement gives them an impressive monumentality. The men and women are plump and heavily built, and the semi-nude female bodies show folds of abundant flesh on the thorax and above the girdle. The caliph is clad in a long coat trimmed with Iranian-type pearls, worn over wide trousers, and holds a short sword; the girls wear pleated skirts that close from right to left and are held on the hips by a twisted cord. With slight variations the hair of the figures is identically modelled: parted in the centre and rendered in parallel grooves (caliph and some of the busts), or rows of snail curls. The hair of the women is dressed in three heavy twists which are covered with a rosette in the centre, and on the forehead forms small ringlets which descend at either side and terminate in cork-screw curls (Pl. IIIb). The rendering of the faces is generally identical. The brow forms one plane with the forehead and the flattened bridge of the nose, and abuts at a sharp angle on the plane of the eye sockets. The pupil of the eye is pierced or drilled, and the mouth curves downward slightly and has a drilled hole in each corner. There is little, if any, modelling in the faces.

The eyes of the figures from the Palace entrance, like those of the caliph, are modelled in a different style from those of the women from the bath porch of the *Diwān*. In the first group the eyes are encircled by a heavy unbroken band representing the eyelids, and the brows are marked by a grooved line; the eyelids of the other figures are more smoothly sculptured, and the brows are painted (Pl. IIIb).

There were various animal figures at the Palace entrance. Rams or mountain sheep decorated the front of the "Bath" porch and the bottom of its drum, and about a hundred partridges (Pl. IIIa) were found in the *Diwān* and the "Bath" porch. On the whole the animals were more delicately modelled than the human figures.

3. *Interpretation of structures and decorations.*—Our knowledge of the purpose for which Khirbat al-Mafdjar was built, and of the actual function of its different units, is based primarily on interpretations of its architectural features and decorations. The irregular plan of the whole complex seems to imply that it was not conceived as a single unit and was built in consecutive stages. The function of most of the rooms of the Palace, except the little mosque, or *muṣallā*, and the underground *sirdāb*, is uncertain. The discovery of numerous wall paintings in the upper storey, in contrast to the lack of decoration observed in the ground floor rooms, is generally explained by the fact that the upper floor was reserved for the living quarters and private rooms of the owner of the mansion. This seems to be confirmed by the only painting which could be fully reconstructed, the textile pattern with the simurg and the interstitial heart-shaped four-petaled rosettes, which came from a room in the northern part of the east wing. This pattern would have been appropriate for a princely dwelling, as its Sasanian prototype figures on the garb of Khusraw II at the bas reliefs of Ṭāḳ-i Bustān and in similar royal Sasanian representations.

Scholarly opinions vary as to the purpose and function of the "Bath Hall". In relating it to the bath-rooms proper and the Roman tradition of public baths in Palestine and other provinces of the Roman empire, Creswell and Hamilton interpreted the Hall as

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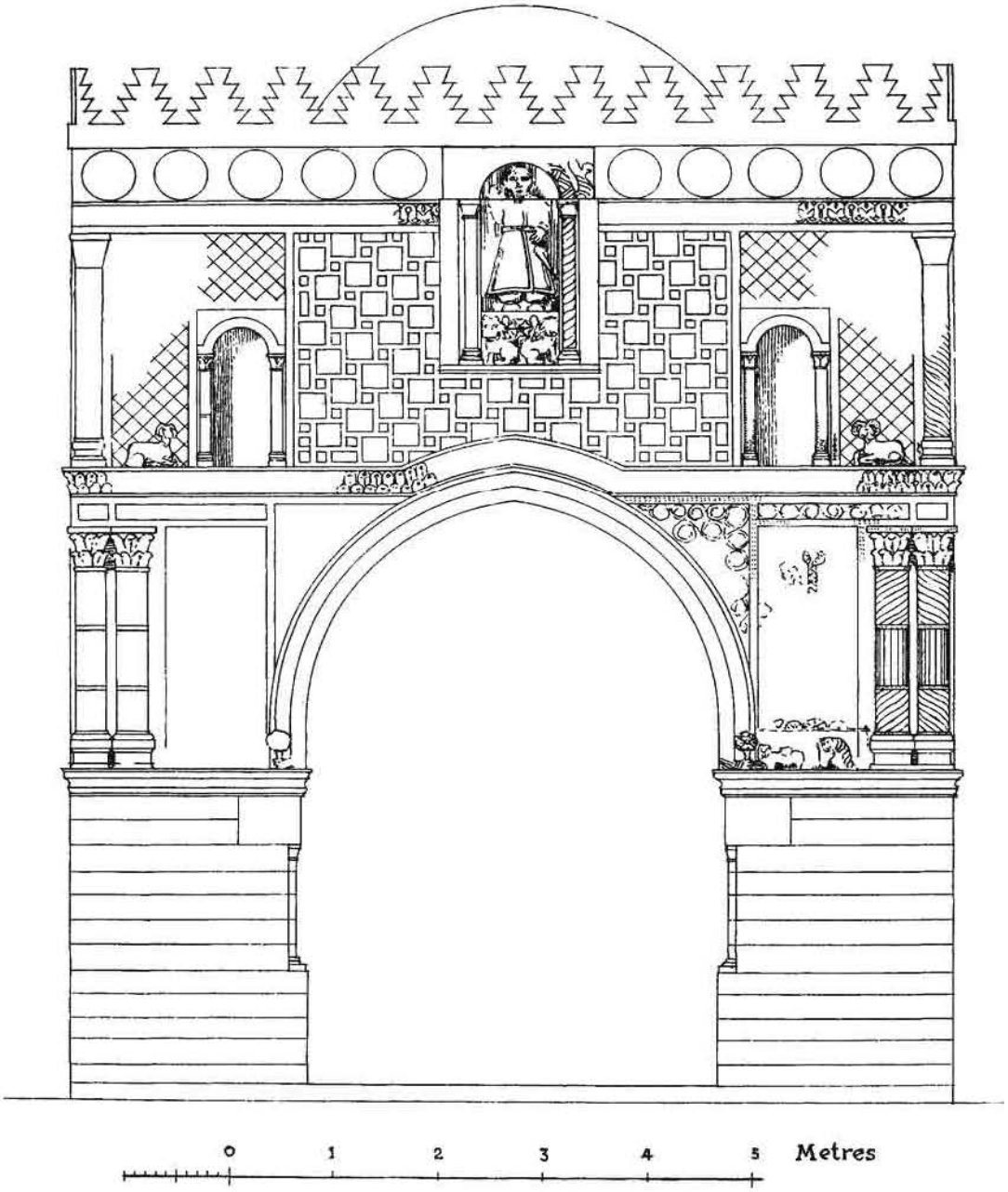

Fig. C "Bath Hall". Porch façade (after Hamilton).

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a *frigidarium* which, according to Hamilton, served also as a vestiary or *apoditerium*. He saw an indication of these functions in the niches along the walls, which he interpreted as a repository for the bather's clothes. Hamilton was aware of the abnormal size of the Hall, which he believed to represent an "architectural response to some specialized requirements" (*Mafjar*, 47). A more specific function was suggested by Grabar, who suggested that the Hall should be related to the Roman *triclinia* and considered as a place for ceremonial entertainment, and for other customary Arab and Sasanian activities, such as dancing or banqueting (*Islamic art and Byzantium*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xviii (1964), 76-7). A fresh study of the architectural peculiarities, decorative features and iconography of the Hall and a re-evaluation of these ideas has led Professor R. Ettinghausen to point out that in contrast to the more private character of the Palace, the "Bath" Hall was conceived as the representational part of the mansion. First, it could be entered from the outside by a distinctively ornamented monumental porch and two additional doors next to it. Aside from the caliphal statue, the front and inside of the porch carried figural sculptures of definite princely associations particularly appropriate for a princely abode, such as male and female entertainers, as well as animals alluding to the royal hunt. Secondly, the official character of this building becomes further evident if one follows Ettinghausen's discussion of the central axis of the Hall. This aisle, which connects the porch with the western wall opposite, focuses on a central apse which in its artistic rendering differs from the remaining exedrae of the ambulatory. Originally attached to a cross-shaped voussoir, there was a stone chain ending in a cylindrical device hanging from the apex of its semi-dome. There were seven, and not five niches in the lower wall of the apse, and a pair, instead of a single niche, decorated the upper level of the exedrae. The arched heads of these niches had a horse-shoe and not a semi-circular profile, and were supported by colonnettes missing in the other recesses. Moreover, while all the exedrae in the ambulatory were plastered white, the archivolt of the central apse was painted with a meander pattern with perspective frets and different vegetal designs.

The exceptional rendering of the central apse, which must have been viewed by every visitor entering from the main porch, is explained by Ettinghausen in relation to its function. According to his interpretation it served as a throne recess or place of honour where the owner of the mansion sat at official occasions and in compliance with royal Sasanian practice, with his royal headgear suspended over his head.

Aside from the symbolic "hanging crown"—in Umayyad times transformed into a "hanging" *ḳalansuwa*—the royal character of the throne recess is further brought out by the huge half rosette in the pavement at the base of the apse, a motif which in Sasanian iconography had royal connotations. According to Ettinghausen it was not selected at random but rather in conformity with the Sasanian iconographic tradition, in order to emphasise the princely sections of the mansion.

By applying the principle that a "given imagery is related to the situation or activity that took place in or near the particular spot" (*From Byzantium*, 35-6), Ettinghausen further uses the mosaic panel with the knife, citrus fruit and leafy branch in front of the main apse (Hamilton, *Mafjar*, 336-7) to explain one of the other functions of the "Bath" Hall. First, since Khirbat al-Mafdjar was an agricultural estate, this picture may be interpreted as an offering or present to the owner of the estate, or possibly as a symbol for a tax paid in the form of a highly-esteemed fruit grown in the plantations. Second, the fact that the only figural mosaic in this Hall depicts a fruit which had to be peeled with a knife in order to be eaten, appears to indicate that one of the purposes of this Hall was feasting and banqueting.

Assuming that the "Bath" Hall was built for public audiences, the *Dīwān* or small apsidial room in its north-western corner (Fig. 1) was probably built as a private audience chamber. The interpretation of its function has again been based on the iconography of its decoration—the figural mosaic pavement on the raised dais (Pl. IIb), and the stucco ornaments of the dome in front of it (Pl. Ic). Accordingly, it has been pointed out that the lion preying upon a gazelle to the right of the fruit-bearing tree was probably meant to demonstrate the caliphal power, while the two eating gazelles to the left alluded to a peaceful caliphal reign—the *Dār al-Islām* versus the *Dār al-Ḥarb*, the Abode (or Realm) of Islam versus the Abode of War (*From Byzantium*, 45-6).

The mosaics in the *Dīwān* are based on ancient oriental concepts and symbolism. The winged horses and the pendentives of the cupola (Pl. IIIc), on the other hand, represent an Iranian, particularly Sasanian, motif. They are beasts which figure on seals, textiles and silver vessels as the royal mount of ascension and symbolise the semi-divinity of the Sasanian king. Their representation on the cupola provides additional proof of the princely character of the chamber which, like in other parts of the mansion, is expressed in the iconographic language of Sasanian Iran.

4. *Who built Khirbat al-Mafdjar?*—So far it has not been possible to connect the buildings at Khirbat al-Mafdjar with one single prototype. The combination of a villa, a private bath and a multifunctional hall is Roman. The buildings reflect primarily Byzantine tradition, while the mosaics and most of the paintings in the palace are rooted foremost in the local Syro-Palestinian tradition. The remaining decoration —particularly the stucco sculpture and ornament—is inspired in style and technique by Eastern, Iranian and probably Central Asian prototypes. The imagery in particular is applied in accordance with Sasanian concepts of princely dwellings. It represents an apparently conscious adaptation of royal Sasanian art which was combined with architectural elements of Roman and Byzantine derivation in order to meet best the demands and aspirations of the Umayyad owner of the mansion.

The identity of the owner and builder of Khirbat al-Mafdjar has not yet been established conclusively. On the basis of certain graffiti with the name of Hishām which were found in the débris of the palace, it has been assumed that Khirbat al-Mafdjar was built during the caliphate of Hishām, between the years 105-25/724-43. More recently, however, Hamilton tried to prove that although the mansion was built at the time of Hishām, it was owned and occupied by his nephew, al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Hamilton's arguments are rather intricate. Yet it is true that in its architectural concept the palace, and particularly the Throne and Banqueting Hall, would have suited the taste of a personality like al-Walīd II.

Bibliography: The basic publication is R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar*. General presentations are given by: D. C. Baramki, *Guide to the palace at Khirbat al-Mafjar*, Amman 1956; O. Grabar, *The Umayyad palace of Khirbat al-Mafjar*,

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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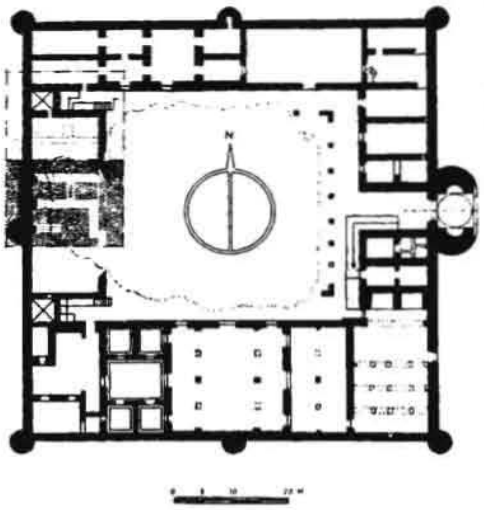
in *Archaeology*, viii/4 (Winter 1955), 228-35; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture, A.D. 622-750*[1], Oxford 1969, i/2, 561-76 (with complete bibliography). Studies of specific problems are by W. Hartner and R. Ettinghausen, *The conquering lion, the life cycle of a symbol*, in *Oriens*, xvii (1964), 161-71; R. W. Hamilton, *Who built Khirbat al-Mafjar?*, in *Levant*, i (1969), 61-7; R. Ettinghausen, *From Byzantium to Sasanian Iran and the Islamic world*, Leiden 1972, 17-65; E. Baer, *A group of north-Iranian craftsmen . . .*, in *Israel Exploration Journal*, xxiv (1974); R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar . . .*, in *Levant*, x (1978). (E. Baer)

KHIRBAT AL-MINYA, in mediaeval times known as Minya or ʿAyn Minyat Hishām, is the name for the ruins of an apparently unfinished Umayyad mansion about 230 m. west of the northern end of Lake Tiberias. The ruins were excavated in 1932 by A. E. Mader and between 1936-9 by A. M. Schneider and O. Puttrich-Reignard. During July-August 1959 the western section of the palace was excavated by O. Grabar in collaboration with the Israel Department of Antiquities.

The building consists of an irregular rectangular enclosure (66.40 m. × 73 m. × 72.30 m.) facing the four cardinal points. Like other Umayyad castles it has round towers at the corners, a semi-circular



Khirbat al-Minya. Ground plan.

tower in the centre of three of the walls, and a gateway salient about 3.70 m. north of the centre of the eastern wall. The rooms which surrounded the originally porticoed court differ in size and arrangement. They comprise a mosque in the south-east corner, a three-aisled basilical hall flanked by a unit of five rooms in the south, and residential quarters in the north.

As against the simple unpretentious decoration of the mosque, the domed gate-way chamber and the southern rooms must have been richly decorated. Marble panels covered the dadoes of the walls. Coloured and gilt glass mosaics decorated the summit of the dome, and stone mosaics combined with glass cubes and set in geometric carpet-like patterns on the floor of the five southern rooms indicate the official, representational character of this section. Another well-preserved floor mosaic was discoverd in 1959 in the western part of the mansion.

A fragmentary inscription with the name of al-Walīd on a marble slab which had been used as a sill when the gateway was rebuilt centuries later supports an attribution of Minya to al-Walīd I (86-96/705-15). However, the palace was apparently used throughout the Umayyad period. Moreover, the stratification established in the western part of the site, and the ceramics found in the excavation in 1959, have shown that the site was settled in the later Mamlūk period when it served as an important commercial post between Damascus and Cairo. It was abandoned at an uncertain date, but later temporarily resettled.

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KHIRḲA, "rough cloak, scapular, coarse gown". The assumption of such a cloak as symbol of embarking on the mystical path is mentioned as early as the 3rd/8th century (by Ibn Ḥarb and al-Muḥāsibī; see Massignon, *Lexique*). It is the equivalent of the handclasp (*muṣāfaḥa*) by means of which the spiritual director (*murshid*) transmits to the initiate (*murīd*) the blessing inherited from the Prophet. It can also be replaced, or accompanied, by other rites with the same significance; the handing-over of a rosary (*sibḥa*), of the text of a litany (*wird* [*q.v.*]) belonging to the mystical order (*ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*]) which is receiving the novice. Its value as "the garment of piety", external and internal (according to Ḳurʾān, VII, 26), this latter implying humility and detachment from worldly standards, is further stressed when the *khirḳa* becomes, as with the Darḳāwa [*q.v.*], a cloak made up of pieces sewn together (*muraḳḳaʿa*).

Staring from its original technical sense, the word *khirḳa* has been broadened to designate the initiation as such, becoming a synonym for "transmission" (*tanaḳḳul*), "embarkation on the way" (*aḵẖdh al-ṭarīḳ*) and "covenant" (*ʿahd, bayʿa*). Thus the Ṣūfīs came to speak of the *khirḳa khiḍriyya* "investiture by al-Khiḍr" [see AL-KHAḌIR] to describe those cases, numerous in the history of Muslim mysticism, in which some contemplatives are said to have received spiritual direction directly from the powerful and mysterious person who, in the Ḳurʾān (XVIII, 64-81), shows a wisdom superior to the prophetic law.

In fact, the two methods of spiritual transmission, sc. attachment to the chain (*silsila*) of spiritual masters and spontaneous illumination coming from the bestowal of a special grace, existed side-by-side at all stages of the history of Ṣūfism. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī, the disciple of the *imām* al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), was to derive his arguments for demonstrating the superiority of the *ṭarīḳa* founded by his master, from the fact that the latter did not rest on the transmission of the *khirḳa*, but on "a spiritual direction (*hidāya*) in which God was able to attach certain of his disciples directly to Muḥammad His prophet" (cited by P. Nwiya, in *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allah et la naissance de la confrérie šāḏilite*, Beirut 1972, 31).

The word *khirḳa*, followed by a noun complement,

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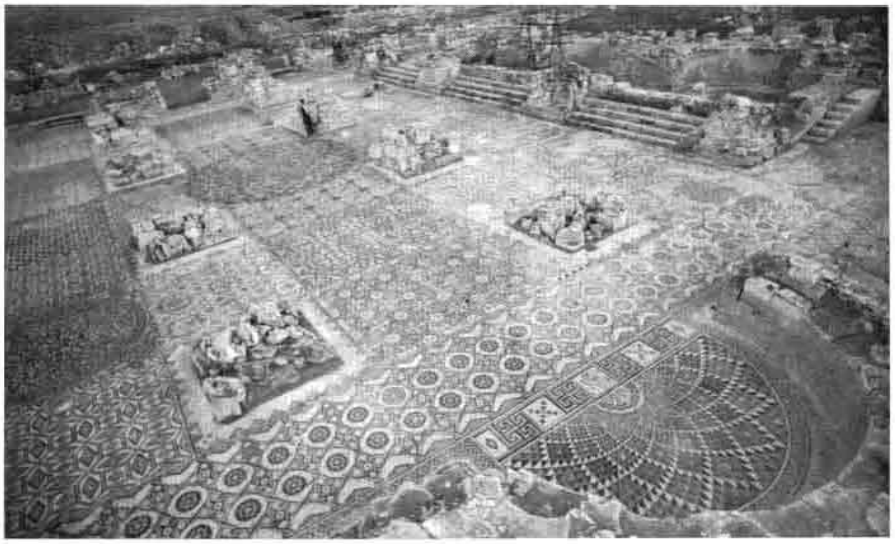
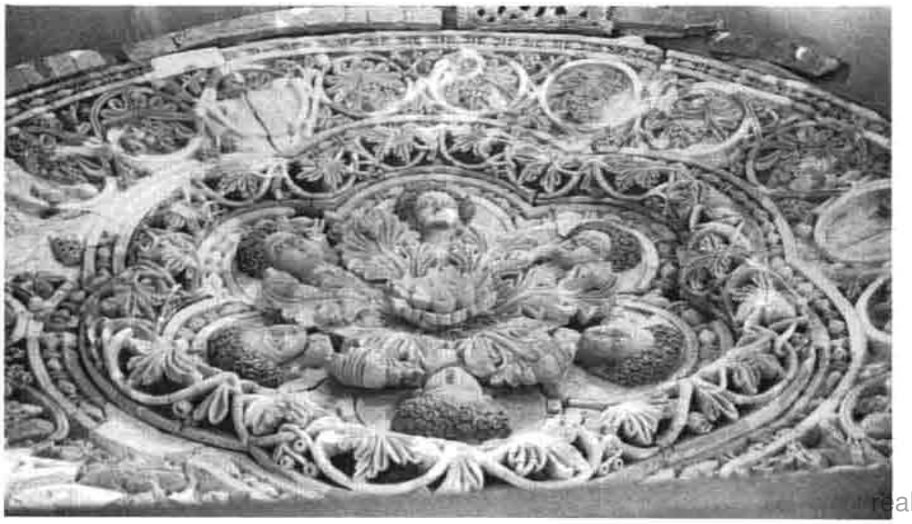
KHIRBAT AL-MAFDJAR PLATE II

a. Khirbat al-Mafdjar. General view. Photograph E. Baer.



b. "Bath" hall. Mosaic pavement. Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.



c. *Dīwān*. Dome cap. Photograph E. Baer.

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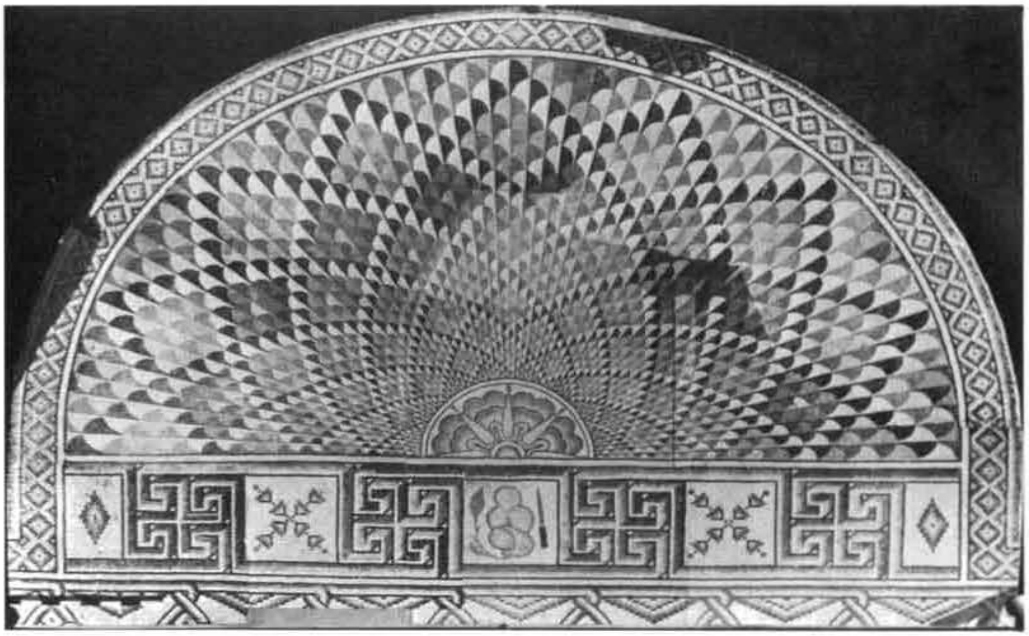
PLATE III KHIRBAT AL-MAFDJAR



a. "Bath" hall. Apse V. Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

b. *Dīwān*. Mosaic. Photograph by courtesy of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

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KHIRBAT AL-MAFDJAR PLATE IV

a. Partridges.

b. Woman. "Bath" porch.

c. Winged horse. *Dīwān*. Photographs E. Baer

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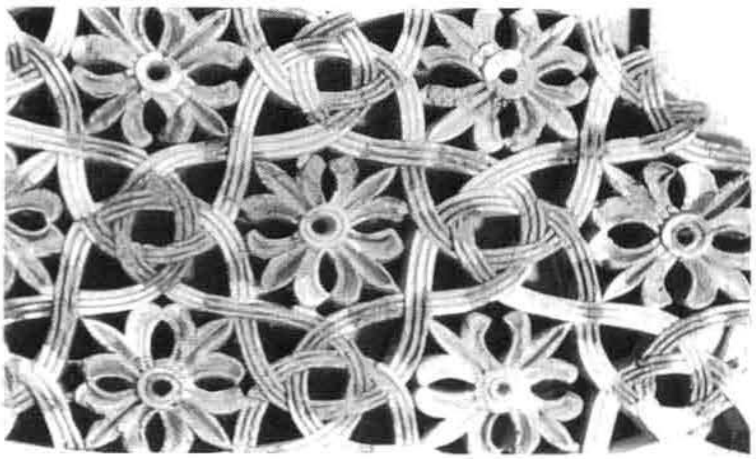
PLATE V

KHIRBAT AL-MAFDJAR



b. Window grill.

a. Panel from *Diwān*.

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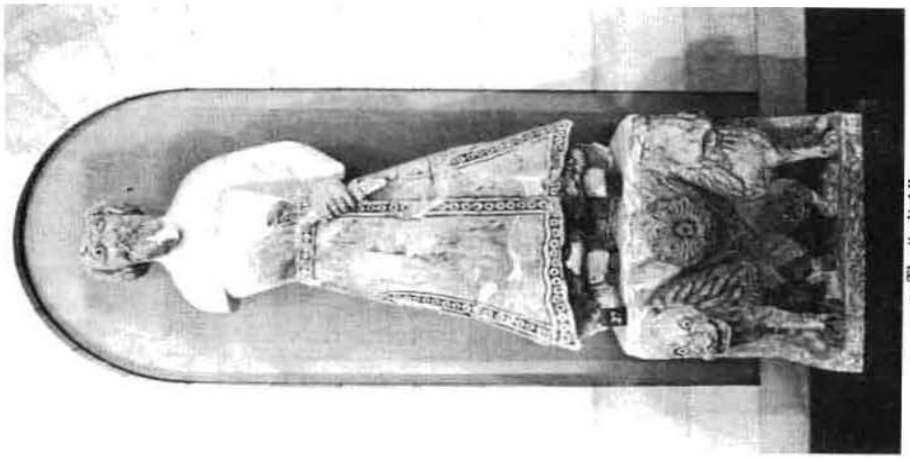
b. Female attendant. Photographs E. Baer.



a. The "caliph".

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PLATE VII KHIRBAT AL-MINYA

Khirbat al-Minya. South-east side of palace.

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may serve to define various categories or degrees of initiation to the mystical path. Thus *khirḳat al-irāda* "the robe of free-will" means, according to al-Suhrawardī, "he whom one asks personally, of his own free-will, from the *shaykh*, having full knowledge ... of counting on passive obedience to whatever thing he will be condemned to by accepting", whilst the *khirḳat al-tabarruk* "cloak of blessing", is that which is "given officially by the *shaykh* to those whom it seems to him useful to introduce to or guide along the mystical path, without their giving an exact accounting of the significance of the act of investiture" (*ʿAwārif*, quoted by E. Blochet, in *L'Esotérisme musulman*, Louvain 1910, 153). Other authors speak, in more general terms, of the "cloak of Ṣūfism", *khirḳat al-taṣawwuf*, always insisting on the close connection created by this act of investiture between the disciple and his spiritual master, who penetrates the most intimate thoughts and needs of the initiate and becomes "his real father" (Aḥmad Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Naḳshabandī al-Muǧaddidī al-Ḫālidī, *Mutimmāt Ḏjāmiʿ al-uṣūl wa-karamāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1328, 100). Finally, the act of investiture with the "cloak of nobility", *khirḳat al-futuwwa*, originally conferred by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and then later by the Ayyūbid sultans of Syria and Egypt, was one of the features marking out the chivalric orders of the Islamic world before they spread into Christendom.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see the definition of *khirḳa* given by ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Ḳāshānī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt*, No. 492, and G. Salmon, *La Kherqa des Derqaoua et la Kherqa Soufya*, in *Archives Marocaines*, xxi (1905), 127-43.

(J.-L. Michon)

KHIRḲA-YI SHERĪF, one of the mantles attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, called Khirḳa-yi Sherīf or Khirḳa-yi Saʿādet was preserved at the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul. It was brought to Istanbul by Muḥammad Abū Numayy, son of the *Sherīf* of Mecca, together with the key of Mecca and other Islamic relics, after the conquest of Egypt in 923/1517 by the Ottoman ruler Selīm I.

This black mantle, 1.24 cm. long with wide sleeves and a cream-coloured woolen lining, was kept in a throne made for Murād IV by the father of Ewliyā Čelebī, Derwīsh Ẓillī Meḥmed, the head jeweller of the palace. The throne, which resembled a canopied tent, lost its function in Maḥmūd II's time when lattice work doors were made. Today the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* is protected by being wrapped in seven silk velvet cloths, embroidered with gold thread; these in turn are protected by a gold box with a double lid, which is given further protection by being placed in a gold casket that was made in the era of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. This is then placed on a silver table in the silver throne.

The *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* had a special function in Ottoman customs and ceremonies. In one of the late Ottoman chronicles (ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 93 cf. *Ḥirḳa-i Şerīf*, in *İA*, by K. Kufralı) the author refers to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and says that a room was built named the Khāṣṣ Oda [*q.v.*] to protect the sacred relics when Selīm I brought them to the palace. It is not really possible to accept this statement as fact, because there is no other source of the same century or subsequent ones that mentions it until the 19th century. In fact, this room is most probably the Khāṣṣ Oda built by Meḥemmed II. No information about the mantle is known before Aḥmed I's time; his *imām*, Muṣṭafā Ṣafī Efendi, refers in his *Zübdet al-tewārīkh* (Topkapı Sarayı, R. 1304, f. 128a) to the mantle, and says that Aḥmed I had a shelf made above his throne in the Khāṣṣ Oda and had the mantle put on it. We also learn that Aḥmed I started the ceremony of dipping a part of the mantle into water, thus making the latter holy; this custom was later changed into dipping the fastenings and then in Maḥmūd II's reign, to placing scarfs on it. We also learn from the *Zübdet al-tewārīkh* that the Khāṣṣ Oda did not contain all the relics in Aḥmed I's time. This room, with its 10th/16th century tiles, was repaired by Maḥmūd II, when a new fireplace was built, the decorations of the dome and upper parts of the walls were redone, and the whole apartment assigned to the keeping of the relics.

There were forty *Khāṣṣ Odalıs*—the men in charge of the Privy Chamber—who did the work of guarding the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*. The duties of the *Khāṣṣ Odalıs* were to sweep the area, dust the Ḳurʾāns and other books, burn incense on special nights, sprinkle rose water, clean and polish the gold and silver objects, etc. (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı sarayı teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, 325). The "silver" water carriers, thus named because they carried the water in silver containers, washed the floors of the building (*idem*, 455). In the corner of the wall, where there was a gate that opened into the third courtyard, there was a pounding stone used to grind up incense; on the other side of the same wall was a well where the sweepings were disposed of. Four of the *Khāṣṣ Odalıs* stayed on duty at night and read the Ḳurʾān (*ibid.*, 32). The guarding of the *Khāṣṣ Oda* was the duty of *Aghas*, whose spell of duty lasted for a period of 24 hours before being relieved.

All the Ottoman Sultans believed firmly in the sanctity of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and tried to remain near it; Aḥmed I took it with him wherever he went (*ibid.*, 256). Fındıḳlılı Meḥmed Agha, a *Khāṣṣ Odalı* of the reigns of Muṣṭafā II and Aḥmed III, speaks at length about the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*. According to him, Muṣṭafā II took the mantle with him in a private wagon to Čataldja where he went for Ramaḍān, had it kept in a special room and visited it ceremonially on the 15th of Ramaḍān. He also took it with him when he went to Edirne (*Nuṣret-nāme*, ed. İ. Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1966, ii, 45), and when the revolt that ended his reign took place, he tried to escape to Edirne with the mantle (*ibid.*, ii 183). Aḥmed III was also keen on keeping the mantle with him. When he went to the Tersāne Bāghčesi to spend the summer of 1127/1715, or to the Wālide Sulṭān's seaside palace to spend the winter, and when he held a circumcision festivity for one of his sons, the mantle always figured prominently in what had to be taken with him (*idem*, 213, 338-9, 397).

Ewliyā Čelebī writes about Murād IV's sword-girding ceremony, after which he went to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* at the *Khāṣṣ Oda*, paid humble respect to the mantle and then prayed (Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 227). We also learn from Fındıḳlılı Meḥmed Agha that, when Muṣṭafā II learned that he was going to succeed to the throne, he went to the *Takht Odası* (*Khāṣṣ Oda*), prayed in front of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, and then put on suitable robes in order to take the oath of allegiance (*Nuṣret-nāme*, i, 4). Subsequently, he visited the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* every Friday (*ibid.*, i, 32). Aḥmed III's eldest son, Süleymān, after he finished reciting the Ḳurʾān, held a ceremonial session in the *Tersāne Bāghčesi* in front of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, according to Fındıḳlılı (*ibid.*, ii, 388). It had an even greater importance in war-time. A good example of this is the Egri campaign of Meḥemmed III, which was

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going very badly, but was finally turned into victory when Saʿd al-Dīn addressed his people and Meḥemmed III put on the mantle. The spirit of battle was kindled, and this turned the tide of the war (Orhan Şaik Ökyay, *Katip Çelebiden seçmeler*, Istanbul 1968, 59). Muṣṭafā II took the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* on all of his campaigns in order to reinforce the courage of the army (*Nuṣret-nāme*, i, 143, 166, 167, 174, 183, 186, 190, 199; ii, 280, 300). We know from this same source that Aḥmed III took the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* and the *Sandjaḳ-i Sherīf*—the flag of the Prophet which was only unfurled for a holy war—with his army in order to raise the morale of the men (*Nuṣret-nāme*, ii, 290).

When the sultan took his oath of allegiance, the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* was not forgotten. When a sultan died, the *Dār al-Saʿāde Aghasī* carried the news to the crown prince and took him to the deceased. He was then joined by the *Silāḥdār Agha*, who took him to the *Khāṣṣ Oda* (Djewdet Paşha, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 236; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 186). The oath of allegiance of the *Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam* or Grand Vizier, the *Sheykh al-Islām*, the *Dar al-Saʿāde Aghasī*, and the high officials of the Enderūn, was also taken there (Djewdet, iv, 237; Uzunçarşılı, 187; *Nuṣret-nāme*, ii, 187-9).

During the third week of Ramaḍān, a visit to the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* was also customary. Even after the sultans ceased to reside in the Topkapı Palace, the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf* remained on the Palace premises, either in its own room or at the *Sofa Köshkü*. On such visits as these on the 15th of Ramaḍān, the sultan would open the silver throne, the seven wrappings and the gold casket with a golden key, take the mantle out, dip its fastening into a bowl of water and then put drops of this water into vessels filled again with water, which in turn would be given away as presents. This custom was abolished by Maḥmūd II, who chose to touch the mantle with some specially-prepared scarves with poems inscribed on them, and these were then distributed as gifts for his guests. At the end of the visit, during which the Ḳurʾān was recited continuously, the mantle was put away by the sultan himself. This custom had however been abolished by the end of the sultanate.

One other mantle of the Prophet was brought in 1027/1617-18 by Shükr Allāh Efendi. It was believed that this mantle was sent to Uways al-Ḳaranī by the Prophet. Presumably it was preserved by Shükr Allāh Efendi and his son at his house in the Eski ʿAlī Paşha quarter of Istanbul. Their mansion was rebuilt by Maḥmūd II, and a mosque was built opposite it in 1851 by ʿAbd al-Medjīd. In this mosque, named that of the *Khirḳa-yi Sherīf*, the mantle was displayed to the public every year by the Queen Mother on the 15th of Ramaḍān. Today, it is possible to visit it there between the 15th of Ramaḍān and the *Laylat al-Ḳadr*.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Aḥmed Rāsim, *Manāḳib-i Islām*, Istanbul 1326; Tahsin Paşa, *Abdülhamit Yıldız hatıraları*, Istanbul 1931; İsmail Müştak Mayokon, *Yıldızda neler gördüm*, Istanbul 1940; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, s.v. "Hırka-i saadet", 805, "Hırka-i saadet alayı", 806, "Hırka-i şerif suyu", 809, "Hırka-i şerif ziyareti", 809; Tahsin Öz, *Hırka-i Saadet dairesi ve emanat-i mukaddese*, Istanbul 1953; Mithat Sertoğlu, *Mufassal osmanlı tarihi*, Istanbul 1958, s.v. "Mekke Şerifi'nin Osmanlı padişahına itaatını arz", ii, 768, "Emanat-i mübareke", ii, 767; Ayşe Osmanoğlu, *Babam Abdülhamid*, Istanbul 1960; Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Saray ve ötesi*, Istanbul 1965; Kemal Çığ, *Relics of Islam*, Istanbul 1966.

(NURHAN ATASOY)

AL-KHIRRĪT B. RĀSHID AL-NĀDJĪ, partisan of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib who fought in his ranks at Ṣiffīn [*q.v.*], but who rebelled against him when the first results of the arbitration were known after having accepted, it appears, the principle of arbitration. He was chief of the Banū ʿAbd al-Bayt b. al-Ḥārith b. Sama b. Luʾayy (most usually called the B. Nādjiya, after the name of ʿAbd al-Bayt's mother), who had only recently been converted to Islam, where they had not kept their original Christianity. He informed ʿAlī of his intention to disregard the results of the arbitration, which implied the caliph's deposition; ʿAlī advised him to reflect a while before taking action, but al-Khirrīt, oblivious to the arguments raised, withdrew with his followers into the Sawād of Kūfa; al-Masʿūdī even accuses him, together with 300 of his fellow-tribesmen, of abjuring Islam. It is difficult to establish the chronology of events, but these events probably took place after the battle of al-Nahrawān [*q.v.*], in which the rebel took no part, contrary to what certain coincidences might lead one to expect; it is certainly tempting to compare and to assimilate al-Khirrīt's action to that of the Khāridjīs when one takes into account, in particular, the tradition according to which his group killed in the Sawād a Persian convert to Islam but spared the life of a Jew, circumstances which are analogous to those of the *istiʿrāḍ* [*q.v.*] of the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*].

ʿAlī sent after him Ziyād b. Khaṣafa, who finally caught up with him at al-Madāʾin, where, after vainly trying to reason with him, he gave battle. The rebels fled in the course of the following night and headed for al-Ahwāz, where their ranks were swollen by a certain number of malcontents from Kūfa and of local people, who doubtless discerned here a way of avoiding taxation. At this point, in order to bring them to reason, ʿAlī sent Maʿḳil b. Ḳays al-Riyāḥī at the head of a more numerous force, and gave orders to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, the then governor of Baṣra, to send as reinforcements a substantial contingent under the leadership of Khālid b. Maʿdān al-Ṭāʾī. The rebels were soon put to flight by the government troops, who pursued them to the Persian Gulf shores. In a decisive battle, al-Khirrīt was killed fighting, and his companions made prisoner. These events probably took place in the early months of 38/658.

According to the accounts given, Maʿḳil b. Ḳays freed the captive Muslims and also the apostates, who for a second time abjured the Christianity to which they had returned; only one refused, it is recorded, and had his head chopped off. The Banū Nādjiya who remained Christian, numbering 500, were on the other hand led into captivity. Maṣḳala b. Hubayra, ʿAlī's *ʿāmil* in the *kūra* of Ardashīr Khurra, whose centre was at Sīrāf, now intervened. Affected by the entreaties of the captive men, women and children, he purchased them for a sum of 300,000 *dirhams* (al-Masʿūdī) or 200,000 only (al-Ṭabarī), of which he sent only part to ʿAlī. He freed the prisoners without having asked them to contribute to the purchase money, and then, when pressed by the caliph to hand over all the money, he though it more expedient to take refuge with Muʿāwiya, who entrusted to him important official posts.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 3418-41; Ibn al-Kalbī - Caskel, tables 29 and Register, 123 (s.v. ʿAbd al-Bayt); Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 440; Masʿūdī,

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Murūdj, iv, 417-21 = §§ 1722-4; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 183; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 264-70; G. Levi della Vida, *Il califato di ʿAlī . . .*, in *RSO*, vi (1913), 486; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Conflitto*, and *Traduzione*, index.

(Ch. Pellat)

KHITA [see ḲARĀ ḲHITĀY]

KHITĀN (A.), circumcision. The term is used indifferently for males and females, but female excision is particularly called *khifāḍ* or *khafḍ* [*q.v.*]. In the dual, *al-khitānāni* are "the two circumcised parts" (viz. that of the male and that of the female), and according to tradition "If the two circumcised parts have been in touch with one another, *ghusl* is necessary" (Bukhārī, *Ghusl*, bāb 28; Muslim, *Ḥayḍ*, trad. 88; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, bābs 81, 83).

Some words connected with the root *kh-t-n* denote the father-in-law, the son-in-law, the daughter-in-law (*khatan*, *khatana*), or marrying (*khutūna*). Some of these words must have belonged to the primitive Semitic language, as they occur also in the same or cognate forms in North-Semitic languages.

Circumcision must have been a common practice in early Arabia. It is mentioned, not in the Ḳurʾān, but in old poetry and *ḥadīth*, and the ancient language also has special words for "uncircumcised", sc. *alkhan*, *aḳlaf*, *aghlaf* and *aghral* (Hebrew *ʿarel*).

In *ḥadīth* it is said that Ibrāhīm was circumcised in his 80th year (Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, bāb 8; Muslim, *Faḍāʾil*, trad. 151). This tradition is based on the Biblical report. Ibn Saʿd has preserved a tradition according to which the patriarch was already circumcised at the age of 13 (*Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1 24). This tradition is apparently a reflex of the practice of circumcision in the first centuries of Islam. We may confront it with the statements concerning Ibn ʿAbbās' circumcision in *ḥadīth*. According to some traditions (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 273) he was 15 years old when Muḥammad died. In other traditions it is said that he was already circumcised at that time (Bukhārī, *Istiʾdhān*, bāb 51; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 264, 287; Ṭayālisī, Nos. 2639, 2640).

Circumcision is mentioned in *ḥadīth* in the story of the Emperor Heraclius' horoscope (Bukhārī, *Badʾ al-waḥy*, bāb 6). Heraclius read in the stars the message of "the king of the circumcised". Thereupon an envoy of the king of Ghassān arrived who reported the news of Muḥammad's preaching of Islam. This envoy appeared to be circumcised himself and he informed the Emperor of the fact that circumcision was a custom prevalent among the Arabs.

It is further recognised in *ḥadīth* that circumcision belongs to pre-Islamic institutions. In the traditions which enumerate the features of natural religion (*al-fiṭra*), circumcision is mentioned together with the clipping of nails, the use of the toothpick, the cutting of moustaches, the more profuse length of the beard etc. (Bukhārī, *Libās*, bāb 63; Muslim, *Ṭahara*, trad. 49, 50; Tirmidhī, *Adab*, bāb 14, etc.). In a tradition preserved by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (v, 75) circumcision is called *sunna* for males and honourable for females.

There are differences between the several *madhhab*'s concerning rules for circumcision. Instead of giving a survey of the different views it may be sufficient to translate the passage al-Nawawī in his commentary on Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 50 (ed. Cairo 1283, i, 328) has devoted to the subject, also because it contains a description of the operation:

"Circumcision is obligatory (*wādjib*) according to al-Shāfiʿī and many of the doctors, *sunna* according to Mālik and the majority of them. It is further, according to al-Shāfiʿī, equally obligatory for males and females. As regards males it is obligatory to cut off the whole skin which covers the *glans*, so that this latter is wholly denudated. As regards females, it is obligatory to cut off a small part of the skin in the highest part of the genitals. The sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) view within the limits of our school, which is shared by the large majority of our friends, is that circumcision is allowed, but not obligatory in a youthful age, and one of the special views is that the *walī* is obliged to have the child circumcised before it reaches the adult age. Another special view is, that it is prohibited to circumcise a child before its tenth year. The sound view according to us, is that circumcision on the seventh day after birth is *mustaḥabb* (recommendable), Further, there are two views regarding the question whether in the 'seventh day' the birthday is included or not".

The treatment of circumcision has not a prominent place in the books of law (see e.g. al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, 161, 305). More important, however, is the value attached to it in popular estimation. "To the uneducated mass of Muslims" says Snouck Hurgronje "as well as to the great mass of non-Muslims, both of whom pay the greatest attention to formalities, abstention from pork, together with circumcision, have even become to a certain extent the criteria of Islam. The exaggerated estimation of the two precepts finds no support in the law, for here they are on the same level with numerous other precepts, to which the mass attaches less importance" (*De Islam*, Baarn 1912, 30; *Verspr. Geschriften*, i, 402; cf. iv/1, 377). In Java circumcision is generally considered as the ceremony of reception into Islam and therefore sometimes called *njelamakéselam* ("rendering Muslim"). Apart from this term many other words denoting circumcision are used on Java (*op. cit.*, iv/1, 205-6). In Atcheh circumcision of infidels only is considered as the ceremony of reception into Islam (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 398).

The importance attached to circumcision appears also from the tradition according to which Muḥammad was born circumcised (Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i/1, 64). In North Africa a child born with a short foreskin is considered as a blessing (Doutté, *Merrâkech*, Paris 1905, 353).

At Mecca, where the rite is called *ṭahār*, children are circumcised at an age of 3-7 years, girls without festivities, boys with great pomp. On the day preceding that on which the rite will be performed, the boy, who is clad in heavy, costly garments, is paraded through the streets on horseback, several footmen walking on both sides in order to prevent him from falling and to refresh him by means of a perfumed handkerchief. He is preceded by men with drums and *duffs* who accompany the *dhikrs* sung by others. Nearest to the boy goes an elderly black handmaid of his father's, bearing on her head a brazier burning with charcoal, resin and salt. The second part of the procession is formed by the boy's poorer comrades, equally on horseback. The procession passes through the main streets during the time of *ʿaṣr* and comes back to its starting-point a little before sunset. The female members of the family pass the evening with their friends; the party is enlivened by female singers.

Next morning, at sunrise, the barber performs the operation. The foreskin is pressed together by means of a thong, the boy lying on his back, while his mother tries to divert his attention by sweets. A plaster is applied to the wound which usually is healed in a week. The operation is followed by a breakfast for the nearest relatives. It is to be observed that

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Ḥaḍramīs who still cling to their native customs, circumcise their children on the 40th day after birth (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 141 ff.).

In Egypt, boys are circumcised at the age of about five or six years. Before the operation the boy is paraded through the streets. Often the train is combined with a bridal procession in order to lessen expenses; in this case the boy and his attendants lead the procession. He is dressed as a girl, in a gorgeous manner. The kerchief is used to cover a part of his face in order to avert the evil eye. As in Mecca he is preceded by musicians. The foremost person of the procession is usually the servant of the barber (who performs the operation), who bears his *ḥaml*, a case of wood of a semi-cylindrical form, with four short legs; its front is covered with pieces of looking-glass and brass, and its back with a curtain. It is to be noted that the Copts also circumcise their boys (Lane, *Manners* and *customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. on Infancy and Education).

D'Ohsson in his *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, Paris 1787, i, 231 ff., describes circumcision as practised in Turkey under the heading "Circoncision, *sunneth*", a designation which is also reflected in the word *sunnetd̲jī* for the barber who performs the operation. It takes or took place in the presence of the *imām* of a mosque who accompanies the ceremony with prayers for the preservation of the child, who is usually 7 years old when he is circumcised. Plate 20 of d'Ohsson's work shows children dressed for the ceremony, and plate 21 adorned victims which are slaughtered at this occasion. Parties for relatives, friends and poor people as well as the procession are also mentioned.

The circumcision of the imperial princes used to give occasion to the displaying of great pomp. Long before the appointed day intimation was sent to the high dignitaries of the empire, sometimes even to the other courts of Europe. D'Ohsson gives a translation of Mūrād's III letter of invitation to the dignitaries on the occasion of the circumcision of the crown-prince.

In North Africa children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and 13 years, by the barber who makes use of a knife or a pair of scissors. According to Dan, as cited by Doutté, *Merrākech*, 351, at Algiers a stone knife was used for the operation. It reminds us of Joshua v. 2 ff. where it is said that the Israelites at their entering the Holy Land were circumcised by means of stone swords or knives; some populations of the Dutch Indies also use a stone knife for the operation (Wilken, 212). In North Africa as well as in Egypt often several boys are circumcised together, the father of the richest bearing the expenses of the ceremony. A. Janssen (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 363-4) has observed that the Bedouins organise collective circumcisions every two years, as an economy measure; hence the children's ages vary considerably (see also al-ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt*, Amman 1973-4, ii, 232, s.v. *ṭ-h-r*). It should be noted here that in most Arabic dialects, the term for circumcision and its accompanying rites is taken from the root *ṭ-h-r*, implying the idea of purity; this practice is therefore popularly felt as a purificatory rite.

On Java, circumcision of boys is often combined with the *k̲hatm-* or *kataman*-ceremony. On the different designations of circumcision used in this part of the Archipelago, cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/1, 206. The age at which boys are circumcised varies in the different parts of Java; among the conservative populations it is higher (14-15 years) than in circles which are in closer touch with Muslim law (10 years or younger). Before the preparations begin, the boy is taken to the tomb of his father or ancestors, where flowers and incense are offered and prayer is performed. Then a portico (*tarup*) is made before the house or *pendopo*, and a small room (*kobongan*) is prepared where the operation is to take place. In or before this room several objects and dishes are placed which have a symbolical or ritual meaning. These preparations are concluded by a religious meal at which several dishes are offered to several categories of awe-inspiring beings. Festivities such as *wayang*, *tayuban*, *d̲jagongan* precede or follow the ceremony. The *d̲jagongan* always takes place in the preceding night and follows upon *kataman*, the recitation of some chapters of the Ḳurʾān by the boy. On the day preceding circumcision, a procession is held in which the boys are either conducted by their relatives, or are placed in a kind of cars which have the forms of *naga*s or other animals. They wear the bridegoom's dress, and are hung with gold and diamond ornaments, the visible parts of the body being besmeared with *borèh*. It occurs also that the boy wears the *ḥād̲jd̲jī*'s dress. Just as in North Africa, poor parents have their sons circumcised together with those of well-to-do people, who bear the expenses.

The boy has to keep quiet for some days before and after the operation and to abstain from hot dishes as well as to beware of any action which is considered to be unlucky in this time. Before the operation he is bathed with the recitation of a great many prayers and formulas. Then he is placed on the lap of an elderly person, usually a *santri* who has many children, a circumstance which is expected to exercise a wholesome influence on the boy's marriage. For further details see Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, iv/1, 205 ff.

In Atcheh, boys are usually circumcised by the *mudém* (probably = *muʾad̲h̲d̲h̲in*) at the age of 9 or 10 years, immediately after finishing their Ḳurʾān study. The operation (for details see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 399-400) consists in a complete circumcision; in some parts of Java it is rather an incision. The boy here also has to diet himself. In Atcheh the ceremony is not usually accompanied by festivities. But in many cases the latter take place in consequence of vows connected with circumcision. The father of the boy vows, e.g., to arrange a *Rapaʾi*-performance or to visit a sacred tomb. In this case the boy, dressed as a bridegroom, is conducted to the tomb, sometimes on horseback, where his head is washed and a religious meal given.

Circumcision is a rite practised by many peoples, primitive peoples of the present time as well as those mentioned in ancient literatures, the Egyptians, the Arabs, the Israelites, the Edomites, Moabites and Ammonites (see Jeremiah, ix, 25).

In the Indonesian Archipelago it was already practised before the rise of Islām in that part of the world (cf. G. A. Wilken, *De besnijdenis bij de volken van den indischen Archipel*, in *BTLV*, Ser. iv, vol. x, 166, 180-1 = *Verspreide Geschriften van G. A. Wilken*, iv, 206, 220). The facts mentioned above may be arranged in certain groups.

a. Among many peoples females as well as males are circumcised. We must consequently start from the view that the rite was not originally applied to one of these classes to the exclusion of the other.

b. The rite is sometimes repeated (Wilken, *op. cit.*, 207). In the Muslim world we have the in-

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stance of Malayans who in their country were not circumcised in the way prescribed by religious law and who submit to the operation a second time when arriving at Djidda for the pilgrimage (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 312).

c. Children are circumcised at ages varying between the 7th day after birth and the 15th year. It is consequently a rite which may take place in any period of childhood and which is often indeed combined with other rites peculiar to childhood such as the first cutting of the hair (*ʿaḳīḳa*, cf. Doutté, *Merrākech*, 351), the filing of teeth, the conclusion of the study of the Ḳurʾān. As we have seen above, there are linguistic features pointing to a relation between circumcision and marriage. These features, valuable as matter-of-fact evidence, are supplemented by reports of travellers. In Central Arabia, it is said (e.g. Batanūnī, *Riḥla*, 213), there are tribes among which the operation is applied to adult young men, in a painful and dangerous way; the bride of the patient stands opposite him during the operation; if he utters a cry of pain the projected marriage is abandoned (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 141). In spite of doubts about the authenticity of such information, the relation between circumcision and marriage appears also from the Javanese custom of placing the boy who is operated, on the lap of a *santri* who has many children (see above and Wilken, *op. cit.*, 225).

d. Another group of characteristics is evidence of a relation between circumcision and the transition into a tribal or religious community, e.g.: the boy's being conducted to the tomb of his father or of one of his ancestors (see above); the circumcision of several boys at one time (cf. also Wilken, *op. cit.*, 220); the value attached to circumcision as the ceremony of reception into the Muslim community; cf. the Old Testament designation of circumcision as the "token of the covenant" (Genesis xvii; see also Wilken, *op. cit.*, 227).

e. Many accessory rites express the intention to avert danger: the boy's being dressed as a girl, the use of the handkerchief, the burning of charcoal and salt; the drums and *duffs*; the recitation of *dhikrs* and prayers; possibly the displaying of charity and the slaughtering of victims may also be viewed in this light.

Ethnologists put forward various interpretations for the phenomenon of circumcision: as a surgical operation meant to prevent phimosy and to help fecundity; as a religious rite connected with fertility or reception into the community; and as a rite of passage. The viewpoint expressed by Van Gennep in his *Rites de passage*, Paris 1909, seems to account for many of the features of circumcision mentioned above. It accounts for the fact that children are submitted to the operation at ages varying between the seventh day after birth and the beginning of the manly age or the time of marriage; that females as well as males are circumcised; that the rite is sometimes repeated; that it shows a deeply-rooted connection with marriage; that it is considered as the act of reception into a religious community; that it is sometimes preceded by a bath; that processions take place, which show a striking similarity with bridal processions; and so on.

Bibliography: As well as references given in the article, see in particular *IBLA* (1947), 273-86, (1953), 64-7; H. Massé, *Notes d'ethnographie persane*, in *Revue d'ethn. et des traditions populaires*, viii (1927), 24-39; idem, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 51-3. There is a general bibliography on the topic in C. M. Kieffer, *A propos de la circoncision à Caboul et dans le Logar*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 191 ff.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHIṬAṬ (A.), pl. of *khiṭṭa*, the various quarters of the newly-founded early Islamic towns which the Arab-Islamic chiefs laid out (root *kh.ṭ.ṭ*) for the population groups which they attracted thither or for their respective leaders. Historical-administrative concerns led fairly quickly to the appearance of a literary genre which consisted of a description of the historical topography of these *khiṭaṭ*. This happened in regards to Baghdād, and one finds chapters of this nature in the "geographical" works of Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī, and also in the introduction to the biographical history of the city by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. However, the genre developed most of all in Egypt, aided by its strong particularist feeling. It is already discernible for al-Fusṭāṭ in two chapters of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, and is expanded in the History of the *Ḳāḍīs* of Egypt and in a separate opusculum, now lost, of al-Kindī and also, a generation later, in another lost opusculum by Ibn Zūlāḳ. The foundation of Cairo caused an expansion of these studies, as is apparently already discernible with Ibn Zūlāḳ's work and with a treatise from the mid-Fāṭimid period, now lost, by al-Ḳuḍāʿī. An apparently much more important work was written two centuries later by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, the biographer of Baybars, Ḳalāwūn, and al-Ashraf. All this literature culminated in the monumental work, the only one of its kind preserved for us (apart from the citations from the earlier works included within it), of al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Mawāʿiẓ wa 'l-iʿtibār fī khiṭaṭ Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*. In fact, the contents are arranged not according to quarters but by categories of buildings, at the same time comprising a description and history of everything connected with them. The title of Maḳrīzī's book was utilised later, because of its fame, in the survey conducted in the same spirit but adapted to modern Egypt, by ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, and in a more flexible form, in the geographical-historical description of the whole of Syria by Kurd ʿAlī.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, index; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, index; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*², esp. 254 and n. 4.

(CL. CAHEN)

KHITĀY [see AL-ṢĪN].

KHIṬBA (A.), "demand in marriage", whence "betrothal", i.e. the mutual promise of marriage which in certain legal systems can form the first stage of marriage proper (cf. the *sponsalia* of ancient Roman law). But is this promise considered as entailing an obligation in Islamic law? In other words, does betrothal give rise to legal consequences?

According to Muslim authorities, the *khiṭba* does not involve a contract. It is true that it involves an offer and an acceptance, but before the acceptance is made, it is merely a demand in marriage and does not form a legal act.

The Mālikīs, apparently uniquely, give more importance to the betrothal than the Ḥanafīs or even the Ḥanbalīs, but the principle remains that the act of betrothal does not involve a legal obligation. However, betrothal can only take place when there are no nullifying factors present which would prevent a valid marriage; every impediment to marriage is an impediment to betrothal. The parties to a *khiṭba* are on the one hand, the man making the demand in marriage, and on the other, the woman, who may be represented by her *walī* [see NIKĀḤ]. Yet if betrothal does not in principle involve any legal obli-

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gation and is not a legal act, certain effects nevertheless follows from it:

1. The right of seeing the woman. Certain authorities state that the fiancé has this right, even if looking at her is accompanied by sexual desire. Ibn Rushd specifies that this right should be limited to seeing the face and hands only (*Bidāya*, ii, 3); others extend the right, but they never go so far as to admit the possibility of the couple being left alone (*khalwa*), which is the right to be alone with each other away from all indiscreet looks.

2. The right of priority. Betrothal gives the fiancé a right of priority, in that once a woman is betrothed to a man, that woman cannot be sought in marriage by another man; but this right is only sanctioned by the Mālikīs.

Dissolving of a betrothal. Either of the two parties can end the state of betrothal unilaterally. The only problem is that of disposal of presents which have been exchanged, and which are subject to the rules of donation. However, in various Islamic countries, part of the dowry is paid over at the time of betrothal, and this must in all cases be given back. Finally, there remains one problem: can one award damages to the victim of an unjustifiable breaking-off of betrothal? Although certain modern Islamic authorities are endeavouring to introduce an obligation to pay an indemnity for damages in the case of an ill-founded breaking-off, the action for damages is not an absolute right. Even so, many Islamic countries have been compelled to adopt the solutions of western law, since on the plane of practical law, betrothal is of no legal concern except in case of its being dissolved.

Bibliography: Ch. Chehata, *Études de droit musulman*, Paris 1971, 75; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1952, ii, 2; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, vi, 536; and see NIKĀḤ. (A. M. DELCAMBRE)

KHIṬṬA ("piece of land marked out for building upon"), a term used of the lands allotted to tribal groups and individuals in the garrison cities founded by the Arabs at the time of the conquests. The lay-out of these cities everywhere followed the kinship organisation of the conquerors, who were distributed in tribal quarters around a centre housing the Friday mosque and the *dār al-imāra*. The smallest unit of the *khiṭaṭ* was the *dār*, in the case of prominent individuals often a sizable estate (usually known as *ḳaṭīʿa*), otherwise a modest plot of land occupied by one or several families. Next came the quarter based on the smallest political unit of the tribe (what is often known as the *ʿashīra* in Arabic sources, "clan" or "subtribe" in modern literature); these quarters usually had their own mosque, and how small the unit in question tended to be is indicated by the fact that the tribe Kinda, which was strongly represented in Fusṭāṭ, Damascus and Ḥimṣ in addition to Kūfa, had at least twelve such mosques in the latter city. Finally, there was a larger quarter reflecting the tribe proper, often endowed with its own *djabbāna*, a piece of unbuilt land serving, *inter alia*, as a meeting place and a cemetery. In Syria, where the Arabs settled in existing cities, the tribal quarters were less self-contained and possessed neither mosques nor *djabbāna*s of their own.

The *khiṭaṭ* served as military and administrative units from the start, but their small size was impractical and amalgamation of the tribal groups began already with the foundation of Kūfa, which was divided into sevenths, to be continued under Muʿāwiya when Baṣra was divided into fifths, and other settlements into quarters. Every such new division was placed under an officially appointed leader, the *raʾs al-rubʿ* or *raʾs al-khums*, who was selected from among the chiefs of the larger tribal groups represented in the division, and who was responsible for the command of the division in war and the maintenance of law and order within it in peacetime. The lesser groups continued to serve as military and administrative subdivisions under their own leaders. The entire range of tribal chiefs (the *ashrāf* of the Umayyad period) served as the link between government and subjects in the Sufyānid system of indirect rule, *ashrāf* and governor coming together in the latter's *madjlis* where information, orders and requests were exchanged, accompanied by a traditional display of generosity. The *raʾs al-rubʿ* / *raʾs al-khums* in turn passed on information, orders and gifts in his own *madjlis*, and the process was repeated in the *madjālis* of the lesser chiefs until we reach the smallest political unit reflected in the *khiṭaṭ*.

The erosion of the tribal ties in the Marwānid period rendered the system obsolete; the *ashrāf* disappeared from the political scene, while the *khiṭaṭ* survived only as place-names. The larger quarters and fifths, on the other hand, persisted until the end of the Umayyad period, physically as military divisions, now housing regiments rather than tribal groups, and morally as categories for the definition of factional loyalties. When the ʿAbbāsids came to power these too disappeared, and the allotments in Baghdād (known as *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* rather than *khiṭaṭ*) were made on the basis of geographical provenance, not tribal affiliation.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 2488-95, and *passim*; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 275 ff., 366 ff.; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 309, 311; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. W. Caskel, Leiden 1966, ii, *Register*, *passim*; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, 91 ff.; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Damascus 1371/1951 ff., i, 262, ii, 95 (tr. N. Elisséeff, *La description de Damas*, Damascus 1959, 175) and *passim*; the battle orders in Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1967, 222, and Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. ʿA. M. Hārūn, Cairo 1365, 232-4, both reflect the Syrian *arbāʿ*; L. Massignon, *Explication du plan de Kufa*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, Cairo 1934-40; idem, *Explication du plan de Basra*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, Wiesbaden 1954; S. al-Dīwahdjī, *Khiṭaṭ Mawṣil*, in *Sumer*, vii (1951); Ṣ. ʿA. al-ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Baṣra*, in *Sumer*, viii (1952); idem, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāʿiyya wa'l-iḳtiṣādiyya fi'l-Baṣra*, Baghdād 1953; idem, *The foundation of Baghdad*, in A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern ed., *The Islamic city*, Oxford 1970. (P. CRONE)

KHĪWA, on the western bank of the Amu Daryā, site of the last capital of the khānate of Khʷārazm, subsequently called the khānate of Khīwa. Its origins are bound up in the history of Khʷārazm [*q.v.*].

Khīwa was the third capital, after Gurgāndj (385-515/995-1221) and Kāth [*q.vv.*]; the latter was the capital during the 8th/14th century, in which period, with Khīwa, it was governed by the Čaghatay, and Gurgāndj (subsequently called Urgenč) by the Golden Horde. After the restoration of unity (under the rule of the Shaybanids) in the 9th/15th century, the capital was again established at Urgenč, but neither this dynasty, nor the Djučī branch of the Özbeg dynasty that succeeded it, was in a position to restore stability in the region; brigandage increased, and the closure of the commercial routes which crossed the land hastened, at the same time, its economic decline and its relative isolation.

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During the second half of the reign of ʿArab Muḥammad (1013-32/1603-23), which perhaps coincided with the drying up of the left branch of the Amū Daryā, the capital was transferred to Khīwa, and it was then that the khānate of Khʷārazm began to be called the khānate of Khīwa. Little is known of the early history of this town; archaeological remains enable us to date its foundation between the 6th and 8th centuries of the Christian era; it is mentioned by the Arab geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī in the 4th/10th century. The inhabitants of Khīwa were distinguished from the other Khʷārazmians by the fact that they were Shāfiʿīs rather than Ḥanafīs.

The khānate was composed of various feudal districts (*begliks*) somewhat loosely linked together, and their chiefs (*ḥākim*) recognised the sovereignty of the *khān* of Khīwa. The degree of unity of the khānate depended on the personal power of the *khān*; it is relevant, in this regard, to make special mention of ʿAbd al-Ghāzī Bahādūr Khān (1054-73/1643-63) whose *History of Khīwa* has survived and is available to us. After the conquest of Mashhad by Anūsha, at the end of the 11th/17th century, the sovereigns of Khīwa took the title of *shāh*.

The dynasty of the Özbegs was followed by that of the Čingizids, which occupied the throne of Khīwa until 1804, but real power was concentrated in the hands of the *Inaḳ* (tribal chief) of the tribe of the Ḳungrāt [*q.v.*]. The 18th century saw an acceleration in the process of disintegration, when to the effects of internal strife there were added the fruitless attempts at conquest made by Peter the Great in 1717, and by Nādir Shāh in 1153/1740, while invasions by nomads and attacks from the Turcoman Yomuts were particularly violent between 1153 and 1184/1740-70; however, in 1184/1770, the *Inaḳ* Muḥammad Amīn defeated the Turcomans, restored relative prosperity to the region and undertook the construction of a new city on the foundations of the old. In the course of this reconstruction, which lasted seventy years, a number of remarkable architectural monuments were erected, including the palace of Tashkaul (1832), the mausoleum of Pakhmavan Shakhtuda (1835) and the *madrasa* of Allāh Ḳulī Khān (1835), which are still standing today

Under the *Inaḳ* Iltüzer, who became the first Ḳungrāt *shāh* in 1804, the khānate attained its greatest territorial extent of the modern period, stretching from the mouth of the Sīr Daryā on the Aral Sea as far as Ḳalʿa-i Mawr on the Kushk; this sovereign frustrated an attempt by Bukhārā at annexing the oasis of Merv, and he improved his relations with the Turcomans who became the first line of defence of the khānate. His successor, Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān, who was the most powerful *khān* of the 19th century, made a number of successful forays into the territory of the Ḳazaḳs, subdued the Ḳarā Ḳalpaḳs and ravaged Khurāsān.

Although it had repelled an attack by the Russians in 1839-40, Khīwa was forced to accept their economic and diplomatic demands, which had the result of reinforcing the Russian presence which was already showing itself in Central Asia. The conflict which broke out with Bukhārā and the Turcomans further enfeebled the already divided State, and in 1873 the Russians were able to take possession of the entire territory without striking a single blow. The peace treaty gave them the right bank of the Amū Daryā and made the *khān* of Khīwa a vassal of the Tsar.

The Turcomans continued their struggle against the Khānate and in 1918, the *khān* Isfandiyār (1910-18) was assassinated at the instigation of Djunayd Khān, the Turcoman chieftain, who reduced the new sovereign, Saʿīd ʿAbd Allāh (1918-20) to the status of a puppet. After an initial failure in 1918, the Soviets waited until 1920 before putting an end to the khānate of Khīwa and on the 26 April 1920, the People's Republic of Khʷārazm was proclaimed, with a government of young Khīwans. On 5 September 1921, this was replaced by the Soviet Socialist Republic of Khʷārazm, controlled by the Bolsheviks, and in November 1924, it became the *oblast'* of Khʷārazm in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, with Khīwa as provincial capital (*rayon*); between 1918 and 1924, there was a considerable movement of resistance to the Soviets, led by Djunayd and supported by the deposed *khān*.

The Soviets did nothing to assist the development of the town. Although it is a centre for cotton-growing and has brickworks, dairies and a carpet-weaving industry, modern Khīwa no longer plays a vital role in the economic or political life of the Uzbek S.S.R.

Bibliography: see that for KHʷĀRAZM.

(W. BARTHOLD - [M. L. BRILL])

KHIYĀBĀNĪ, SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD (1879-1920), Persian religious scholar and political leader. Born in Khāmna, Ādharbāydjān, the son of a merchant, Khiyābānī received his early education there and then moved to Dāghistān in the Caucasus, where his father lived. After returning to Tabrīz, he studied *fiḳh*, *uṣūl*, and Ptolemaic astronomy, and soon became a *mudjtahid* leading public prayers in two central mosques. Responding to the Iranian constitutionalists, Khiyābānī joined the Social Democratic Party and also became a leading member of the Ādharbāydjān Provincial Council which played a decisive role in the deposition of the anti-constitutionalist Shāh Muḥammad ʿAlī (1907-9). Khiyābānī was then elected to the second Parliament, where he rejected the 1911 Russian ultimatum and condemned the Persian government which, on the British recommendation, was willing to compromise. The Parliament rejected the ultimatum but the Regent, Nāṣir al-Mulk, dissolved Parliament and accepted the ultimatum, leading Khiyābānī to denounce this action in a long speech before the people of Tehran. He then fled to Russia, and later on returned to Tabrīz secretly. After the two Anglo-Russian treaties (1907 and 1915) there remained little room for the existence of Khiyābānī and his party. Suddenly, however, the 1917 Russian Revolution broke out and the Soviets withdrew the claims the Tsars had made against Iran. At this point, Khiyābānī and his friends re-established the Democratic Party and founded *Taḏjaddud*, a newspaper which published Khīyābānī's speeches and articles. Among Khiyābānī's targets of attack were the British South Persia Rifles and the existing Persian régime as being submissive to foreigners. Before the end of the War, Ottoman troops invaded Tabrīz, arrested Khiyābānī, and imprisoned him in Riḍāʾīyya, but after the War he returned to Tabrīz. In 1919 the British signed an agreement with the Wuthūḳ al-Dawla which gave them control of the Iranian army, finances, and customs. Under the influence of Khiyābānī and others, the treaty was not passed in Parliament. The Wuthūḳ al-Dawla then suppressed Khiyābānī's party and resigned. Khiyābānī rose against the government (now in the hands of Mushīr al-Dawla) and in April 1920 he declared his province Āzādistān ("home of freedom"). Mushīr al-Dawla appointed Mukhbir al-Salṭana (Mahdī Ḳulī Hidāyat) governor of Ādharbāydjān, and the latter put an end both to the six-month old movement and to Khiyābānī's life.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Khiyābānī has been described as a rebel, and his movement as a separatist one. Khiyābānī's attachment to the Soviets has also been a matter of controversy. However, he has been widely recognised as a national hero, whose murder was lamented by poets such as Bahār, ʿĀrif, Ṣafwat, and Āgāh.

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

KHIYĀLA [see KHAYL].

KHIYĀR (A.), a legal term meaning the option or right of withdrawal, i.e. the right for the parties involved to terminate the legal act unilaterally. This option is always included in the legal act, and in this case, the act does not irrevocably bind its authors. The word *khiyār* implies a choice on the part of the holder of the right of option, who may either confirm the act or render it void; the legal act containing an option is not void in origin, but its validity is nevertheless precarious and subject to confirmation. The act giving rise to an option corresponds in western law to an act liable to a suspensory or resolutory condition, according to the nature of the option.

Options (*khiyārāt*) may be either conventionary or legal in nature.

1. Conventionary options. Included amongst these, there is first of all the conditional option, *khiyār al-sharṭ*, which is extremely important. This is the clause by means of which, in certain legal acts (in particular, contracts), one of the parties, or both of them, reserves the right to annul or to confirm, within a specified time, the legal act which they have just drawn up. This clause is undeniably equivalent to a purely potestative suspensory condition. The decision of the one confirming or rejecting the act does not have to be justified. The lawyers of the four schools adopted this institution without difficulty. The other conventionary option is the one called by the jurists that of designation (*khiyār al-taʿyīn*). It can only be inserted into alternative obligations, and allows the one making the stipulation to make his final choice between the different objects of one and the same obligation. Thus there are only two conventionary options, one common to all four schools and the other peculiar to the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs.

2. Legal options. On the other hand, legal options, in which the law automatically grants the options without the parties having to stipulate them, are very numerous. Some Muslim authors number them at seventeen. Fraud, injury, hidden defects, eviction, and many other deeds, are only to be sanctioned in Islamic law by means of option. In the *fiḳh* treatises, only a brief allusion is made to legal options, apart from the option in the case of a latent defect making the agreement void (*khiyār al-ʿayb* or *khiyār al-naḳīṣa*). The option of sight (*khiyār al-ruʾya*) presents a problem. It is rejected by the Shāfiʿīs, and there exists concerning it as many different doctrines as schools of legal opinion; see Ibn Rushd, *Bidāya*, Cairo 1952, ii, 154. Some countries have introduced the principle of the option of sight into their new civil codes: Egypt (art. 419), ʿIrāḳ (arts. 517-23), Syria (art. 389) and Libya (art. 408). *Khiyār* is also to be found in Imāmī law (Persian civil code arts. 396-457). In the *fiḳh* treatises, there is no systematic exposition of the idea of option, although certain modern jurisconsults have tried to remedy this.

It should finally be noted that the system of options is not peculiar to patrimonial law. There exist also options in family law, e.g. in the case of incompatible marriages, or when a minor still below the age of puberty has been married by a *walī* other than her own father or grandfather; when the minor reaches his majority, he can choose between maintaining the marriage in being or dissolving it.

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(A. M. DELCAMBRE)

KHIYĀR (in theology) [see IKHTIYĀR].

KHIZĀNA [see MAKTABA].

KHIZĀNE-I ʿĀMIRE [see KHAZĪNE].

KHLOT [see KHULṬ].

KHŌDJA in the strict sense is the name of an Indian caste consisting mostly of Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs and some Sunnīs and Twelver Shīʿīs split off the Ismāʿīlī community. In a looser sense the name is commonly used to refer to the Indian Nizārīs in general including some minor communities like the Shamsīs in the area of Multān and some Mōmnas in northern Gudjarāt. The history of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism on the Indian subcontinent, especially in the early centuries, is largely obscure because of a lack of reliable sources. The Khōdja religious literature [see SATPANTH] contains some highly legendary accounts of the activity of Nizārī *dāʿīs*, mostly unreliable chronological data, and bare lists and genealogies of the *pīrs* and their descendants. On the basis of this material a few comprehensive historical accounts have been written since the 19th century by Khōdjas and members of the related Imām-Shāhī community.

It is unknown if any of the Ismāʿīlī communities existing in India before the split into the Nizārī and Mustaʿlawī branches in 487/1094 subsequently joined

Khoja

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the Nizārīs. Khōdja tradition makes one Satgur Nūr, also called Nūr al-Dīn, the first *dāʿī* who, coming from Daylamān, was active in Pāṭan, Gudjarāt. Dates ascribed to his activity vary widely. According to one version he was sent by the *imām* al-Mustanṣir (427-87/1036-94) in order to preach for his son Nizār; according to another, by the *imām* al-Ḥasan ʿalā dhikrihi 'l-salām (557-61/1162-6). He is alleged to have converted the Hindu king Siddharādja Djaysimha (d. *ca.* 1143). Yet his place in the lists of *pīr*s would seem to put him in the first two centuries of Islam, and he is even identified with the *imām* Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. His shrine at Nawsarī appears to date from about the end of the 18th century. His historicity has been doubted. Evidence for the presence of Nizārīs in Gudjarāt in the first half of the 7th/13th century is too vague to be trusted. Most early Nizārī activity rather appears to have been centred on Sind.

The beginnings of the Nizārī *daʿwa* in Sind are connected by tradition with the *pīr* Shams al-Dīn, though the previous *pīr*, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who is also called the father of Shams al-Dīn, is mentioned to have already been sent from Alamūt to India. Legend, on the other hand, identifies Shams al-Dīn variously with Shams-i Tabrīzī, the spiritual guide of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, or with the first post-Alamūt *imām* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad who, it is alleged, turned the imāmate over to his son Ḳāsim-Ṣhāh in order to come to India. While most of the religious poetry ascribed to him names Ḳāsim-Shah as the contemporary *imām* and thus would place him around the turn of the 7th/13th century, several dates mentioned in the poetry for his activity are in the first half of the 6th/12th century. A legendary account of his meeting with the Ṣūfī saint Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ of Multān (d. 665/1266) appears to be without historical foundation. His lifetime thus cannot be dated with any degree of certainty. He is described as having been active in Multān and Uččh in Sind and his shrine is located in Multān. The community of the Shamsīs claims to have been converted by him to Nizārī Ismāʿīlism. They live in Multān, Rāwalpindi and elsewhere in Pandjāb and are mostly goldsmiths.

The next two *pīr*s on the traditional lists, Naṣīr al-Dīn and Shihāb (also Ṣāḥib) al-Dīn, are said to be the son and grandson of Shams al-Dīn. It is likely, however, that some minor figures were omitted. There is no information on their activity except that they worked clandestinely. Shihāb al-Dīn was succeeded by his son Ṣadr al-Dīn who is credited with the conversion of the Khōdjās from the Lohanas, a Hindu caste. He is also said to have given them the name Khōdja, derived from the Persian *ḵẖwādja*, master, which corresponds to the Hindu term *thakur* used in addressing Lohanas and Khōdjās, as the Lohanas are considered Kshatriyas. Death dates given for him range from 770/1369 to 819/1416. The latter date seems more reasonable. Ṣadr al-Dīn, according to tradition, also laid the foundation for the communal organisation of the Khōdjas by building the first three *djamāʿat-ḵẖānas* (assembly and prayer halls) and appointing their *mukhi*s (leaders). The centre of his activity was Uččh and his shrine is not far from it near Djetur.

Ṣadr al-Dīn was succeeded as *pīr* by his son Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn of whom a short vita was included by ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642) in his hagiographical work *Akhbār al-akhyār*. His appearance in a list of *shaykh*s of the Suhrawardī order reflects the close links of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism with organised Ṣūfism throughout this period. According to the *Akhbār al-akhyār* he traveled widely before settling down in Uččh and converted many Hindus. The death dates mentioned for him range from 853/1449 to 895/1490. Most accurate are probably those giving 875/1470 or 876/1471. His shrine is outside Uččh. As Kabīr al-Dīn's successor, his brother Tādj al-Dīn was appointed by the *imām*. He was opposed by some of the numerous sons of Kabīr al-Dīn who were also quarreling among themselves. After Tādj al-Dīn's return from a visit to the *imām*, they accused him of embezzling the tithes for the *imām* and he is said either to have died of the shock or to have committed suicide, probably not very long after his brother's death. His grave is in Jhun in Sind. After his death Imām Shāh [*q.v.*], son of Kabīr al-Dīn, vainly tried to gain the allegiance of the Khōdjas in Sind. After a visit to the *imām* in Persia he settled in Gudjarāt, where he succeeded in converting numerous Hindus, mostly of peasant communities. Legend maintains that he converted Maḥmūd Begfā, sultan of Gudjarāt, who gave his daughter in marriage to Imām Shāh's son Nar Muḥammad. Imām Shāh died in 919/1513 in Pīrāna, a town founded by him, where his shrine is located. Although he is not recognised as a *pīr* by Khōdja tradition and according to some accounts seceded from the Ismāʿīlī community, it appears more likely that the schism occured only under his son and successor Nar (Nūr) Muḥammad Shāh. The latter at an unknown date demanded that the *imām*'s tithe should no longer be sent to Persia but be turned over to himself, claiming that his father Imām Shāh had been the *imām* and that he was his successor. The majority of his followers accepted his orders and came to form the separate Imām-Shāhī community while a minority remained faithful to the Ismāʿīlī *imām*s.

The Khōdja lists of *pīr*s name after the *pīr* Tādj al-Dīn the *Pandiyāt-i jawānmardī*, a book of religious admonitions attributed to *imām* al-Mustanṣir II, in place of a person. According to tradition, the *imām* decided in view of the dissension in the *pīr*'s family after Tādj al-Dīn's death not to appoint any *pīr*, but instead to send the book as guidance for the faithful. There is, however, reason to assume that the book reached India only around the middle of the 10th/16th century, probably after the Imām-Shāhī secession. It may have been sent at that time with a view to easing the leadership crisis resulting from the schism. Only one *pīr* mentioned in some of the lists after the book was active in India, sc. *pīr* Dādū. He is said to have been sent by the *imām* from Persia to Sind with the mission of stopping the conversion of Ismāʿīlīs to Sunnism. He was forced to leave and settled first with some followers from Sind in Navanagar (Djamnagar) in Gudjarāt. In 1584 he moved to Bhudj where he died in 1593. An important role in reorganising the community and the prayer is ascribed to him.

After the end of the line of *pīr*s the *imām*s came to be represented at the local level in India by *wakil*s and *bāwā*s. This development evidently reflects an attempt of the *imām*s to gain more direct control over the Indian communities. However, some local families of *sayyid*s, i.e. descendants of the *pīr* Kabīr al-Dīn, retained much influence. Most important among these were the Kadiwala *sayyid*s of Sind. Their ancestor, Sayyid Fāḍil Shāh, was active in Kadi around the middle of the 17th century. In Sind the family resided in Rali and after 1780 in Tando Muḥammad Khān. Shrines of early members of the family are located near these two places. Other members are known as authors of extant gnans. Two sons of Fāḍil Shāh, *pīr* Mashāyikh and Ḥasan *pīr*, played a

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major role among the Mōmnas in northern Gudjarāt. Mashāyikh (d. 1108/1697 in Aḥmadābād) actively endeavoured to suppress Hindu practices in the community and cut his allegiance to the Ismāʿīlī *imāms*. His extant works espouse strictly Islamic practices and reflect Sunnī and Ithnā ʿAsharī tendencies. He is said to have cooperated with Awrangzīb in his wars against the Shīʿī rulers of Bidjāpūr. His followers later quarreled whether he was a Sunnī or a Shīʿī. His brother Ḥasan remained loyal to Ismāʿīlism and became the saint of the Nizārī Mōmnas. In addition to his mausoleum in Thanapipli near Djūnāgaṛh, Khōdjas and Nizārī Mōmnas in 1717 built a shrine in his honour in Ganod in Gudjarāt.

The Khōdjas were active in the commerce between India and East Africa at least since the 17th century, and in the 19th century, especially after the ʿUmānī sultan Sayyid Saʿīd transferred his capital to Zanzibar in 1840, they came to settle in large numbers on the island and later in mainland East Africa. The coming of the Agha Khān [*q.v.*] Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh to India in 1840 led to an aggravation of earlier conflicts in the Khōdja community about the rights of the *imām*. In 1866 the judgment of Sir Joseph Arnould in a law suit brought against the Agha Khān by excommunicated members of the Bārbhai party fully upheld his rights and authority, and the dissidents definitely separated from the community as Sunnī Khōdjas. Later dissidents seceding in 1877 and 1901, formed Ithnā ʿAsharī Khōdja communities in Bombay and East Africa.

For Khōdja religious doctrine, see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA and SATPANTH.

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(W. MADELUNG)

KHŌDJA EFENDI, SAʿD AL-DĪN B. ḤASAN DJĀN B. ḤĀFIẒ MUḤAMMAD IṢFAHĀNĪ (1536-99), a famous Ottoman shaykhūl-Islām, statesman, and historian.

Life. He was born in 943/1536-7 in Istanbul, and died there on 12 Rabīʿ I 1008/2 October 1599. His grandfather, one of the notables who had joined Sultan Selīm I after the battle of Čāldirān, had served Selīm I as *ḥāfiẓ*, and his father Ḥasan Djān had been an intimate courtier to the same sultan. Saʿd al-Dīn studied under prominent scholars, entered the *ʿulamāʾ* career and became assistant (*mülāzim*) to the *muftī* Ebu 'l-Suʿūd [see ABU 'L-SUʿŪD] at the early age of twenty (963/1555-6). Soon after, he was appointed, with a salary of 30 aspers, to the Murād Pasha *madrasa* in Istanbul. In Shawwāl 971/May-June 1564 he was appointed, "with forty", to the *madrasa* of Yildırım Khān in Bursa, and one year later was promoted to the *khāridj* rank. After another promotion in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 977/May 1570 he rose, in Ramaḍān 979/January-February 1572, to the rank of professor at one of the eight courtyards (*ṣaḥn*) attached to the Fātih Mosque in Istanbul. When the preceptor (*khōdja*) of Prince Murād died, Saʿd al-Dīn was appointed in his place (Muḥarram 981/May 1573) and sent to Manīsa. This was the beginning of a long period of prosperity and influence for Saʿd al-Dīn, who was henceforth known as Khōdja or Khōdja Efendi. When his pupil became sultan as Murād III, he followed him to Istanbul as *khōdja-i sulṭānī* (8 Ramaḍān 982/22 December 1574). As the sultan's trusted adviser, he soon became influential in politics, even in foreign affairs such as the establishment of relations with England. When Meḥemmed III succeeded to the throne in 1595, it was to Saʿd al-Dīn that he was expressly referred to for advice, the decree saying that "consultation (*meshweret*) should be held with Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn in all matters of appointing viziers and religious officials". Although Saʿd al-Dīn, in Murād III's special *medjlis-i meshweret*, had strongly advised against the "Long War" with Austria begun in 1593, it was he who backed up the wavering sultan Meḥemmed III, especially in the Eğrī (Erlau) campaign. In the great *meshweret* on 20 October 1596 it was Saʿd al-Dīn who with his courage carried all with him, prevailing on the timid sultan to stand fast and eventually win the battle of Ḥāč Ovasī (Mezö Keresztes). After this triumph, Saʿd al-Dīn fell into disgrace over the appointment of the next Grand Vizier; on 9 Djumādā II 1005/28 January 1597 his opponents at court brought about his dismissal from the office of preceptor. Expressly ordered to refrain from intervention in state affairs, Saʿd al-Dīn remained in disgrace for 14 months. As soon as he could, in March 1598, the sultan fully rehabilitated Saʿd al-Dīn and raised him, against some resistance, to the office of *shaykh ül-Islām*, together with that of sultan's preceptor. This earned him the title *Djāmiʿ al-Riyāsatayn*. At this time Saʿd al-Dīn took the inefficacy of Saturdjī Meḥmed Pasha as *serdār* on the Hungarian front as an opportunity to state his views: he drew up a memorandum, outwardly directed to the Commander, but obviously meant for his opponents at court and later circulated as a piece of *inshāʾ* (it was published by Naʿīmā in his official history). It voices the sense of impending misfortunes that threatened the Ottomans, and justifies, in the matter of *meshweret*, what Saʿd al-Dīn had done and was considering his duty: not to "meddle" with matters of state, but to render services to it. In 1599 this meant persuading both the sultan and his mother to pay out of their treasuries the funds needed for the next campaign. After a successful term of office as *muftī*, he died during prayer in the Aya Ṣofya Mosque.

As an eminent *ʿālim*, Saʿd al-Dīn distinguished himself, even more than for his learning, for his practical ability and political far-sightedness. Between 1579 and 1599 the preceptor of two sultans, the hero of Ḥāč Ovasī "was the main voice directing the state's domestic and foreign policies" (H. Inalcık, *The Ottoman empire*, London 1973, 97). When the new Head Astronomer, Taḳī al-Dīn, had convinced him of the necessity of revising Ulugh Beg's *Tables*, Saʿd al-Dīn at once persuaded the sultan to issue the *fermāns* necessary to establish an observatory in Galata (1577) This project was short-lived; the *shaykh ül-Islām* Ḳāḍīzāde Aḥmed Shams al-Dīn, an enemy of Saʿd al-Dīn, managed to have it destroyed already in 1580 (A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı türklerinde ilim*, Ankara 1943, 84-6; A. Suheyl Ünver, *Istanbul rasathanesi*, Ankara 1969, 35, 51-4, 61-2). But Taḳī al-Dīn's attachment to Saʿd al-Dīn is apparent in the grateful

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dedications to him of several of his astronomical works. The Khōdja attracted writers and younger scholars of growing fame, some of whom worked as his assistants (Nishāndjīzāde, Nādirī) or were his protégés (Lokmān); even Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, his severest critic, dedicated a book to him. The charge of nepotism and favouritism which was brought against him, especially by ʿĀlī, does perhaps deserve closer inspection within the framework of the times. Of his five sons one died before him; two became *shaykh ül-Islām* and two were *ḳāḍī ʿaskers*; three of his grandsons were *shaykh ül-Islam* (Ş. Turan, art. *Saʾd-ed-Dīn* in *IA*; I. H. Danismend, *Osmanlı devlet erkânı*, 119).

Works. Although he did write poetry, he was essentially a prose writer. He translated Arabic and Persian works into Turkish (see Turan's article in *IA*). His fame as a writer rests on his *Tādj al-tawārikh* begun under Selīm II and dedicated to Murād III in 982/1575. As a carefully-written history, based on critical examination of a number of named sources, the work rightfully superseded the older chronicles. It deals with the history of the Ottomans from their beginnings to the death of Selīm I. In it Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn displayed his celebrated powers of eloquence, but he was not showy or pompous, as has sometimes been alleged, indeed, the clarity of his exposition was not lost on contemporaries and later writers. While it is true that his *Tādj* abounds in Arabisms and Persianisms, he could often be simplicity itself: indeed, the contrasts are great and have only been disregarded to some extent because Saʿd al-Dīn is habitually classed among the writers of "ornamented prose". On the many MSS. of the *Tādj*, see F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, 125-6; M. Aktepe, *Hoca Sa'deddin Efendi'nin Tâcü't-tevârih'i ve bunun zeyli hakkında*, in *TM* xiii, 106-10; Turan, art. in *IA*; B. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 105-6. The work was printed in two volumes at Istanbul in 1279/1861. Based on this edition, a modernised version in Latin script by İ. Parmaksızoğlu has begun to appear in 1974. The book found early recognition in the West, and parts of it have been translated; see Babinger, *GOW*, 126. A continuation of the *Tādj al-tawārikh* is Muṣṭafā Ṣāfī's (d. 1025/1616) *Zubdat al-tawārikh*. An abridgement is the first part of Ḥasan Bey-Zāde's [*q.v.*] *History*. Şolaḳzāde (d. 1067/1657) and Djizyedārzāde (d. 1208/1794) made extensive use of the *Tādj*.

Saʿd al-Dīn's *Selīm-nāme*, a collection of anecdotes based on the recollections of his father Ḥasan Djān, was printed together with the *Tādj al-tawārikh* (ii, 221-401).

Bibliography: ʿAṭāʾi, *Dhayl al-shakāʾik*, Istanbul 1268/1851-2, 429-31; F. Babinger, *EI*¹, s.v.; of the works cited above, Turan's article has the fullest bibliography. (B. Flemming)

KHODJA ELI [see KODJA ELI]

KHODJAEV (Faizullah Khodja) (1896-1938), Bukhāran revolutionary and nationalist, was born in Bukhārā the son of a wealthy merchant. In 1907 he went with his father to Moscow, where he received a Russian education. In 1913 he joined the so-called Djadīd Muslim reformist movement [see DJADĪD], which was opposed to the feudal régime of the Amīr. In 1917 he became a member of the newly formed Young Bukhāran Party and in December left for Tashkent with the avowed object of working for the overthrow of the Amīr. By 1920 he had become leader of the Young Bukhārans. He declared himself in favour of the *Sharīʿa* remaining the basis of the new republic of Bukhārā, at the foundation of which he aimed, but this was, and still is, pronounced a mistake by the Communist Party of Russia. On the final overthrow of the Amīr's régime in September 1920, Khodjaev became a member of the Communist Party and was constituted head of the newly created Peoples' Soviet Republic of Bukhārā. He vigorously opposed the counter-revolutionary Basmačī movement led by Enwer Pasha, the Turkish ex-Minister for War. For this and other services to the Bukhāran people, he was awarded in 1922 the Order of the Red Banner. Visiting Berlin in 1922, Khodjaev became active in trying to establish economic relations with European countries. This policy was seen as aiming at the economic independence of Bukhārā and in 1923 incurred the serious disapproval of the Central Asian Bureau of the Communist Party, to the setting up of which Khodjaev had always been opposed. In the same year, however, he took part in the 12th Party Congress in Moscow as delegate of the Bukhāran Communist Party. On the delimitation of the Central Asian Republics in 1924, the greater part of the former khānate of Bukhārā was embodied in the Uzbek SSR, of which Khodjaev was in 1925 appointed President of the Council of Peoples' Commissars, a post which he retained until his downfall in 1937, when he was dismissed from office and arrested. He was later indicted on a number of charges which included those of plotting against the Soviet state for the independence of Turkestan, of secretly aiding the Basmačis, and of being a British agent. While much of the indictment was probably based on fabricated evidence, there is little doubt that, as he himself admitted during the trial, Khodjaev was aiming at the national independence of Turkestan. He insisted, however, that he was not actuated by anti-Russian or anti-Bolshevik feelings. He was executed in 1938. Excluded from the list of other Central Asian personalities posthumously rehabilitated between 1955 and 1957, Khodjaev was not rehabilitated until 1966 on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of his birth. Although he was then said to have made "errors of a nationalist character", he was described as "a prominent revolutionary". The long biographical introduction to the edition of his selected works published in 1970 is wholly laudatory, refers only briefly to his differences with the Party authorities and makes no mention of his downfall, trial and execution.

Bibliography: Faizullah Khodzhayevi, *Izbrannyye trudi*, Tom i, Tashkent 1970; *Central Asian Review*, xiv, 205-7; Baymirza Hayit, *Turkestan im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert*, Darmstadt 1956. (G. E. Wheeler)

KHODJAND [see KHUDJAND].

KHŌI, Khōy, Iranian town (population in 1951: 49,000), situated in long. 45° 02′ E., lat. 38° 32′ N., in the *shahristān* of the same name in the *ustān* of West Ādharbāydjān; the Kurdish district of Ḳuṭūr is included in the *shahristān* of Khōī.

The town lies at an elevation of 1040 m./3,444 ft., in a plain known locally as *Khōī čukūrī* ("the Khōī depression"), because all the surrounding areas are at a higher elevation. The mountains surrounding the Khōī plain protect the city from the cold winter winds (the Harāwīl range along the Turkish frontier to the north-west averages over 11,000 feet), and consequently Khōī has a warmer climate than either Tabrīz or Riḍāʾiyya. Minimum winter temperature is —14° C/6.8 F; summers are very hot with hot southerly winds. The economy of the region is partly pastoral, partly agricultural; crops include grain, pulses, tobacco, apricots and cotton. The region has a mixed population of Sunnīs and Shīʿīs whose first language is either Turkish or Kurdish (the name Khōī is said

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to mean "salt" in Kurdish, and certainly salt-mines are still worked in the area). In the *bakhsh* of Shāhpūr there are several Christian villages.

In ancient times, Khōī acquired commercial importance by virtue of its location on the silk-route. In Ṣafawid times, the proximity of Khoī to the Ottoman frontier made it a town of great strategic importance; in 920/1514 Shāh Ismāʿīl I suffered a decisive defeat at the hands of the Ottoman sulṭān Selīm I on the plain of Čāldirān [*q.v.*], some 70 miles north-west of Khōī. In Ḳādjār times the strategic value of the town continued because of its proximity to the Russian frontier; the ruins of the walls built by General Gardane early in the 13th/19th century at the request of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh are still visible. More recently, Khōī saw fierce fighting between nationalist and royalist forces prior to World War I.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyāʾī-yi Īrān* (*Intishārāt-i dāʾira-yi djughrāfiyāʾī-yi sitād-i artish*), iv, Tehran 1330sh./1951, 200-1; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 86-7; Le Strange, *Lands*, 166; Mahdī Āḳāsī, *Taʾrīkh-i Khōī*, Tabrīz 1350sh./1971. (R. M. Savory)

KHOḴAND, Arabic orthography, Khʷāḳand, later written Khuḳand (which is given a popular etymology, *khūk* + *kand* = town of the boar), a town in Farghāna [*q.v.*], where see also for the other spellings and the foundation of an independent Özbeg kingdom with Khoḳand as capital in the 12th/18th century. The accession of the first ruler of this Min dynasty, Shāhrukh, was followed by the building of a citadel; another citadel later called Eski Urda was built by his son, ʿAbd al-Karīm (d. 1746). ʿAbd al-Karīm and his nephew and successor Irdānā Bī are several times mentioned in the history of the Atalīḳ Muḥammad Raḥīm, afterwards Khān of Bukhārā (d. 1759, see BUKHĀRĀ); Muḥammad Wafā Karmīnagī, *Tuḥfat al-Khānī*, Asiatic Museum Ms. c. 581b, especially fols. 33b, 145b). When the Kalmuck empire was destroyed and the frontiers of the Chinese empire advanced up to Farghāna (1758), Irdānā also was forced to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty; the Chinese records on this matter are cited by J. Klaproth, *Magasin Asiatique*, i (1825), 81 ff. from the *Tai tsʾing yi tʾung či*. Irdānā later was a member of a coalition of Muslim rulers of Central Asia, which applied to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], the ruler of Afghānistān, for help against China. The alliance had no further results, although Aḥmad Shāh in 1763 appeared in Turkestan at the head of an army and occupied the territory between Khoḳand and Tāshkend (at the same time an invasion of the land of the Ḳarā-Ḳirgiz was made from Khoḳand, Klaproth, *op. cit.*, 83), but he had soon to retire again on account of the claims of his enterprises in other directions. ʿAbd al-Karīm's grandson, Nār Būta Beg (probably reigned 1188-1213/1774-98, cf. L. Zimin in *Protokoli Turk kružka lyub. arkheologii*, xviii, 102, and Walidow, *ibid.*, xx, 112 f.), was also nominally under Chinese suzerainty. To the early years of this reign belongs the journey of the Russian sergeant, Filipp Yefremov, who was taken prisoner by the Ḳirgiz in 1774 and sold in Bukhārā and 1782 returned to Russia via India and England. According to his *Travels* (F. Yefremov, *Stranstrovaniye v Bukharii, Khivye, Persii w Indii*², St. Petersburg 1794, 59 f.), Nārbūta was already entitled Khān "by the Chinese", was allied with China and at enmity with Bukhārā. No mention is made of prominent buildings in the capital (the Medrese Mīr was built in the reign of Nārbūta); on the other hand, a high pillar (apparently a minaret), said to be over 280 feet high in the market-place in Marghīnān, is described. According to Filipp Nazarov (see below), this "tower" was visible for a distance of 50 versts (over 30 miles).

Nārbūta's two sons, ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, are the real founders of the state and city of Khoḳand as we later know it. The chronology of these reigns (1212-1237/1798-1822) is not sufficiently established; even the year in which ʿĀlim was assassinated and ʿUmar raised to the throne is variously given in the sources. According to the *Taʾrikh-i Shāhrukhī* (ed. Pantusov, 106) ʿUmar died in the year 1237/1821-2 (in the cyclic reckoning the year of the horse = 1822 is given); according to Nalivkin (Russ. original, 101; French tr., 124), which here follows another source (the *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh* of Ḥakīm Khān), ʿĀlim was not murdered till the spring of 1232 (i.e. 1817, not 1816, as in Nalivkin); on the other hand Nalivkin himself in another passage (Russ. orig. 185; French tr. 228) puts the building of the chief mosque of Khoḳand by ʿUmar Khān in 1231/1816. The Russian interpreter Filipp Nazarov, who was in Khoḳand in the winter of 1813-14, calls the ruler of Khoḳand Amir Walliami (*Zapiski o nyekorotïkh narodakh Srednyey Azie*[1], St. Petersburg 1821, 50 ff. This is probably for *Walī al-Niʿami*, not *Walī Miyanī*, as in Klaproth, *op. cit.*, 43. The ruler at this time was only 25 years of age; this statement can only refer to ʿUmar, not to the much older ʿĀlim; according to ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Bukhārī also (ed. Schefer, 102), this embassy and the cause of it (the murder of the Khoḳand envoy by a Russian soldier in Petropavlovsk) both took place in the reign of ʿUmar Khān. According to ʿAbd al-Karīm, 99, ʿĀlim had already been killed in 1224/1809, which cannot be right, as we have a document of his dated Djumādā I, 1225/June 1810 (*Protokoli Turk kružka, lyub. arkh.*, iii, 165 f.). The change of ruler must therefore have taken place between 1810 and 1813.

In the oldest known document of his reign, dated 1213/1798-9, ʿĀlim still regards himself as the representative of an unnamed Khān; later he appears as an independent ruler with the title *Khān* or *Amīr*; after the conquest of Tāshkend, his power was as great as that of the Amīr of Bukhārā. In ʿUmar's reign in 1814 (so Nazarov; not so late as 1819, as in Nalivkin, Russ. orig. 110 f.; French tr. 134 f.), the town of Turkistān with the parts of the Ḳirgiz steppes belonging to it was incorporated in the kingdom of Khoḳand. ʿUmar thereupon took the title of *Amīr al-Muslimīn*. There were several wars with Bukhārā regarding the possession of Ura Tübe in the reigns of both ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, and the town indeed remained a bone of contention between the two states right down to the Russian conquest.

ʿUmar's domestic policy was quite different from that of his predecessor. Like many other Central Asian rulers, ʿĀlim had made up his mind to break the power of the Özbeg families and therefore surrounded himself with mercenary troops from the highlanders of Ḳarātigin, Darwāz and other lands (*Taʾrikh-i Shāhrukhī*, 42 f.). The war against the nobles was, as frequently elsewhere, combined with a war on the religious classes, especially the dervish orders. The historians on this account describe ʿĀlim as a godless tyrant (*ẓālim*); on the other hand they praise the piety and justness of ʿUmar, who was put on the throne by ʿĀlim's murderers. ʿUmar built the present chief mosque of Khoḳand, which was also used as a *madrasa* and therefore is known as the Madrasa-yi Djāmiʿ. ʿUmar was also fond of poetry and wrote poems himself under the pseudonym (*takhallus*) of *Amīr*; verses by the Khān himself, his officials

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and favourites were collected in a special anthology (afterwards printed) entitled *Madjmūʿat al-shuʿarāʾ* by M. Hartmann in *MSOS*, vii, Westas. Stud., 87 ff. It was probably ʿUmar who founded the town of Shahr-i Khān (west of Andidjān); the great canal, led to it from the Ḳarā Daryā, Shahr-i Khān Sāy, completely altered the irrigation of Farghāna.

ʿUmar's son and successor, Madalī (properly Muḥammad ʿAlī), was 12 at his accession (according to others 14). During the first half of his reign, the khānate of Khoḳand reached its greatest power and extent. In the south the districts of Ḳarātigīn, Darwāz, and Kulāb, which now belonged to Bukhārā, were all conquered; in the north-east taxes were levied on the Ḳarā Ḳirgiz, on the Great and on a part of the Central Horde of Ḳazak Ḳirgiz; the Khān's representatives even appeared among the tribes of the Great Horde which led a nomadic life on the other side of the Ili [*q.v.*]. The rebellion of Khodja Djahāngīr in Kāshgharia (1826), which received support from Khoḳand, met with no success; nevertheless, the officers of the Khān were allowed by the Chinese government to collect taxes in the "six towns" (*altī shahr*): Aḳsū, Ush Ṭurfān, Ḳāshghar, Yangishahr, Yārḳand and Khotan. Like Khoḳand, where one of the largest *madrasa*s bears the name of Madalī Khān, Tāshkend attained considerable prosperity; from 1835 the *Beglerbegi* of Tāshkend was given the administration of all the northern provinces of the kingdom, and a memorial of this period is the great Beglerbegi Madrasa. The excavation of the great Khān Harīḳ canal in the region of Tāshkend also belongs to this period (*Protokoli Turk kruška, lyub. arkh.*, iii, 175).

In spite of the great extent of his kingdom, the authority of the Khān was not firmly established; his vicious life and cruel rule had aroused general discontent. Naṣr Allāh, *amīr* of Bukhārā, is said to have been asked by people in Khoḳand itself to put an end to his rule. The Khoḳand army was completely defeated; the capital itself was taken by the enemy (for the first time since the foundation of the kingdom); Madalī was killed while trying to escape (1258/1842). The conquerors were driven out again in the same year and Shīr ʿAlī, a cousin of ʿĀlim and ʿUmar, was placed on the throne; but down to the Russian conquest, domestic peace was never restored for any length of time. The reigns of Shīr ʿAlī (1842-45) and his sons Khudāyār (1845-58 and 1865-75) and Mallā (1858-62) and several short-lived rulers were a period of continual confusion and bloody fighting, notably between the Özbegs of the Ḳīpčaḳ tribe and the "Sarts", i.e. the native population. Khudāyār, who was still a minor, was raised to the throne by Musulmān Ḳul, the chief of the Ḳīpčaḳ; the Ḳīpčaḳ drove the Sarts out of their houses in the capital and took possession of the canals in the country; the Sarts were only allowed the water necessary for their fields on payment of a fixed sum. In 1269/1852 Musulmān Ḳul was overthrown by Khudāyār and put to death; the land again passed to the Sarts. Mallā then relied on the support of the Ḳīpčaḳ and restored to them the lands taken by the Sarts. All this warfare, internal and external was waged with great ferocity; after Khudāyār's capture of Ura Tübe in 1264/1848, a tower of skulls (*Kelle minār*) was built from the heads of the slain enemy. Banished pretenders usually took refuge in Bukhārā, and taking advantage of these dissensions, the Mangit Khān of Bukhārā Naṣr Allāh was able to advance as far as Khudjand [*q.v.*] in 1275/1858.

In spite of all this, the khānate retained its former extent down to the Russian conquest of the later 19th century. Russian forces had been in contact with troops from Khoḳand since 1850 on the upper Syr Daryā, and in the north-east of the khānate between the Ču and Ili rivers since 1860. All these regions were under the *Beglerbegi* or governor appointed by the Khān for Tāshkend (see above), who was also responsible for the maintenance of agriculture; the governor Mīrzā Aḥmad (1853-8) is said to have organised irrigation works from the town of Turkestān or Azret to the Ču valley. In 1864 Tāshkend fought off a Russian attack, and immediately afterwards, a Khoḳandī force attacked the town of Turkistān, by then Russian-held. Subsequent Russian intervention was facilitated by the conflicting interests of the Iranian townspeople or Sarts and the nomadic Ḳīpčaḳ elements of the rural areas, mentioned above, and also by the discords between the Central Asian khānates. The ruler of Bukhārā Muẓaffar al-Dīn b. Naṣr Allāh was invited to secure Tāshkend for himself, when that town seemed likely to fall to the Russians; but in 1865 the Russians captured Tāshkend, whereupon the Khān of Bukhārā marched on Khoḳand, occupying Khudjand and Khoḳand and forcing Khudāyār of Khoḳand to acknowledge the suzerainty of Bukhārā. In 1866, as part of the operations against both Khoḳand and Bukhārā, General Romanovski advanced up the Syr Daryā, thereby driving a wedge between the two khānates. After the fall of Khudjand, Khudāyār came to terms and agreed to become a Russian vassal and to pay an indemnity.

Thus began the last phase of the khānate's nominally independent existence. Despite all the internal dissensions and intrigues, the economic condition of the khānate seems to have been prosperous enough, with flourishing local textile, carpet-weaving and other crafts; according to a Russian observer in 1867, the town had a population of 80,000, with 15 *madrasa*s and several hundred mosques. Traditional Muslim learning was, indeed, far from moribund in all three of the Central Asian khānates in this the last phase of their existence. During this period, several buildings were erected in the town of Khoḳand, including the palace or *urda* of the Khān, and the *madrasa*s of Ḥākim Āyīn and Sulṭān Murād Beg, built by the Khān's mother and brother.

Until 1875, it seems to have been the Imperial Russian government's intention to retain the khānate in a similar status to those of Bukhārā and Khīwa. But disturbances within the khānate, and attacks on Russian-held territory, continued, and in 1875 there was a popular rising against Khudāyār Khān led by his kinsman Pūlād Khān, and the former regions of the khānate then annexed by Russia, such as Khudjand and Kuraminsk, joined the revolt. A Russian invasion inevitably led to the capture of Khoḳand by General Von Kaufman. The Treaty of Marghīlān was made with the new Khān, Naṣr al-Dīn b. Khudāyār, by which all the territory of Khoḳand on the right bank of the Syr Daryā was ceded to Russia. But fighting nevertheless continued in the eastern part of the khānate, until Russia finally occupied the whole of the khānate, deposed the line of the Mīñ Khāns and annexed all their lands to Russia. The imposition of direct rule over the khānate was especially important to Russia at this time, because Khoḳand's eastern frontier marched with Kāshgharia or Chinese Turkestan, then controlled by the rebel Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*], himself a Khoḳandī who had fought against the Russians at the capture of Aḳ-Masdjid (Kyzyl-Orda) on the middle Syr Daryā in 1853, and was not surprisingly hostile to Russia. As part of the Governor-Generalship of Russian Turkestan, Khoḳand now

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became an *oblast* under the ancient name of Farghāna. In the 1898 administrative re-organisation, Khoḳand became a *uezd* of the *oblast* of Farghāna. The town of Khoḳand itself continued to be the chief town of the region, with 11,636 inhabitants in 1911, but with the newly-founded town of New Marghilān, later Skobolev, as the governor's seat.

The Muslim peoples of the former khānate played a major rôle in the anti-Russian rebellions of 1916, when the Imperial government attempted to call up non-Russians for labour service in the war. In the following year, it was the focus of the Muslim movement for the autonomy of Turkestan as the Tsarist régime broke up, and in December 1917, the Fourth Extraordinary Regional Muslim Congress met in the town of Khoḳand and declared the autonomy of Turkestan. Early in 1918, however, the Tashkend Soviet declared the government set up in Khoḳand under Muṣṭafā Čakayev to be counter-revolutionary, and in February 1918 Red Army forces attacked the town of Khoḳand, which was defended only by a hastily-raised Muslim militia, captured it, and conducted a savage massacre in which several thousands of the inhabitants were killed. After this, Muslim desires for self-determination in the region were expressed by the guerilla activities of the Basmačis [*q.v.*].

Under the Soviets, Khoḳand forms a *rayon* or district of the Fargana *oblast* of the Uzbek SSR. It is now an important centre for light industry, in which silk and linen manufactures are prominent. The palace of Khudāyār is now the town's museum. The population in 1970 was 133,000.

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(W. Barthold - [C. E. Bosworth])

KHOKARS, a powerful hill-tribe inhabiting the Jehlum area in the north-west of the undivided Panjab. The Khokars were a dominant race of the province at the time of the first Muslim invasion of the Indian sub-continent; their origins are as shrouded in mystery as those of any other Panjab tribe, but that they were originally Hindus seems hardly open to question.

The earliest mention of the Khokars occurs in Ḥasan Niẓāmī's *Tāǰ al-maʾāṯir* which refers to an insurrection of the tribe under their chiefs named Bakan and Sarki. The next contemporary chronicle to contain a reference to the Khokars is Minhādj-i Sirādj's *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, which says that they were encouraged by Malik Khusraw, the last Ghaznawid ruler of Lāhawr, to rise against their Djammū overlords. History also records a military contact near Lāhawr between the Khokars and a force of the fugitive Djalāl al-Dīn Khʷārazmī in 620/1223.

Extending their sway beyond their traditional stronghold in the country between the Jehlum and the Chenab, the Khokars held a considerable area east of the Beas. In 647/1250 they were masters of most of the upper part of the Panjab, but they are no more heard of until the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluḳ when they again created disturbance. Yaḥyā Sirhindī's *Taʾrīḵ-i Mubārakshāhī* describes the seizure of Lāhawr in 797/1394 by the Khokar chief Shaykhā and his long-standing feud with Sārang Khān, governor of Dipālpur, resulting in the former's defeat.

The Khokars played a significant role in offering resistance to the invading hordes of Tīmūr in India. After Shaykhā's arrest by Tīmūr in 801/1398, the Khokars disappear from history, but his son Djasrat, who escaped from Samarḳand, whither Tīmūr had taken him as a prisoner, emerges later in 823/1420 as a force to reckon with. For more than twenty years, this indefatigable Khokar warrior proved to be the cause of constant worry to the Sultans of Dihli. In 845/1441, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh conferred Dipālpur and Lāhawr on Bahlūl Lōdī and charged him to chastise Djasrat, but the wily Khokar came to terms with Bahlūl and urged him to oust the Sayyids and occupy Dihli. However, Djasrat was murdered in 846/1442 by his queen, a daughter of Bhim Deo, Rādjā of Djammū, because her father had been put to death by him. After Djasrat, the Khokars were left leaderless, and coupled with the rise of the Lōdī power in the Panjab, the Khokar ambitions finally came to nought.

Scholars and historians have often confused the Khokars with the Gakkhars, a totally distinct tribe, settled in the same province. Firishta in all probability means Khokars when he describes the Gakkhars as a race of wild barbarians, devoid of religion or morality, practising polyandry and female infanticide. Similarly, in his article, *A history of the Gakkhars*, in *JASB*, xl/1 (1871), I. G. Delmerick has attributed the achievements of the Khokars to the Gakkhars. As a matter of fact, the Khokars were spread all over the central districts of the Panjab centuries before the Gakkhars acquired a foothold in the Salt Range, to which they remained traditionally confined (cf. H. A. Rose, *The Khokars and the Gakkhars in the Punjab history*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xxxvi (1907), 1-9).

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KHOMAYR [see KHUMAYR].

KHOSRAW [see KHOSREW, KHUSRAW, KISRĀ].

KHOSREW BEG, sandjaḳ beg of Bosnia, was born in Serez (Macedonia) *ca.* 885/1480. His mother, the princess Seldjūḳ, was a daughter of Sultan Bāyazīd II [*q.v.*], his father Ferhād being a South Slav

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from Herzegovina (C. Truhelka has shown that "Radivoj, the brother of the Sultan's son-in-law", to whom the people of Ragusa [*q.v.*] sent gifts, was Ferhād's brother). Taking part in Sultan Süleymān's campaign against Belgrade (927/1521), Khosrew Beg was appointed *sandjaḳ beg* of Bosnia on 13 Shawwāl/15 September of the same year, a fortnight after the conquest of the city. Having stayed four years in Sarajevo, he was removed from office because he failed at the siege of Yayče. Some six months later he returned to his post, which he kept until he died, over sixty years old, in 948/1541, except for an interruption of a few years (1533-6), during which he was at Belgrade *sandjaḳ beg* of Semendria.

Distinguishing himself by his successful campaign, Khosrew Beg was nick-named *Ghāzī*; even today he is well-known among the Bosnian Muslims by the name of *Gazi Husrev-beg*. Due to his military activities, Turkish power spread widely in Bosnia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (Obrovač, Yayčel, Banǧaluka, Požega, Klis, Gorǰan).

His campaign brought Khosrew Beg great riches which he spent on enlarging Sarajevo. During his governorship, the city grew into an important centre. Three charters of foundation (*waḳfiyye*) attest his activities: two (938/1531 and 944/1537) for the Khosrew Beg mosque (*Begova džamija*) next to which was erected the mausoleum (*türbe*) in which he was buried, and one (943/1537) for the *Kuršumlija medresa*. The *Begova džamija* is one of the most outstanding specimens of Islamic architecture in Yugoslavia, and an imposing monument of the Turkish period in Sarajevo. The *waḳf* founded by Khosrew Beg has been of great importance for the city of Sarajevo and for the cultural life of the Muslims in Bosnia and Hezergovina in general. Up to the 20th century, many public buildings were erected with its revenues. It still exists, but much property was lost in the 11th/17th century, especially at the great fire in 1697 when Prince Eugene of Savoy made his breakthrough at Sarajevo. In course of time, many estates belonging to the *waḳf* were lost, including recently at the land-reform in Yugoslavia after 1918.

In the charter of foundation of the *medrese*, Khosrew Beg ordered a library to be attached to the school. During the governership of Topal ʿOthmān Pasha in Bosnia (1861-9), the library was separated from the school, and the books were transferred in 1864. After 1867 books and documents from other libraries and institutions were brought to this library, known as *Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka*. In 1963 it held 6,456 Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts, and many have been added since. There are also *ca.* 3,500 documents of the Turkish period, 400 charters of foundation and 84 registers (*sidjill*) of the *ḳāḍī*s of Sarajevo.

Other monuments in the town for which Khosrew Beg was responsible include a *ḫānaḳāh*, a *ḥammām*, a *bedesten* of 90 stalls and the Ṭashlī Khān, a caravanserai provided with 60 lodgings.

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(B. Djurdjev and J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont)

KHOSREW, Mollā, a famous Ottoman jurist, whose real name was Meḥmed b. Farāmurz b. ʿAlī. According to one statement he was of Turkoman (tribe of Warsaḳ) descent and born in the village of Ḳarghīn (half way between Sīwās and Toḳat); according to others, however, he was of "Frankish" descent and the son of a "French" nobleman who had adopted Islām. According to Saʿd al-Dīn his father was of Romaic (*Rūm*) descent. Khosrew became a pupil of the famous disciple of Taftazānī, Burhān al-Dīn Ḥaydar of Herāt (cf. *Isl.*, xi, 61 and Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tāǰ al-tawārīḫ*, ii, 430), and received a teaching post in the Shāh Malik *medrese* in Adrianople; in 848/1444 he became *ḳāḍī* of Adrianople and later *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Rumelia. On the death of Khiḍr Beg [*q.v.*], the first *ḳāḍī* of Constantinople, he succeeded him and was at the same time *müderris* at the Aya Ṣofya. Feeling hurt at Mollā Kurānī [*q.v.*] being promoted over him, he went to Bursa in 867/1462 and built a *medrese* there. In 874/1469 he returned to Istanbul by command of the Sulṭān, became *Shaykh al-Islām* and died there in 885/1480. His body was taken to Bursa and buried in the court of the mosque founded by him. He also founded a mosque in Istanbul, which bears his name (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīḳat al-ǰawāmiʿ*, i, 201; J. von Hammer, *GOR*, ix, 87, No. 428).

Mollā Khosrew was a celebrated jurist, many of whose pupils became famous in after life. He also attained a wide reputation as an author. His two most important works are the often-annotated *Durar al-ḥukkām fī sharḥ Ghurar al-aḥkām* on the principles of legal practice, written in 877-83/1473-7 (printed at Cairo 1294 and 1305), also a dogmatic work *Mirḳāt al-wuṣūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl* (printed at Cairo 1262 and Istanbul 1304). On other works by him, cf. von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 589 ff. and Brockelmann, II, 226-7.

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(F. Babinger)

KHOSREW PASHA, Bosniak (?-1041/1632), Ottoman Grand Vizier. Bosnian in origin, Khosrew was taken into the palace service and rose to the office of *silāḥdār*. When, in Muḥarram 1033/October-November 1623, the dissident (*zorba*) *oda baṣhı*s of the Janissaries demanded the replacement of their *agha* by someone not of the corps, Khosrew passed out of the *enderūn-i humāyūn* to become *Yeñiçeri aghası*.

The state was at this time going through a critical period: the dominance of the Janissaries in internal affairs had reached new heights with the execution of ʿOthmān II (Raǰab 1031/May 1622); Ābāza Meh-

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med) Pasha [*q.v.*] was in revolt in Erzurum; and the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās I was soon to take Baghdād (Rabīʿ I 1033/January 1624). In Shāʿbān 1033/May 1624 Khosrew Agha, as *agha* of the Janissaries, left Istanbul with the *ḳapïḳulu* soldiery in the train of the Grand Vizier Čerkes Meḥmed Pasha [see MUḤAMMAD PASHA ČERKES], who had been given the command against Ābāza Pasha. Khosrew is mentioned as having fought courageously in the victory over Ābāza's forces near Kayseri in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1033/September 1624. When Čerkes Meḥmed died in winter quarters in Tokat (Rabīʿ II 1034/January 1625), Khosrew and the *baṣḥdefterdār*, Bāḳī Pasha, wrote to the capital urging the appointment of the *beglerbegi* of Diyārbekir, Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] as his successor, an action Khosrew came to regret on learning that he himself might have been considered for the office. Though he was soon after given the rank of vizier, he is said by Pečewī, then with the army, not to have been able to overcome his disappointment and to have hoped that Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed might fail in the subsequent campaign against Baghdād (Pečewī, *Taʾrïḫ*, ii, 403, 405).

In Ramaḍān 1034/June 1625 Khosrew and the forces which had wintered in Tokat joined the army under Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed to march against Baghdād. The ensuing siege of that city, which lasted for nearly eight months (Ṣafar-Shawwāl 1035/November 1625-July 1626), was unsuccessful, but Khosrew again distinguished himself by his bravery, especially when the Ottomans were near to rout in the third of the battles (Ramaḍān 1035/June 1626) with a relieving force of some 30,000 soldiers under Shāh ʿAbbās himself. (For an undated imperial decree sent to Khosrew during this siege, see Ferīdūn Beg, *Munsheʾāt al-salāṭïn*, Istanbul 1264-5, ii, 89-90).

Following the failure at Baghdād, both Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha and Khosrew Agha were dismissed (Rabīʿ I 1036/December 1626), though neither was disgraced. Summoned to the capital by the sultan, Murād IV, Khosrew arrived in Radjab 1036/March-April 1627 and was made a *ḳubbe* vizier (and thus Pasha). The inability of the new Grand Vizier, Khalīl Pasha, to counter the renewed threat from Ābāza Pasha in 1627 led to the former's dismissal. The sultan is said to have placed great trust in Khosrew Pasha's courage and in his ability to control the army (Pečewī, ii, 409); and in the consultation over the choice of a new Grand Vizier the arguments of the *Shaykh al-Islām* Yaḥyā Efendi that it was time to try a new face and that Khosrew's unparalleled reputation for valour made him the best man for the post silenced the other ministers. Because there were viziers senior to him, notably the *ḳāʾïm maḳām* Radjab Pasha [*q.v.*], he was not made Grand Vizier immediately but was first appointed governor of Diyārbekir and sent to Izmit, where the imperial seal was delivered to him on 1 Shaʿbān 1037/6 April 1628. In his letter of appointment he was charged first with subduing Ābāza Pasha, then with marching against the Ṣafawids; and he was also given wide discretion in the making of appointments and the administration of affairs generally (see Ferīdūn Beg, ii, 90-5, for the *berāt*).

Having made careful preparations for the campaign against Ābāza, Khosrew moved towards Tokat. Through harsh measures against wrongdoers and those whom he regarded as having failed in their duty, he succeeded in establishing strict discipline in the army. He reached Tokat on 28 Ramaḍān 1037/1 June 1628, where he remained for some seven weeks before a report that Ābāza, concerned by desertions from his forces, was seeking aid from Shāh ʿAbbās spurred him to move quickly against Erzurum. His considerable reputation for bravery persuaded increasing numbers of Ābāza's followers to desert to him, a tendency which he further encouraged by treating the deserters well. Ābāza had laid siege to Ḥasanḳale but returned to Erzurum on hearing of Khosrew's advance. At the suggestion of the governor of Ḥasanḳale, Khosrew advanced on Erzurum at great speed with a picked force, arriving before Ābāza could complete his preparations (29 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 1037/30 August 1628). During the siege which followed, Khosrew again encouraged desertions by promises of pardon and employment in the army. Recognising the impossibility of resistance, Ābāza surrendered on terms on 23 Muḥarram 1038/22 September 1628, and Khosrew thus brought to an end a problem which had bedevilled the state for some six years. A Ṣafawid force coming to Ābāza's aid was surprised and defeated by the governor of Ḳars, its commander, Shamsī Khān, being captured and sent to Khosrew. Having decided not to winter in the field, Khosrew returned to Istanbul with both Ābāza and Shamsī Khān in his train and made a triumphal entry into the city on 12 Rabīʿ II/9 December. Ābāza, pardoned in accordance with the terms of the surrender, was appointed governor of Bosnia.

Though Khosrew fell ill in the spring of 1629, he recovered and was appointed commander for the campaign to retake Baghdād. He left Üsküdār on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1038/9 July 1629 and arrived in Mosul on 1 Djumādā I 1039/17 December 1629. An unusually hard winter, with continuous heavy rains and even snow, caused severe flooding over a large area and created great difficulties for the army. On 13 Djumādā II/28 January 1630 the army left Mosul for Baghdād. Having suffered considerable losses of men and matériel in the crossing of the flooded river Zāb, Khosrew convened a *dīwān* in which it was decided that to besiege Baghdād in the present conditions was impossible and that the time would be better spent in a pre-emptive attack on the ruler of Ardalān [*q.v.*], Khān Aḥmad, who might otherwise threaten their rear. As the army advanced, many of the Kurdish *begs* submitted to Khosrew. Reaching the district of Shahrizūr, Khosrew was persuaded to rebuild the fortress of Gulʿanbar, built by Sulaymān I and subsequently destroyed by Shāh ʿAbbās. The work was begun on 1 Shaʿbān 1039/16 March 1630 and took some fifty days to complete. During the stay at Gulʿanbar, Khosrew sent a force to take the fortress of Mihrībān, on the road to Hamadhān. The garrison surrendered, but the Ottoman force was then attacked by a Ṣafawid army under the *khān-i khānān*, Zaynal Khān. In the ensuing battle the Ottomans, with some difficulty, won the day (22 Ramaḍān/5 May). Moving further east, the Ottomans sacked the palace of Khān Aḥmad at Ḥasanabād and, on 27 Shawwāl/9 June, reached Hamadhān, which had been evacuated by the Ṣafawids. They laid waste the city, and, with the intention of marching on Ḳazwīn, advanced to Darguzīn, which they also sacked. It was there decided that an attack on Ḳazwīn would prove both difficult and ultimately pointless and that it was past time to return to the main aim of the campaign, the recovery of Baghdād which was now some sixty stages distant. The army departed from Darguzīn on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1039/21 June 1630 and marched towards Baghdād, meeting serious resistance only from the ruler of Luristān, sent against them by Shāh Ṣafī, whom they overcame on the plain of Čamkhāl, near Nihāwand, on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja/14 July. Reaching the environs of Baghdād in early Septem-

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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ber, Khosrew began on 28 Ṣafar 1040/6 October 1630 what proved to be a fruitless siege of the city. Five days after an unsuccessful full-scale assault on 3 Rabīʿ II/9 November it was decided to withdraw. During the course of the siege Khosrew had been persuaded by the local Arabs to garrison the fortress at Ḥilla; and leaving a sizeable force there, he departed with the army for Mosul, where he arrived on 7 Djumādā/ I/12 December. While the army dispersed for the winter, Khosrew, in ill-health, prepared to winter in Mosul.

When the news that the Ottomans had abandoned the siege of Baghdād reached Kurdistan and the Shāh, an army under Khān Aḥmad attacked the Ottoman garrison at Dertenek. The defenders fled to the newly-built fortress at Shahrizūr (Gulʿanbar) which was subsequently attacked by a large army under Khān Aḥmad and the Ṣafawid *khān-i khānān*; news of their advance caused the Kurdish *begs* to switch their allegiance to the Ṣafawids. The garrison at Shahrizūr evacuated the fortress, but subsequently engaged the Kurdish-Ṣafawid army in battle, only to be heavily defeated; three of the Ottoman commanders reached Mosul on 18 Djumādā I/23 December and were put to death by Khosrew. The victors meanwhile destroyed Gulʿanbar. A Ṣafawid army under Shāh Ṣafī then laid siege to Ḥilla, which they succeeded in taking despite stout resistance. The loss of Shahrizūr and the siege of Ḥilla persuaded Khosrew to retire to the relative safety of Mārdīn. Having made arrangements for the repair of the fortifications at Mosul, he left on 18 Djumādā II/22 January 1631 and arrived in Mārdīn on the 29th/2 February. (For further details of the Hamadhān/Baghdād campaign from the Ṣafawid side, see Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Dhayl-i Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ed. Suhaylī Khwānsārī, Tehran 1938, 39 ff.)

From Mārdīn a request was sent to the capital for men (in particular a large force of Tatars), money and supplies for another campaign against Baghdād in 1631. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1040/June 1631 Khosrew moved to Koč Ḥiṣār, a short distance to the south-west of Mārdīn, where he spent the summer months awaiting the arrival of the Tatars, several thousand of whom had set out in the spring, and trying to decide on his course of action. When he finally determined to move towards Mosul (Ṣafar 1041/September 1631), heat, fatigue and disease had so affected the army that it was urged that the campaign be abandoned until the following year. Khosrew had little choice but to agree and retired toward Diyārbekir where he entered winter quarters on 3 Rabīʿ II/29 October.

By this time, however, he had already been replaced as Grand Vizier by Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha, the decision to do so having been taken in Istanbul on 29 Rabīʿ I 1041/25 October 1631. Naʿīmā (*Taʾrīkh*, iii, 76-9) lists a number of underlying reasons for his dismissal, chief among them his excessive dependence upon, and consequent currying of favour with, the troublesome elements in the army (*zorbas*), this in turn leading to instances of oppression and malfeasance (see also ii, 441-3, where Naʿīmā gives details of Khosrew's securing the dismissal of a *Yeñiçeri kātibi* who had been appointed with specific instructions from the sultan to end the abuses in the enrolment of Janissaries and to prevent improper entries in the registers of the corps). The decisive factor, however, appears to have been his failure to retake Baghdād despite a substantial investment of men and resources. When the news of his dismissal reached Diyārbekir (21 Rabīʿ II/16 November), the army immediately protested, threatening to kill the messenger who had brought the news and urging Khosrew to remain until they could make representations to the capital on his behalf. Khosrew calmed them, however, accepted his dismissal and left Diyārbekir (26 Rabīʿ II/21 November), surrendering the imperial seal in the vicinity of Malaṭya. A recurrence of gout forced him to halt in Tokat, where he was to remain until his death.

Khosrew Pasha's dismissal became the focus of a serious rebellion in the capital, incited, it is said, by the vizier Radjab Pasha, who coveted the Grand Vizierate. Those involved were the *ḳapiḳulu* who had been recalled from Diyārbekir for the winter and a number of individual *zorbas* who, having built up their own followings and made themselves virtually independent in various parts of Anadolu and Rūmeli, had agreed to attempt to restore Khosrew to the Grand Vizierate and had converged on the capital. Demanding the deaths of seventeen leading men identified as those who had brought about Khosrew's dismissal, the rebels succeeded in assassinating Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha, who was replaced by Radjab Pasha (19 Radjab 1041/10 February 1632: Pečewī, ii, 420, wrongly cites the execution, not the dismissal, of Khosrew as the cause of this rebellion). Deeply angered by these events, Murād IV held Khosrew to be the cause and determined on his execution. Appointing Murtaḍā Pasha to the governorship of Diyārbekir, he charged him secretly with putting Khosrew to death. Despite opposition from the people of Tokat as well as Khosrew's followers, this end was accomplished when Khosrew ordered an end to resistance and accepted his fate. The news of his death, which became public knowledge in the capital on 19 Shaʿbān 1041/11 March 1632, provoked yet another serious rebellion, forming part of the general disorder which obtained until Murād IV was able decisively to assert his authority in June of the same year.

Though Khosrew Pasha is credited in the sources with considerable personal bravery and with taking great pains in the preparation of his campaigns, these qualities are overshadowed by what is regarded as his excessive severity, even bloodthirstiness, to demonstrate which numerous examples are given. On this aspect of his character Naʿīmā remarks: "He had no hesitation in putting to death men whose execution neither the *sharʿ* nor reason required, who perhaps did not deserve so much as a rebuke" (iii, 77). His success over Ābāza Pasha, a considerable achievement, is seen as having made him arrogant and headstrong, qualities which fitted ill with his relative inexperience. In the accounts of the Hamadhān/ Baghdād campaign he is faulted from the military point of view for having allowed himself to be persuaded by the Kurds to rebuild Gulʿanbar and by the Arabs to garrison Ḥilla, since neither was defensible unless Baghdād were taken, and both projects, though each in a different way, were distractions from that basic aim. In contrast to the generally unfavourable impression of him, and especially of his character, which emerges from the sources, however, one might note the apparently spontaneous protest by the army at his dismissal; the attempt by the people of Tokat to defend him; and, while allowing for the selfish ends of some of those involved, the strong reactions aroused in Istanbul first by his dismissal and then by his execution. These events suggest that he was, perhaps, more widely admired, even at the end, than the sources, and particularly Naʿīmā, would lead one to believe.

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Ta'rikh, Istanbul 1281-3, ii, 293, 320, 343-4, 378-80, 401-3; 419-49 *passim*; iii, 2-105 *passim*; Munadjdjim Bashi, 661, 663-8; ʿOthmānzāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīkat al-wuzarāʾ*, 74-6; Ferīdūn Beg, *Munshaʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1264-5, ii, 87-96; Murtaḍā Naẓmīzāde, *Gulshan-i khulafāʾ*, Istanbul 1143, 74 ff.; *Relation de ce qui s'est passé entre les armées du Grand Seigneur et du Roy de Perse depuis la fin de l'année 1629 jusqu'à présent, où est descrit le troisième siège de Babylone*, Paris 1631; *IA*, art. *Ḫusrev Paşa* (H. Inalcık). (H. İNALCIK - R. C. REPP)

KHOSREW PASHA, DĪVĀNE or DELI, Ottoman governor and vizier, and elder brother of Lala Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*]. He was a Janissary of Bosnian origin, but became a deserter at the outset of his career, and for several years lived an adventurous life, as evoked by ʿĀlī in his *Kunh al-akhbār*. He returned to grace at an unknown date, and then became food-taster (*čashnīgīr*) at the Palace, intendant of the corps of guards (*kapudjī*) and then equerry to the sultan. His conduct during the Čāldirān campaign gained him the governorship (*beglerbeglik*) of Karamān on 25 August 1514. He took part in the conquest of Diyārbakr in 1515, in the Egyptian campaign of 1516-17, and in the suppression of the Ḳızılbash revolt of Shāh Welī in 1520 and that of Djānbirdī Ghazālī [*q.v.*] in the following year.

At the beginning of 1521 he became *beglerbeg* of Anatolia, and then of Diyārbakr at the death at the end of that same year of Bīyīḳlī Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*]; he was to remain for ten years in this post at Āmid, with responsibility for watching over the security of the frontiers with Ṣafawid Persia and for consolidating Ottoman authority in the Kurdish principalities which had recently rallied to the Porte. During the winter of 1531-2, his disputes with Ulama Pasha, a Ṣafawid refugee who had been made commander-in-chief of the troops in eastern Anatolia and was at that time in favour with the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, led to his dismissal. In 1532 he became governor of Anatolia for a second time, and took part in the "German" campaign of that same year. Trace is then lost of him until he turns up as *sandjaḳ begi* of Aleppo and then *beglerbeg* of Damascus in 1534, and charged with various military duties during the "campaign of the two ʿIrāḳs". Whilst the Ottoman army was wintering at Baghdad in 1534-5, the sultan nominated him as *beglerbeg* of Egypt in place of Khādim Süleymān Pasha [*q.v.*].

Khosrew Pasha's brief tenure of office in Cairo (February 1535-December 1536) was marked by such an enormous increase in the revenue from Egypt (*irsāliyya* [*q.v.*]) that the Porte had suspicions about the legality of the means used to collect it. A commission of enquiry was unable to prove his guilt, but he was nevertheless dismissed from his office. In fact, the evidence on his administration in Diyārbakr and in Egypt reveals a brutal, largely unscrupulous and highly mendacious official, but also a remarkably efficient one. The Ottoman chroniclers of Egypt (Yūsuf, Meḥmed b. Yūsuf al-Khallāḳ and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān) stress moreover the unusual prosperity and security which the land enjoyed under his rule.

He was replaced at Cairo by the powerful vizier Khādim Süleymān Pasha, whose previous ten years' tenure of the governorship he had endeavoured to denigrate in the eyes of the Porte, evoking in Khādim Süleymān Pasha a tenacious hatred against him. For the third time, Khosrew Pasha became *beglerbeg* of Anatolia at the beginning of 1537, and then of Rumelia in June 1538. His services during his tenure of these offices (the Moldavian campaign of 1538 and the capture of Castelnuovo in 1539) led the sultan to appoint him as fourth vizier in 1541, Khādim Süleymān Pasha being Grand Vizier and Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*] second vizier. It seems very probable that the latter's ambitions were the cause of the ruin of the other two. As the sultan's son-in-law and enjoying the support of his influential mother-in-law Khürrem Sulṭān, Rüstem was able to rouse against each other very skilfully the old enemies Khādim Süleymān and Khosrew in such a way that they came to blows in the sultan's presence in 1544 and were both deprived of office for this affair. Rüstem Pasha then became Grand Vizier. In despair at having lost his offices and powers, Khosrew Pasha allowed himself to starve to death in this year, one of the very rare cases of suicide amongst Ottoman officials of this period.

Bibliography: J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont, *Notes et documents sur Dīvâne Ḫüsrev Paşa*, in *RO* (1979), and bibliography cited there.

(J.-L. BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT)

KHOSREW PASHA, MEḤMED (?-1271/1855), Ottoman Grand Vizier, educated in the Palace and raised to the post of head *čukhadār* on the accession of Selīm III [*q.v.*] in 1203/1789. He entered the service of Küčük Ḥüseyn Pasha, a protagonist of military and naval reform, who became Admiral (*Ḳapudan-i deryā*) in 1206/1792. In 1215/1801 Khosrew sailed with the fleet to Egypt, where he commanded a force of 6,000 and co-operated with the British in the recapture of Rashīd and the defeat of French forces. In recognition of his services he was soon afterwards appointed *wālī* of Egypt.

In Egypt he attempted to establish the *niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*] army and disband the irregular *bashi bozuḳ* troops imported from Rumelia for the war against the French. When he attempted to stop their pay, the *bashi bozuḳ* forces rose in revolt and defeated Khosrew's own troops. Then Ṭāhir Pasha attacked Khosrew, forcing him to withdraw to Damietta and declared himself *wālī* of Egypt. Shortly afterwards, Ṭāhir was murdered, leaving Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] and the Mamlūks real masters of Egypt. In Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1218/July 1803, the Mamlūks defeated Khosrew near Damietta and threw him into prison. On his release by Muḥammad ʿAlī 8 months later, he was removed from the governorship of Egypt.

His next appointment was as *wālī* of Diyārbekir (1218-19/1803-4), followed by various governorships in Rumelia. He was active in the Russo-Turkish war which broke out in 1221/1806 as *wālī* of Silistra and military commander on the Danube front. In recognition of his services, he was appointed *Ḳapudan-i deryā* in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1225/January 1811 and commanded the Ottoman fleet in the Black Sea until the conclusion of a peace in Ramaḍān 1227/September 1812. He was dismissed in 1233/1818, and afterwards served in a number of provincial governorships. As *wālī* of Erzurum he was appointed military commander (*serʿasker*) in the east, with instructions to pacify rebellious Kurdish tribes whose activities had led to a clash with Persia. However, his mishandling of the affair led to a rebellion by the former *mutaṣarrif* of Bāyezīd, while the Persians, taking advantage of the situation, captured Bāyezīd, Erdjīsh and Bitlīs. The Porte transferred him to the governorship of Ṭrabzon, and in Ṣafar 1237/September 1821 appointed in his place the former Grand Vizier Meḥmed Emīn Raʾūf Pasha.

With the outbreak of rebellion in the Morea, Khosrew Pasha was again appointed *Ḳapudan-i deryā* (Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1238/December 1822) and detailed to

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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pursue the rebels in the Aegean. For this purpose, he constructed a fleet of shallow-draught vessels, suitable for pursuit in shallow waters, and attempted to cut off sea communications between Morea and the islands, at the same time victualling Ottoman troops on the Greek mainland. However, during the siege of Missolonghi (1240-1/1825-6), rivalry often broke out between Khosrew and Muḥammad Alī's son Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], who was commanding an Egyptian force on the Sultan's behalf. Ibrāhīm and Muḥammad ʿAlī sought Khosrew's dismissal from the admiralty and were eventually succesful. He was instead appointed *wālī* of Anadolu (Anatolia).

Khosrew, however, retained the confidence of Maḥmūd II, who recognised him as a protagonist of military reforms and as being instrumental in introducing European tactics to the fleet. In 1242/1827 the Sultan therefore appointed him *serʿasker* of the newly formed army, the *ʿasākir-i manṣūre-yi muḥammadiyye*, where he also began to introduce European tactics and training techniques. His influence in the capital increased after the outbreak of war with Russia in 1243/1828, when he engineered the dismissal of the Grand Vizier Selīm Meḥmed Ṗasha and the appointment of his own former slave and nominee, Rashīd Meḥmed Pasha. He also secured a commandership on the front for his former slave Khalīl Rifʿat Pasha, and the dismissal of the *serʿasker* on the Russian front, Agha Ḥüseyn Pasha. Meanwhile, the Russians crossed the Balkans and advanced on Edirne. Khosrew advised the Sultan to seek a peace, at the same time taking extraordinary measures to prevent panic in Istanbul, to the extent even of executing certain advocates of surrender. This, and the unpopularity of his westernising measures in the army, almost provoked a popular revolt. He was present at the peace negotiations in the presence of the French, English and Prussian ambassadors. His influence was now at a height, and he used it to remove his rivals from positions in the government, replacing them with his own slaves, and to have the former Grand Vizier, Selīm Meḥmed Pasha, dismissed from the governorship of Rumelia.

During the Russo-Turkish war, Muḥammad ʿAlī had made excessive demands to the Sultan and was now threatening ʿAkkā. At this point, Maḥmūd placed the matter in the hands of Khosrew who, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1247/April 1832 appointed Agha Ḥüseyn commander of the army in Anatolia. After Muḥammad ʿAlī's victory and advance on Istanbul, Khosrew invited military instructors from Europe, among them the famous Von Moltke. During this period he had the complete confidence of the Sultan, and his responsibility for the security of the capital and the fact that he advanced many of his numerous personal slaves to positions in the government, further increased his influence. By marrying his own men to the Sultan's daughters, he insinuated his way into Palace circles.

However, in Shawwāl 1252/January 1837, two of his own protégés, Khalīl and Saʿīd Pashas, secured his dismissal as *serʿasker*, while in Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1253/June 1837, his great rival Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha became Foreign Minister. Khosrew was retired on a pension. His absence from public affairs did not last long. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1254/March 1838, he received the chairmanship of the Reform Committee (*medjlis-i wālā*) and presided over the councils which met in his villa to discuss the Egyptian question.

A further deterioration of affairs in Egypt and the death of Maḥmūd II in 1255/1839 caused a grave crisis in the empire. It was at this juncture that Khosrew literally seized power, by grabbing the Imperial Seal from the Grand Vizier, Raʾūf Pasha, during the funeral of Maḥmūd II, and declaring himself Grand Vizier. This led to the defection of his rival, the *Ḳapudan-i deryā*, Aḥmed Fevzī Pasha, who sailed with the fleet to Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt, with the intention of returning with Egyptian troops and deposing Khosrew. Muḥammad ʿAlī for his part, demanded Egypt and Syria for himself and the dismissal of Khosrew. Neither plan succeeded. Khosrew remained in his post, but the Foreign Minister, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, seized the initiative and, partly no doubt to win the sympathies of the European powers over the Egyptian question, had the famous *Khaṭṭ-i Sherīf* of Gülkhāne proclaimed, marking the beginning of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] era. Khosrew was still Grand Vizier, but Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha now had the sympathies of the Palace and was able to press for his dismissal and the reinstatement of Raʾūf Pasha. He then had Khosrew tried and convicted for bribery by the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*medjlis-i wālā-yi aḥkām-i ʿadliyye*) and exiled in Djumādā 'l-Ulā 1256/July 1840 to Tekirdaği.

In the following year, the Sultan ʿAbd al-Medjīd permitted his return to Istanbul, where a change in government permitted his return to power. In Ṣafar 1262/January 1846, he was appointed *serʿasker*, in which position he removed his predecessor Riḍāʾ Pasha's nominees and replaced them with his own men. During this period of office, he opened the Military School at Küčük Taḳsīm. However, later in the same year, he was removed from office, and the new Grand Vizier, Muṣṭafā Reshīd Pasha, took care to prevent his further rise to power. He died, at the age of more than ninety, on 13 Djumādā 'l-Ākhira 1271/3 March 1855.

Bibliography: see article *Ḥusrev Paşa* by Halil Inalcık in *İA*, of which the foregoing is a summary. (Ed.)

KHŌST, Arabic spellings Kh.w.st or Kh.wāst, the name of various places in Afghānistān. The most likely etymology for the name is that given by G. Morgenstierne in his *An etymological vocabulary of Pashto*, Oslo 1928, 98: that it is an Iranised form **hwāstu*, cf. Skr. *suvāstu-* "good site" (which became the place-name Swāt [*q.v.*] in the North-West frontier region of Pakistan).

The mediaeval Arabic and Persian geographers mention what appear to be two places of this name in northern Afghānistān. Those of the 4th/10th century mention Khasht as a town on the upper Herī Rūd on the borders of Ghūr and Gharčistān (cf. Ibn Ḥawkal², 457, tr. 441, and Muḳaddasī, 349), and this is apparently the Khōst mentioned three centuries or so later by Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 244, as a town of Ghūr; see Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 410, 417.

Distinct from this seems to be the Khōst further north near Andarāb and on the borders of Badakhshān, the district which the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (end of the 4th/10th century) refers to as (?) Yūn, cf. tr. Minorsky, 109, 340-1, perhaps the Khuwāsht of Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 398, and the Kʿwat-sit-to of Hsüan-Tsang, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 241. It is frequently referred to in Tīmūrid and early Mughal times. In 884/1479 we hear of one Mīr ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs being given the governorship of Khōst, "one of the most important districts in Badakhshān and Ḳunduz" (*Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. and tr. Elias and Ross, tr. 103). One of Bābur's wives, Māham, apparently came from here; his daughter Gul-rang was born here, and he visited it on various occasions, see the *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, index.

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In modern times, the most important region bearing the name Khōst is that comprised within the modern Afghan province of Pakhtia, lying to the south of the Sefīd-Kūh range in the basin of the Kaitu, an affluent of the Kurram river which drains eastwards to the Indus; hence the ethnic and tribal connections of Khōst with the regions of Kurram, Kohat and northern Waziristan on the modern Pakistani side of the Durand Line have always been close. Khōst now forms an important forestry region of Afghānistān, and in the southern, sub-tropical zone, dates, citrus fruits, etc. are grown; recent Afghan governments have made considerable agricultural investment here (see J. Humlum *et alii, La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 101, 105, and J. C. Griffiths, *Afghanistan*, London 1967, 119-20). In the 1920s, Khōst was the epicentre of a conservative, traditionalist Pathan rebellion against the tentative reforms of King Amān Allāh, which seriously weakened the ruler's position and damaged the economic health of the country (March 1924-January 1925) (see W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan*³, London 1967, 204-6; V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan, politics of reform and modernization, 1880-1946*, Stanford 1969, 282-4; L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 449, 459, 479).

Finally, the *Imperial gazetteer of India*, iii, 138, vi, 306, mentions a Khōst in Balūčistān, the site of a small coalfield, 35 miles east of Quetta.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHOTAN, a town of the People's Republic of China, in the autonomous region of the Uyghurs. The town, and the territory which depends on its resources as an oasis, lie between the desert of Taklamakhan and the massif of Kuen-luen on the one hand, and the Kara-Kāsh and Yörüng-Kash rivers on the other. The kingdom of Khotan became known to the Chinese world in about 125 B.C., following the mission of Khang K'ien, under the name Yu-t'ien. The name represented by this transcription seems to have had no connection with the town of Yotḳan. Although numerous archaeological relics have been found at that site, Yotḳan cannot correspond to Yu-t'ien. In fact, according to Pelliot (*Notes on Marco Polo*, 412, s.v. "Cotan"), Yu-t'ien corresponds to *'Odan, with the variant *'Odon arising from the transcription Yu-tuen given by Hiuan-tsang (*ibid.*, 409); the name encountered in the Khotanese texts is just a transcription of the Chinese Yu-t'ien under the form Yüttina, while documents of the 4th century in Kharoshṭī script give the form Khotana (L. G. Gercenberg, *Khotanosakskiy yazïk*, 10). Yotḳan is a ruined pre-Islamic cemetery, approximately 8 km. west of the town itself.

In fact, the kingdom of Khotan was not really known to the Chinese until after the conquest of the Tarim basin, carried out by Han Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.), in the years following 110 B.C. and through the reconquest by the later Han between 73 B.C. and *ca.* 170 A.D. Little is known of the history of the ruling dynasty and the name of the town is always transcribed Yu-t'ien in the Chinese sources. From the latter we learn that the population of the kingdom reached a total of 50,000. All that we can say is that this population spoke a language of Iranian type, which has become known as a result of discoveries made at the beginning of the 20th century and which has been deciphered principally by Lüders, Sten Konow and H. W. Bailey. It now seems that the Khotanese spoke a dialect of the Saka language.

It was in the course of the first centuries A.D. that the kingdom of Khotan received Buddhism. According to the Tibetan tradition, which agrees in some points with the account given by Hiuan-tsang, Buddhism was introduced to Khotan by a Kashmiri monk called Vairocana, during the reign, almost certainly legendary, of king Vijayasambhava (E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, in *Sinica Leidensia*, xi, Leiden 1972, 340-1). This assessment is confirmed by the fact that one of the oldest dated Buddhist monuments is from 269 A.D. (A. Stein, *Sand-buried ruins of Khotan*, 1902, 405).

In the 7th century, Hiuan-tsang writes in his *Memoirs* (Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, ii, 299): "We arrive in the kingdom of K'iu-sa-tan-na. (*Note:*) In Chinese, this signifies "Breast of the Earth"; it is the formal name used in the region. The local language uses the expression "Kingdom of Huan-na". The Hiong-nou call it Yu-touen; the Hou (Iranians), Ho-tan; the Indians, K'iu-tan. Formerly they (the Chinese) called it Yu-t'ien; it is an incorrect form". (On this passage, cf. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, 409-17).

Thus, in the T'ang period, the polite and literary form is "Gostana" or "Gaustana", difficult to interpret according to Pelliot; the local language used the expression Xuân-nā (Ḫuana?), this name faithfully rendering the name which appears in the Khotanese texts under the form Hvatāna, Hvamna, and Hvam; the nomads of the north would have pronounced it *'Odan or *'Odon, a name which is found much later in Syriac, translated from Persian, in the story "*The History of the Patriarch Mar Yaballaha and the monk Rabban Sâumâ*, published by Chabot (Paris 1895, 22), where the latter identifies the town of "Lôtôn" with Khotan. In fact "Lôtôn" is an erroneous form from the Persian original, where the *lām* has appeared as a result of confusion with the initial *alif*, whence we deduce the correct form "Odon" proposed by Pelliot fifty years ago, while Budge (*The monks of Kûblâi Khân*, London 1928, 138) and Montgomery (*The history of Yaballaha III*, New York 1927) have retained the form "Lôtôn". This form appears in the works of Kāshgharī (Brockelmann, 251), with "Odon" and "Khotan". Finally, the Iranians would have pronounced it Ho-tan (Xuât-tan) which assumes an original *Ḫwatan, precursor of the Khotan of the Muslims, while the Indians would have pronounced it K'iu-tan (*K'iut-tan) which presuppose a form Khutan or Khotan. The land was known to the Tibetans under the name of Li-yul, "land of Li", although they knew the town under the name of Hu-ten, which is just a transcription.

In the T'ang period, the kingdom of Khotan was bounded to the south by the Kuen-luen, while in the east its territory touched that of Kroraina (Niya, Čerčen and the Lob-Nor region), and in the west that of Kāshghar (Khyesa) which stretched from the Pamirs and T'ien-shan to Maralbashi and beyond. The language used throughout the Khotan region was Saka-Khotanese, which was related to the Tadjik vernacular of the Pamirs, of which no ancient evidence has yet been recovered, to the language of Kāshghar in the west and north, of which some traces have been recovered at Tumshuk (the Turkish name of a site whose ancient name has disappeared), and in the east to the language spoken in Kroraina, of which apparently no relics remain.

The kingdom of Khotan at that time had a large population which had, no doubt under the influence of Buddhism, lost all interest in expansion and showed an extreme aversion to matters of war; Hiuan-tsang noted that the Khotanese were remarkable

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craftsmen with a considerable taste for literary pursuits, also for music and dance. The region was the centre of a considerable commercial activity, being placed on the southern branch of the Silk Route, which was in use throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages; through the Khotanese texts we possess accounts of the travels of officials to Kashmir and Kansu, which permit us to gain an acquaintance with the geography of Central Asia, in particular the names of towns; thus we find that Kāshghar is Kyesa, Niya is Niña, Čerčen is Ysabaḍā parrūm, Urumči is Yirrūmcinā, Turfan is Tturpanā, Leou-lan is Raurata, Yumen kouan is Kviyikye, etc.

The dynasty of the kings of Khotan in the T'ang period (7th-10th centuries), the family name of which was apparently Vija (preferable from Viśa) was in existence before that time, for the history of the Sui (83, 5b) mentions, according to Pelliot (*op. laud.*, 419) a king called Vijayavikrama; under the T'ang, the dynasty is known to us from a list which can be reconstructed from the texts of the History of the T'ang and which can be partially cross-checked by reference to the names preserved in the Khotanese texts; a certain number contained in the latter cannot be placed with certainty in this list; these are: Viṣanakhan, Viṣakirti, Viṣavikram and Viṣasagrama. On the other hand, there are some that can be dated, in particular the last kings of the dynasty: Viṣasambkhava (912-966), Viṣaśura (967-977) and Viṣadarma (978-982) (Gercenberg, *op. cit.*, 12). It was shortly afterwards that the kingdom of Khotan was conquered by recently-converted Muslim Turks; the kingdom of Khotan was henceforward to be one of the collection of Turkish states in the region which constituted Turkestan.

The town of Khotan, unlike Kāshghar and the northern part of the Tarim basin, is not mentioned by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* in the description of the Turkish tribes (§ 13, p. 96) in the section of the Yaghmā of eastern Turkestan, but in that of China (§ 9, p. 85). As the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* dates from the year 372/982-3, it may be supposed that in about the year 980, when king Viṣadarma, was alive, Khotan and its territory formed a sort of enclave between the region of Kāshghar which was occupied by the descendants of Satuḳ Bughrā Khān (died 344/955-6) and the territories belonging to China and Tibet; the king of Khotan, according to this source (p. 85), styled himself "Ruler of the Turks and the Tibetans" (*ʿaẓīm al-Turk wa 'l-Tubbat*).

A little later, Gardīzī, who was writing after 431/1040, reports (according to Barthold, *Otčet o poiezdkie v Srednyaya Aziya*, 94) that even the town of Kai (?), situated at fifteen days' march from Khotan in the direction of China, was under the domination of Toghuzghuz Turks (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 255). According to Gardīzī, the inhabitants of Khotan were Buddhists, but he mentions a Muslim cemetery to the north of the town (*ibid.*, 255, n. 3), and in the town itself two Christian churches, although no documentary evidence of this has been found. As regards the Muslim world, Gardīzī shows us that in the first half of the 5th/11th century, Muslim proselytism was already actively exercised in Buddhist circles, and it is possible that the implanting of this group was a contributory cause of subsequent events.

At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the Turkish rulers of Kashghār had become very powerful (Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 79 ff., particularly 88-90), and had founded the dynasty of the Ḳarāḵhānids (see ILEK-KHĀNS). The son of Bughrā Khān Hārūn, himself the grandson of Satuḳ Bughrā Khān, who called himself Ḳadīr Khān Yūsuf and reigned in Kāshghar from about 401/1010, decided, for reasons unknown to us, to conquer the territory of Khotan. Seeing that he died in 423/1032 (Ibn al-Athīr s.a.), it is likely that the conquest of Khotan was accomplished sometime between the years 1013 and 1032, for we possess money struck in his name at Kāshghar and at Yarkand from 404/1013-14 onwards (A. Markov, *Inventarniy katalog*, etc., 192 ff.). On the conquests of Khotan, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*², 281, n. 2.

Later, Khotan, like Kāshghar, passed under the authority of the Ilek-Khāns [*q.v.*], and subsequently under that of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy [*q.v.*]. After these events, the crisis arising in Central Asia as a result of the expansion of the Mongol empire led the Khārazm-Shāh to make an agreement with Küčlüg, who had deposed and expelled his father-in-law, the Gür-Khān of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy, and a partition of the western sector of the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy empire took place, between the two rulers, giving to the Khʷārazm-Shāh the territory to the east of the Syr-Daryā as far as the heights of Kāshghar and of Khotan (Barthold, *Turkestan*², 356-7); after his succession to the throne, Küčlüg, who had married the daughter of the Gür-Khān, a Buddhist fanatic, undertook a fierce persecution of Islam in the regions under his authority, particularly in Khotan, after his agreement with the Khʷārazm-Shāhs [*q.v.*]. According to Djuwaynī (tr. Boyle, 65-6, 70-3), Küčlüg persecuted the Muslims cruelly and crucified the *Imām* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khotanī at the door of his *madrasa* in Khotan. In the time of Ḥaydar Mīrzā [*q.v.*], nothing more was known of this martyr; even his tomb was unknown (*Taʾrīḵh-i Raṣhīdī*, tr. E. D. Ross, 218, and ch. xlii). Thus there was no indigenous historical tradition at Khotan, or if there was, the texts have been lost. Arabic and Persian geographical literature provides us with only the most meagre of information; the real situation is misrepresented by al-Samʿānī (f. 189b) and by Yāḳūt, who followed al-Samʿānī in his own writing (ii, 403).

Under the reign of Ögedey, Djuwaynī (tr. Boyle, 517) reports that "the lands between the banks of the Amū-Daryā and the frontiers of Khiṭāy were placed under the orders of the Chief Minister Maḥmūd Yalavač and of his son Masʿūd Beg; those included Transoxania, Turkestan, Otrār, the land of the Uyghurs, Khotan, Kāshghar, Djand, Khʷarazm and Farghāna". Rashīd al-Dīn (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīḵh*, tr. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York-London 1971, 94), also writes as follows: "The Ḳaʾan (Ögedey) placed all the lands of Khiṭāy under (the orders of) Maḥmūd Yalavač, and (the region of) Beshbaliḳ and Ḳarā Khodjo, with the territory of Uyghuristān, Khotan, Kāshghar, Almaliḳ, Qayaliḳ, Samarḳand and Bukhārā as far as the banks of the Oxus under (the orders of) Masʿūd Beg, the son of Yalavač". In the remainder of his work, he makes no further mention of Khotan; nevertheless, under the year 1253, Barthold (*12 Vorlesungen*, 184) writes as follows: "After the re-establishment of order, the frontiers of his government (sc. of Masʿūd Beg) were extended further: to him were subjected Transoxania, Turkestan, Otrār, the land of the Uyghurs, Khotan, Kāshghar, Djand, Khʷārazm and Farghāna". After the death of Mengü (Möngke) in 1259, a conflict arose between Ḳubilay [*q.v.*] and his younger brother Ariḳböge in the course of which a cousin of Ariḳ-böge, the Čaghatayid Alugu, took to himself the entire area entrusted to the authority of Masʿūd Beg; the latter appealed to Ariḳ-böge who gave him full authority to dispossess Alugu, but in the course of his mission he

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went over to the side of Aluγu who died *ca.* 1266. As Arïḳ-böge had been eliminated during this period, Ḳubilay appointed in his place another Čaghatayid, Baraḳ, who took possession of part of the former possessions of his grandfather Čaghatay, but Baraḳ was compelled in his turn to submit to Ḳaydu, grandson of Ögedey, who sought to reconstitute the territory given to him by Čingiz Khān. (Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, 184-6). Finally, a more or less stable equilibrium was established between Ḳubilay and Ḳaydu, so much so that according to a passage of Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, i, 188; ed. Hambis, Paris 1955, 62-3), it is reported that in the 1270s Khotan was under the authority of the Emperor of China, while Yarkand depended on Kaydu.

While Central Asia was the object of partition between great powers, it is nevertheless certain (Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen*, 188-9) that a number of indigenous dynasties survived as vassals, especially at Khotan. In reference to these last, Barthold mentions some Persian verses of which the date is unknown, which were composed in honour of the sulṭān of Khotan, Munmish-Tegin, the last words being quoted in Turkish (*cāndān bizī ey shah kigūyād Turk "yavlaḳ ḳarï bolmïsh Munmïsh Tägin"*. Barthold (*op. cit.*, 195) also mentions the fact that Djamāl Ḳarshī, in the appendices (*Mulḥaḳāt*) to his translation of an Arabic dictionary of the 4th/10th century, devotes considerable space to the town of Khotan, giving a brief description and a list of some persons native to the place. Again according to Barthold (*op. cit.*, 195), Muḥammad Ḥaydar (*op. cit.*, tr. Ross, 301) writing in Kāshgharia, distinguished according to his own terms, four classes at Kāshghar and at Khotan; first—*tümen*, the peasantry; second—*ḳawčin*, the army; third—*oymaḳ*, the nomads (who were entitled to a certain quantity of grain, textile goods, etc.); and fourth—the class of the officials and the *ʿulamāʾ*.

Much later, it seems that Khotan shared the fate of other towns in the Tarim basin, in particular of Kāshghar and other towns in the same region; in the 18th century it was a part of the state established by the Khōdjas, who defeated the descendants of Čaghatay, and were compelled to submit to the domination of the Djungar, and later, in *ca.* 1760, to that of the Manchus who eliminated the Djungar. Later still, in the seventh decade of the 19th century, Khotan was obliged to accept temporary domination by Yaʿḳūb Beg and after the death of the latter in 1877 to submit once again to the Manchus. With regard to a historical work completed on 11 Shaʿbān 1311/24 February 1894 in Khotan and dealing with events subsequent to 1280/1863, cf. *Bull de l'Acad.* (1921), 209; cf. also the chapter on the Khōdjas of Khotan in *Taʾrïḫ-i emeniyye*, ed. Pantusov, 161 ff. The principal source for the history of this region is provided by reference in the Chinese dynastic histories and in other works concerning the autonomous region of the Uyghurs itself, which have appeared in Chinese from the 18th century to the present day. It is there that the documentation concerning the town of Khotan is found.

The town itself, like all those in the Tarim basin, has known a variety of activities, but the silk industry which has continued from the Han period to the present day is the principal activity. At the time of writing, the industrialisation of the region is being developed by the People's Republic of China, although it is not possible to assess what progress is being made; it seems that the Chinese government is concentrating there on the search for raw materials. There is no certainty about the population figures; according to Kornilov, *Kashgariya*, Tashkent 1903, 273, the population amounted to only 15,000; according to E. and P. Sykes, *Through deserts and oases of Central Asia*, London 1920, 216, the population was 50,000.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, see especially E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, ii, 47 ff., 246 ff.; M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle 1908, 93 ff.; on the state of the Khōdjas and their connections with Khotan, cf. *idem*, *Der islamische Orient*, i, Berlin 1905, 195 ff. and the index. These sources may be completed by numerous works in Chinese.

(L. Hambis)

KHOTIN (in Ottoman Turkish usage Khōtīn; in modern Turkish and in Romanian, Hotin; Polish Choczim and variants; German Hwthyn (15th/century), Chotim, Chotin, Chotczyn, etc.; Italian (18th/century) Cucino; and other forms): a fortress and town on the right (formerly Moldavian) bank of the Dnestr (Turla), 20 km. south of Kamenets Podolsk (Kamaniče [see ḲAMĀNIČA]). Khotin is now (since the end of World War II) in the Ukrainian S.S.R., and forms the administrative centre of the *rayon* of the same name in the *oblast* of Černovits (Cernauti, Czernowitz).

Khotin, which occupied an easily-defensible site at the point where the important mediaeval trade route from the Baltic to Constantinople crossed the Dnestr, was from the mid-14th to the late 18th century a military stronghold and commercial entrepôt of some importance. The region of Khotin, which was, in the 16th and 17th centuries, disputed between Poland and Moldavia, had attracted Ottoman attention as early as the reign of Meḥemmed II, and in the 16th century Muslim merchants frequented the route via Khotin to Poland. Khotin was besieged unsuccessfully by ʿOthman II in 1030/1621; thereafter it was restored to Moldavian control, and is so described by Ewliyā Čelebī, who visited it in the retinue of Melek Aḥmed Pasha in 1658 (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, 124-5). In 1084/1673 Khotin was occupied by the Poles, but it was regained by the Ottomans in the following campaign season (Silaḥdār, *Taʾrīḫ*, Istanbul 1928, i, 628 ff.). The Ottoman occupation of Podolia in 1083/1672 carried the frontiers of the Empire beyond the Dnestr, but with the retrocession to Poland of Podolia, and the evacuation of Ḳamaniča in 1110/1699, Khotin became the most important Ottoman fortress in the region of the upper Dnestr; this importance was to increase in the course of the 18th century, as the conflict with Russia became ever more acute.

Khotin was occupied by the Russians in 1713; on its return to the Ottomans in 1125/1714, the old fortifications were rebuilt and increased in height by more than a half, as part of a general strengthening and rebuilding programme, which was supervised by a special commission sent from Istanbul. The contemporary Moldavian historian Cantemir described the Khotin of this period as the most elegant and well-fortified town of Moldavia, praise which is echoed in an Ottoman description of the town written at the same time. Also in 1125/1714, Khotin and its surrounding districts were removed from the jurisdiction of Moldavia and reorganised as an *eyālet*, as part of the strengthened Ottoman frontier defences along the right bank of the Dnestr, becoming, in the words of a German observer, "die einzige Vormauer der Moldau".

The 18th century stronghold of Khotin consisted of the medieval *iç ḳalʿe* and the more extensive new outer works encircling the old fortress on three sides.

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In the outer walls were four gates: their names are variously given as the Istanbul (or Jassy) gate, the Temeshvar gate, the Water Gate and the Ukraine or Bender gate. Within the outer fortress were two baths, two principal mosques and, near the Istanbul gate, a *bezestān*. Inside the Istanbul gate, on the right, lay the barracks of the artillery and the supply-train, the residences of their *aghas*, and the headquarters of the *defterdār*. On the left was a large and well-constructed reserve granary. Further towards the *iç ḳal'e* were situated another bath, the office of the *yeñiçeri aghasī*, and the barracks of the Janissaries of the fortress. Higher up, towards the old fortress, was situated the *serāy* of the *pasha* of Khotin, and the mosque of the *wālide sulṭān*. Khotin was, however, yet again occupied several times by Russian forces in the course of the 18th century: in 1152/1739 (by Münnich) and again in 1183/1769 (by Galitsin). In 1788 Khotin was occupied by an Austrian force; later, after the conclusion of the Peace of Jassy, Khotin was restored for the last time to Ottoman rule. After 1806 it remained in Russian hands, except for the period 1918-47 when the territories south of the Dnestr formed part of Romania.

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al-KHUBAR, a town on Saudi Arabia's Persian Gulf coast (26° 17′ N, 50° 12′45″ E). The name is most likely a colloquial plural derived from the word *khabrā'*, meaning "a small pond formed by rain".

The first permanent settlers on the spot were members of the tribe of al-Dawāsir who landed in 1341/1923 after fleeing the island of al-Baḥrayn in fear of British reprisal following clashes with Shī'ī elements. 'Īsā b. Aḥmad al-Dawsarī is generally regarded as the first settler of al-Khubar. Other tribesmen who landed at nearby al-Dammām a few weeks earlier subsequently moved to al-Khubar. Prominent among the early inhabitants were Muḥammad b. Rashīd and his brother 'Īsā, Ḥusayn Bū Surayḥ, Khālid b. Mībar and his brother Nāṣir, Sa'd b. Muḥammad and Ṣāliḥ b. Djum'a (author's father). The settlers built huts of palm fronds along the sea shore. For two decades the village depended on small-scale pearling and fishing for its survival. No more than 20 boats left the village each pearling season; the crews came partly from the village, but mostly from nearby oases. In the early 1930s 'Īsā b. Aḥmad returned to al-Baḥrayn with a group of the villagers, mostly crew members of his pearling fleet.

Al-Khubar remained a small fishing and pearling village covering an area of less than 0.5 km.² until 1935. In that year the California Arabian Standard Oil Company (later the Arabian American Oil Company) built a pier at al-Khubar to support the early oil well-drilling at nearby al-Ẓahrān. In 1357/1938 a storage and shipping terminal was built at al-Khubar, and barges started carrying Saudi Arabian oil to the refinery of the Bahrain Petroleum Company (Bapco); this marked the beginning of the export of Saudi Arabian oil. The importance of al-Khubar port has diminished since 1369/1950, when a deep-water pier began operating in al-Dammām; the al-Khubar harbour facilities now accommodate only fishing fleets and coastal ships. The city itself, however, now covering an area of 8 km², thrives as one of the most active business centres on the Kingdom's Gulf coast, second only to al-Dammām. Commercial enterprises that were given their original impetus by the oil industry now flourish independently, supported by both the public and private sectors of the economy. With modern office buildings and living quarters, with stores displaying merchandise from all over the world, and with substantial job opportunity, al-Khubar attracts foreign communities of various nationalities.

('Abdallah S. Jum'ah)

KHUBAYB b. 'Adī al-Anṣārī, one of the first martyrs of Islām. The main features of his story common to all versions are as follows: After the battle of Uḥud [*q.v.*] (on the chronology of which, see below) a small body of ten of the Prophet's followers was discovered and surrounded between Mecca and 'Usfān by 100 (or 200) Liḥyānīs who belonged to the Hudhayl. The leader of the hard-pressed little band, 'Āṣim b. Thābit al-Anṣārī (according to others, the leader was al-Marthad), proudly refused to yield. He and six others were killed whereupon Khubayb, Zaid b. al-Dathina and a third surrendered; the latter fell a victim to his stubbornness and the two former were taken to Mecca and sold. Khubayb fell into the hands of the Banu 'l-Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal b. 'Abd Manāf, who on the expiry of the sacred period, took him out of the Ḥaram to al-Tan'īm, bound him to a stake and killed him with lances (*ṣabr*[an]) in revenge for al-Ḥārith, whom Khubayb had killed in the battle of Badr. Before he was tied to the stake, Khubayb asked for time to perform two *rak'as*, which became a *sunna* for martyrs, comparable to the last prayer of Christian martyrs. Khubayb is said to have recited two verses at the stake to the effect that he as a Muslim martyr cared nothing about the treatment of his body as Allāh was able to bestow his blessing even upon his severed members. *Kunūt* formulae uttered by him besides these verses have also been handed down in which he appealed to Allāh for vengeance on his enemies. Those present are said to have shown great trepidation at this curse of the dying man; it is related that Abū Sufyān hurriedly pressed the little Mu'āwiya to the ground to protect him from the consequences of the ill-omened words; and Sa'īd b. 'Āmir used to fall into long swoons whenever he thought of the scene.

A comparison of the accounts shows discrepancies and idealising features. Before his death 'Āṣim prayed to Allāh asking him to communicate news of the event to his Prophet in Medina, which actually happened.

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His corpse was protected by a swarm of bees so that the enemy could not reach it and later it was carried away by a deluge of rain. According to al-Wāḳidī, 155, however, Muḥammad received news of the event at the same time as that of Bi'r Maʿūna; and according to Ibn Hishām, 641, it was not ʿĀṣim, but Khubayb, who prayed to Allāh asking him to cause Muḥammad to be informed. According to al-Zuhrī and ʿUrwa (see the latter's brief account in al-Wāḳidī, 156) the ten men were sent out as a *sariyya* to spy upon the Meccans; according to Ibn Hishām, 638, al-Wāḳidī, 157 and Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 39-40, iii/2, 33-4, ten teachers of religion, who were on their way to a tribe to instruct them, were treacherously placed at the mercy of the enemy by their guides. This story is too much like that which has been woven round the drama of Bi'r Maʿūna, which happened at the same time. Al-Wāḳidī, 227, tells us under the year 628 that Khubayb was not yet at that time a prisoner among the Meccans. The only certain chronological statement that can be made is that the event took place after the battle of Uḥud, as ʿĀṣim fought there. In the official *Sīra*, the incident is recorded under the name *Yawm al-Radjīʿ* and put by Ibn Hishām in the year 3 and by al-Wāḳidī in the year 4.

The figure of the protomartyr Khubayb lent itself readily to embellishment. The daughter of al-Ḥārith (according to others Māwyis, a client of Hudjayr b. Abī Ihāb), in whose house he was kept a prisoner, saw him one day eating grapes, although these could not possibly be obtained in Mecca. When his martyrdom approached, he asked for a knife with which to remove the hair on his privy parts (as was usual in such cases); the woman sent a little boy with it to him, but became terrified at the thought of his possible revenge; when Khubayb noticed her terror, he calmed her with the assurance that no such cruelty need be feared from him. The verses above mentioned, which he is said to have uttered at the stake, have grown in Ibn Hishām to a whole poem. The same author (644 ff.) gives the elegies uttered over him. For how his corpse was taken from the Ḳuraysh and swallowed up by the earth, see Ṭabarī, i, 1436-7 = *Iṣāba*, i, 862.

Bibliography: al-Zuhri's or Abū Hurayra's tradition in Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 294 ff., 310-11, and in al-Bukhārī, *Diihād*, bāb 170; Ibn Isḥāḳ's version, 638 ff., goes back to ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Ḳatāda; al-Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 156ff. (cf. 226-7) compiled the whole story from various sources; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 33-4; al-Diyārbekrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1203, i, 454 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, i, 860 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, ii, 111 ff.; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Anno 4, § 7, 8; Anno 6, § 2; Ṭabarī, i, 1431 ff., who gives the two main versions; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, tab. 77, on his genealogy. (A. J. Wensinck)

KHŪBMESĪḤĪS, the members of an obscure heretical movement in 11th/17th century Istanbul that preached the superiority of Jesus to the Prophet Muḥammad. The term derives from Persian *khūb* "good, virtuous", and *mesīḥ* = Messiah". Some description of their tenets is to be found in Paul Rycaut's *The present state of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 129. Rycaut attributes to the Khūbmesīḥīs a belief in Jesus as "God and Redeemer of the World", and says that it is "principally maintained amongst the gallants of the Seraglio". Although adherence to the doctrine was liable to bring death, and its followers commonly practised secrecy, they might be recognised by the white turbans they wore. According to Rycaut, in addition to designating a member of the movement, the term Khūbmesīḥī entered general usage as a description for anyone of mild and affable disposition. The accuracy of this information in all its points is not to be assumed; many of the statements of Rycaut on religious matters are demonstrably erroneous. The Khūbmesīḥī movement presumably found its inspiration in the teaching of Ḳābiḍ, executed in Istanbul in 934/1527, after some delay, for alleging that the spiritual rank of Jesus was superior to that of the Prophet. Rycaut makes no mention of Ḳābiḍ, however, nor do any of the sources on Ḳābiḍ (e.g. Ibrāhīm Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283/1866, i, 124-6) attribute to him the foundation of the Khūbmesīḥī movement.

Bibliography: Given in the text. (Hamid Algar)

KHUBZ (A.) generic term (nomen unitatis: *khubza*) meaning bread, whatever the cereal employed, e.g. corn [see ḲAMḤ], barley [see SHAʿĪR], rice [see RUZZ] etc., and whatever the quality, the shape and the method of preparation. There exists nevertheless, in literary Arabic and, to a greater degree in the various dialects, a certain number of metaphors and of specific terms which cannot all be mentioned in this brief article, and the ellipsis of the word *khubz*, in expressions denoting a particular type, causes the semantic range of the fundamental notion to be appreciably enlarged: thus *khamīr* for *khubzun khamīrun* "leavened bread", *faṭīr* for *khubzun faṭīrun* "unleavened bread" etc. The baker is called *khabbāz* (but in Morocco this is known only in its feminine form *khabbāza*; see below), or *farrān* "oven-worker" (which however in Morocco means a communal oven), and a bakery is called *makhbaz* or simply *furn* "communal oven" (in technical usage corresponding to *kūsha* "lime-kiln" etc.). All these terms apply to precise cases which will be summarised later.

The economy of ancient Arabia was such that the Arabs could not make bread the basis of their diet [see GHIDHĀʾ, i], so that the expression *ākil al-khubz* "bread-eater" was a laudatory epithet implying considerable affluence (al-Djāḥiz, *Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 211). Nevertheless, the nomads occasionally ate a *ṭulma* ("flat bread", for *khubzun ṭulmatun*), that is a kind of pancake cooked on a heated stone, or a *malla* ("hot ash", for *khubzun mallatun*) also called *malīl*, a thicker loaf cooked under ash according to a process similar to that described by A. Jaussen (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moabʾ*, Paris 1948, 63) in talking of *khorṣ*: on arrival at the halting place, the Bedouin kneads flour with water and salt (if he has got it), but without adding yeast, and makes a sort of pie which he cooks in ash, turning it frequently to prevent burning. E. Laoust (*Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 89-90) has collected in Berber (where bread is called *aghrum*) a text which refers to some very similar practices.

For their part, the sedentary people, who were familiar with the whitest flour (*ḥuwwārā*) and bread of the finest quality which they cooked in an oven (*tannūr*), did not eat it regularly. They used to crumble it, however, to make a broth (*tharīd*) which the Prophet placed above all other foods (al-Bukhārī, *kitāb al-aṭʿima*, *bab 27*) and it is known that, according to the tradition, Hāshim [*q.v.*] owes his name to the fact that he crumbled (*hashama*) bread to make broth; this economical dish was highly thought of for a long period after Islam.

The conquest of several nations which produced corn in abundance increased in the various classes of society, and in varying degrees, the consumption of

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bread, which was from that time considered, with nuances, "the subsistence of the land-dwellers, the basis of nourishment and the prince of foods" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, 114) and city-dwellers who did not offer it to their guest unstintingly are taken to task (*ibid.*, 182). The *Kitāb al-Bukhalā'* (see index, s.v. KHUBZ) provides interesting details regarding wheat-bread and its use, but in general it gives a picture of an affluent class, whose members were in a position to own a slave charged with the functions of a waiter or of a majordomo rather than a baker, but called *khabbāz* because of the importance attached to bread (*ibid.*, 48).

The same work (108), while giving valuable information on the refined standard of cuisine then practised, shows that bread was never eaten alone, and that it was incorrect to offer it dry, (*khubz*^{an} *kafār*^{an}). In the more affluent circles, it did not constitute the most substantial part of the diet and was rather used for dipping or was eaten from side-plates, while in poorer families and from a very ancient period, it was always accompanied by some condiment (*udm*) designed to make it palatable; in the present day, a term taken from the root *ʿd w*: *ʿadū*, or *dj w z* "to fan": *djwāz*, *jwāz*, *dwāz*, clearly expresses this idea; however, the interested parties probably do not take into account the imbalance which they create in thus adding lipids to the proteins and glucoses contained in bread. It should be stressed however that not everyone was in a position to eat it regularly, and even today, it still constitutes a rare luxury for certain particularly impoverished populations; for the more affluent, the basis of the diet is often, in many regions, boiled rice, ground corn (*burghul*) or kuskus (see KUSKUS).

Since the classical period and, to a large extent, to the present day, there have existed various categories of bread which can be reduced to the following, while it may be noted that the dialectical vocabulary, extremely variable and rich, deserves to be the object of a linguistic-geographical study, whose ethno-sociological results could yield useful information:

— in Iraq, rice cultivated in the region of Baṣra was used probably by a limited number of bakers (among whom a popular poet, al-Khubz'aruzzi [*q.v.*] was to become famous) to make a bread which was quite cheap and accessible to the poorer classes, as well as to those who lived an ascetic life-style (cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 5); in the other regions where it was cultivated, notably in Palestine and Egypt, rice was more often consumed in other forms (see M. Canard, *Le riz dans le Proche-Orient*, in *Arabica*, vi/2 (1959), 122 ff.);

— white bread, made with pure wheat-flour (*khuwwārā*) was in general confined to the more affluent families, but it seems to have been in widespread use in a number of countries, such as Palestine and Egypt; physicians actively recommended it, although it was less nutritious than

— bread of coarse-ground flour (*khushkār* and vars.) which was consumed by people of less means;

— bread made from common wheat, perhaps mixed with a little barley-flour;

— semolina bread (*samīdh*/*samīd*);

— barley bread, more coarse, mention of which appears frequently in the badīth; ascetics judged it to be sufficient, but many poor families even today, must be content with it; in North Africa, *kesra*, and in the Near-East, *kurṣ*, are often nothing more than pancake of barley-flour, pure or mixed with a little wheat-flour;

— to this list it is appropriate to add the bread manufactured, in times of hardship, with flour of maize, millet or sorghum (*dhura*) or even of some wild plant, such as *sameḳ* in Jordan.

Apart from various pastries based on wheat-flour, bread was presented, with variations on which we cannot dwell here, in two principal forms;

— *ruḳāḳ*, very thin, was cooked on a slab of iron (or later, of stone) heated on a hearth or a brazier. This slab, called *ṭābaḳ*/*ṭābil* in the Middle Ages, is still in use in the Near East where it is convex and bears the name *ṣādj*; in the Maghrib, similar baking is not unknown, but a type of earthenware casserole is more often used, and bread thus prepared is called *marḳūḳ* or *maṭlūʿ* (cf. E. Laoust, *op. laud.*, 89- for the Berber world);

— *raghīf*, or (from Persian) *djardaḳ*/*djardhaḳ* is a round bread (*muḥawwar*) quite thick and cooked in an oven. But there is a distinction there between the domestic and the communal oven. The former (*tannūr*; currently *ṭābūn*/*ṭābūna*) has the form of an upturned jar without a base or of the frustrum of a cone open in the upper part; it is heated by means of embers placed inside and the raw dough is spread on the sides, on the outside (see Beaussier and Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v. *ṭābūn*). In certain regions there is also still to be found a *tannūr* dug into the earth, while in Jordan (Jaussen, *Moab*, 63) *ṭābūn* refers to a small construction in which is placed a sort of cooking-pot, surrounded by embers to cook the dough in the interior. In encampments the oven is replaced-by a pottery plate (*ghannāy* or *ḥammāṣ* in Tunisia) which is heated on a brazier (*kānūn*) or even, on occasion, by heated stones.

As for the communal oven (*furn*, *kūsha*) it is found in various parts of the towns as well as in the villages, and it is there that individuals normally cook their bread for consumption at home. Until recently, in the Maghrib at least, it was considered dishonourable to buy one's bread outside, and the kneading of the dough, an essentially feminine occupation, was the duty of the mistress of the house or of a servant. On a large wooden tray (*ḥaṣʿa*/*gaṣʿa*), the housewife put, sometimes with a little bran, flour of corn or of barley or of both, or even of semolina, in quantities sufficient to provide food for several days, added yeast and salt, then poured in hot water and kneaded the dough which she then cut into pieces and left to rise on a tray in a warm place. A journeyman baker (*farrāḳ* in Morocco) went round the houses, took the trays, imprinted on each piece a distinctive mark and took it all to the bakehouse.

The baking done, the baker came and handed over to each family the tray and the bread belonging to it. The wages of the baker consisted of a piece of bread which he baked and sold to his profit; in al-Andalus, this bread was called *poya* (and vars.) and this term has survived under the form *piwa*/*pūya*/*būya*, in some regions of Morocco and of Algeria to designate the salary of the baker, even after it became the practice to pay him in cash (see W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 242-3; this work contains, pp. 2-39, 127-51, an extremely vivid text relating to the journeymen and the bakers, notes and a bibliography.)

Thus there were no real bakeries, and there was no *sūḳ* reserved for the making and the sale of bread. However, foreigners, individuals and bachelors were able to obtain it, either from certain women who kneaded extra pastry in order to sell the surplus bread in the streets, at a price fixed by the *muḥtasib*, or from bakers or retailers; in fact the *farrān* sold not only the small amounts of bread that they had

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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received in wages (for they were in principle forbidden to mix the pieces of dough to make large loaves; cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, §§ 115, 148), but also the bread which they made on their own account. The authors of works of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] especially al-Saḳaṭī (G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, Paris 1931, 26-32 and *passim*; Spanish tr. P. Chalmeta, in *al-And.* (1968 ff.), §§ 53-67 and *passim*), enumerated in detail the frauds committed by these bakers, in such matters as the mixing of flours of different qualities (and even the addition of white earth), as well as malpractices in the baking and in the weighing of the bread, and also the rules of hygiene which were to be observed by the bakers and the traders who, in particular, were not allowed to work at professions such as those of the butcher or the fishmonger. (cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, ed E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispaniques de ḥisba*, Cairo 1955, 89-90; French tr. R. Arié, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i/2 (1960), 201-2). In spite of these precautions, the quality was not always high, and bread sometimes contained gravel and other impurities (cf. M. Talbi, in *Arabica*, i/3 (1954), 299).

The price of bread, sold by weight and not by the loaf, was fixed by the *muḥtasib*, but it varied enormously, and it is the price of corn which provides the most convenient basis for estimating the cost of living; we confine ourselves to referring to E. Ashtor's fundamental work, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, and to the article Ṭaḥūn for all matters relating to the different types of flour.

As in other civilisations, bread is treated with great respect. It is always broken and it should never be cut with a knife. A crumb which falls to the ground is picked up, raised to the lips and swallowed; a piece of bread found on the road is put, for the benefit of some destitute person, in a place where it will not be trodden on and soiled. And even though it does not constitute, strictly speaking, the basis of the diet, it is given in the Arabic dialects names which refer to life and to subsistence; *ʿayš*/*ʿīš*, *maʿīša*, *kūt*, etc. And it is not absolutely certain that the magical purposes that it served have totally disappeared.

However, the situation described above has now been perceptively modified in the sense that, in the towns at least, it is from the bakeries that the population buys the bread that it needs; but if the making of bread has borrowed from the West certain modern processes, anyone can still easily obtain *ḵẖubz ʿarabī* prepared and presented as in ancient times. Also, in the countryside the tradition is still alive.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bukẖalāʾ*, index; A. von Kremer, *Studien zur vergleichenden Culturgeschichte*, I. *Brot und Salz*, in *SBWA* IV, Phil.-Hist. Kl., lxx (1890), 1-34; L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1931, 63-4/168; H. Zayyāt, in *Machriq*, xxxv (1937), 371 ff.; R. le Tourneau, *Fès*, Casablanca 1949, 329; E. Strauss (Ashtor), *Prix et salaires a l'époque mamlouke*, in *REI* (1949), 49-94, *passim*; Ashtor, *Essai sur l'alimentation des diverses classes sociales dans l'Orient médiéval*, in *Annales ESC* (Sept.-Oct. 1968), 1018-21 and bibl. cited there; G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 186; A. Amīn, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt*, Cairo 1953, 293; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 419; D. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, Paris 1964, 99; R. ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt*, Amman 1973-4, s.vv. *ṣāḏj*, *ṭābūn*.

(Ch. Pellat)

al-KHUBZA'ARUZZĪ (many possible vocalisations), Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Naṣr b. Aḥmad b. al-Maʾmūn, popular poet of Baṣra, who probably died in 327/938. He made rice bread (*ḵẖubz aruzz*) in a shop at the Mirbad [*q.v.*], where his biographers show him as surrounded by a circle of admirers who were especially attracted by his *ghazal* verses on boys, these being his speciality. It does not seem that he should be included in the list of those poets whose belligerence involved them in contests and controversies, nor does he seem to have been inclined, like so many of his compatriots, to attack the honour of others; because of this last fact, al-Masʿūdī's information that he had to flee into Arabia in order to avoid the vengeance of one of the Barīdīs [*q.v.*] is dubious. This same author states that his verses, set to music, were sung everywhere, but except in error, the *Aghānī* cites none of them. At all events, his *Dīwān*, put together by his friend Ibn Lankak [*q.v.*], must have spread considerably beyond the confines of his native town and even of Baghdad, where he lived for some time. This is confirmed by the fact that this illiterate (*ummī*) poet was highly appreciated by a person who held fast to the classical tradition like Ibn Sharaf [*q.v.*], who attributes to him "ingenious shafts of wit and subtle inventions, in a closely-knit form and a chaste style, with no superfluities". The judgments of the biographers and anthologists confirm this appreciation, which the extant fragments of his work do not however seem entirely to justify; but the complete *Dīwān* must have been much richer and must have had enough originality to have stimulated the jealousy of a certain "great poet", thus referred to briefly by Ibn Sharaf.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 372-4 = §§ 3531; *Fihrist*, i, 160; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 132-5; idem, *Khāṣṣ al-ḵẖāṣṣ*, 112; Ibn Charaf, *Questions de critique littéraire*, ed. and tr. Pellat, Algiers 1953, 37; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 206-8 = *Udabāʾ*, xix, 218-22; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīḵẖ Baghdād*, xiii, 296-9, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 760; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 276-7 (s.a. 330); Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 329; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 276 (s.a. 317); Zirikli, *Aʿlām*, viii, 337-8. (Ch. Pellat)

KHUDĀ BAKHSH, a notable bibliophile of Muslim India, the founder of the celebrated Oriental Public Library, at Patna, Bihar, India. He was born in 1824 at Chapra, and received his education in the University of Calcutta. After obtaining his degree in law, he began to practise as a lawyer at Patna at the age of twenty-six. He soon achieved considerable success in his profession, and was appointed a public prosecutor, which post he held for many years. In 1894, he was invited to serve as the Chief Justice of the High Court at Hyderabad, Deccan. On his retirement in 1898, he lived a quiet life at Patna, where he died in 1908 and was buried in the precints of the library he had founded. In recognition of his public services, the order of C.I.E. was conferred on him in 1903 by the British Government of India.

Khudā Bakhsh had inherited his passion for collecting rare Arabic and Persian manuscripts from his father. When his father died in 1876, he left him a collection of 1,400 manuscripts, with the behest to make it into a *waḳf* as soon as circumstances should permit him to do so. He continued to make substantial additions to it, till the number of manuscripts had reached 4,000 in 1891, when the collection, along with the building which accommodated it, was made into a public trust. The *waḳf*-deed was duly executed on 29 October 1891, and the library was formally opened by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Bihar. It was given the name of the "Oriental Public Library", though the people have

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often persisted in calling it the "Khudā Bakhsh Library" after the name of the generous donor.

A new era in the history of the Library opened in 1903, when it was visited by Lord Curzon, then Governor-General and Viceroy of India. He was deeply impressed by its literary treasures, and ordered that a suitable new building be erected to accommodate them. He also discussed plans for the proper preservation and safe-keeping of the manuscripts; and at the same time he directed Dr. E. Denison Ross, then Principal of the Calcutta Madrasa, to make suitable arrangements for the proper cataloguing of the manuscripts.

Twenty-eight volumes of the catalogue have so far (1970) been published, in addition to two Supplements and an Index. The work of cataloguing is still in progress. The library at present contains 4,232 Arabic and 4,238 Persian manuscripts, in addition to a number of printed books in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi, English, French, German, Latin and other languages.

Khudā Bakhsh was survived by his son Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khudā Bakhsh, Barrister-at-Law. Like his father, he too was a legal practitioner, but found time to write a number of essays and papers on Islamic history and civilisation, which have been collected in book form. He also translated into English some of the works of Alfred von Kremer and Joseph Heil, and was accordingly characterised by D. S. Margoliouth as an "interpreter of Indian Islam to Europe and of European Orientalism to India". He was a liberal and a modernist in his social and religious views.

Bibliography: V. C. Scott O'Connor, *An eastern library*, Glasgow 1920; Salah-ud-Din Khuda Bakhsh, *My father, his life and reminiscences*, Calcutta 1909; information supplied by the present Librarian. (SH. INAYATULLAH)

KHUDĀBENDE [see ULDJAYTU]

KHUDĀWAND (P), God, lord, master. There is no established etymology for this word and no Middle or Old Persian antecedent. It is used in Ghaznawid times in the sense of lord or master (cf. Abu 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad 1971, 23, 435, and *passim*). In documents and letters belonging to the Saldjūḳs and Khʷārazmshāhs it is used as a term of address to the sultan, usually with some qualifying word or phrase such as *khudāwand-i ʿālam* "lord of the world" (cf. Muntadjab al-Dīn al-Djuwaynī, *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1950, 4; Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muʿayyad Baghdādī, *al-Tawassul ilā 'l-tarassul*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1937, 139, 341). *Khudāyagān-i ʿālam* and other similar combinations are also found in the same sense. *Khudāwand*, with or without a qualifying phrase such as *walī niʿam*, is also used as a form of address to government officials (civil and military) and to patrons in general. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Mayhanī in his manual on the art of the secretary, *Dastūr-i Dabīrī*, written in 575/1180, mentions *khudāwand-i ʿālam*, *khudāwand-i djahān*, *khudāyagān-i djahān and khudāwand-i walī-niʿam* among the forms of address accorded to the sultan (ed. Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1962, 13, 15). He also includes *khudāwand* among the titles of the *wazīr* (*ibid.*, 16).

The terms *khudāwand-i aʿẓam*, *khudāyagān-i ʿālam* and similar combinations are common in Djalāʾirid, Aḳ Ḳoyunlū and Ḳarā Ḳoyunlū documents. The derivative term *khudāwandagār* is common as an honorific for *wazīrs* and commanders under the Saldjūḳs of Rūm (A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumî türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 329) and in Ottoman usage (I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Munich 1967; H. Inalcık, *İA*, art. *Pādiṣāh*). See also E. Quatrèmere, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, Paris 1837-45, i, 64 ff., and F. Taeschner, *Die Werke der Familie Dai Qarağa Beg in Brussa*, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 175).

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

KHUDĀWENDIGĀR (P.) "lord, owner, master"; in Ottoman usage, it was used as (1) the title of Murād I, and (2) the name of the *sandjaḳ* and province of Bursa.

1. The title *Khudāwendigār* was used for commanders and viziers during the Saldjūḳ period (Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Khōyī, *Ghunyat al-kātib wa-munyat al-ṭālib fī rusūm al-rasāʾil wa-madjmūʿ al-faḍāʾil*, ed. N. Lugal-Adnan S. Erzi, Ankara 1963, 4-5; M. C. Şahabettin Tekindağ, *İzzet Koyunluoğlu Kütüphanesinde bulunan Türkçe yazmalar*, in *TM*, xvi 1971, 134-5). As an attribute, the term was used for mystics like Djalāl al-Dīn Rumī and Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh (Eflāḳī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1959, i-ii, index). The word became widely used, especially after its usage as a title for the Ottoman sultan Murād I (761-91/1360-89) (Ferīdūn, *Münsheʾāt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274, i, 100, 103-4, 105-9, 112, 163, 166; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşaeli livası*, Istanbul 1952, 172), but the early Ottomans historians (e.g. ʿĀshıḳpasha-zāde, Neshrī, Orūč, Bihishtī) do not mention this title. In 9th/15th century documents, when referring to the reign of Murād I, the phrase *Khudāwendigār zamanında* is used without mentioning the Sultan's name (H. Inalcık, *Hicri 835 tarihli Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, 154; *Ḳānūn-nāme-i Sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOthmānī*, ed. H. Inalcık and R. Anhegger, Ankara 1956, 77, 81; Çağatay Uluçay, *Saruhanoğulları ve eserlerine dair vesikalar*, Istanbul 1946, ii, 44, 48). The 10th/16th century historians accord Murād I the title of *Khudāwendigār*. Also, Murād I was sometimes addressed as *Ghāzī Khünkār* (Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, 175) and it has been argued that the word *khünkār* is a variant form of *Khudāwendigār* (for the form *khundkār* used in a document of 848/1444, see Halil Inalcık, *Arvanid livası*, 9). On the evidence of the documents, the term *khūdāwendigār* was used for the successors of Murād I from Bāyezīd I to Selīm I (Ferīdūn, *op. cit.*, i, 118, 124, 149, 151-2, 154, 165, 187, 290, 304, 373, 377; A. Nimet Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesinde bulunan Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 49-50). As applied to these Sultans, it had the same meaning as the terms *pādishāh* and *khudāwend* (*Ḳānūn-nāme*, Veliyüddin Efendi Library, no. 1970, ff. 15b, 16a; Tekindağ, *op. cit.*, 135, n. 3); but in the 11th/17th century, it was applied to Murād I exclusively (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, 14).

2. The use of Khudāwendigār as a name for the province of Bursa started after its conquest when Orkhān gave the town, together with its surrounding lands, to his son Murād as a *sandjaḳ* (Neshrī, *Djihān-numā*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, 56; ʿĀshıḳpasha-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1915, 43). However, there is no record in the contemporary sources that this name was used during the reign of Murād I (cf. Kātib Čelebi, *Djihān-numā*, Istanbul 1145/1732, 656). At this early period, Bursa was the capital of the Ottoman leader, himself called the *emīr-i kebīr*, and the province was therefore called after him *beg sandjaghī* (see H. Inalcık, *Bursa şeriye sicillerinde Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in fermanları*, in *Belleten*, liv,

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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698, 702; M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî ve içtimaî tarihi (1558-1589)*, Ankara 1971, ii, 284, 309). The oldest document relating to the region and calling it Khudāwendigār is the *Khudāwendigār liwāsı taḥrīr defteri* dated 892/1487 (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü Tapu Defteri no. 23). From this date onwards, the term *Khudāwendigār sandjaghī* was sometimes used instead of "the *sandjaḳ* of Bursa" (M. Akdağ, *op. cit.*, ii, 310; H. T. Dağlıoğlu, *xvi asırda Bursa (1558-1589)*, Bursa 1940, 31, 41 and *passim*). The *Khudāwendigār sandjaghī* in the *eyālet* of Anatolia was organised as a separate province in the 19th century. This province consisted of the *sandjaḳs* of Karahisar-ı Sahib, Kütahya, Bilecek, Erdek, and Biga in 1846-7; it was reduced to a mere *mutaṣarrıflık* in 1860, but restored to the status of a province again in 1861-2. Khudāwendigār, according to the provincial organisation regulation of 1864, consisted of Kütahya, Kocaeli, Karesi, Karahisar-i Sahib and the central *sandjaḳ* of Khudāwendigār itself (Vecihi Tönük, *Türkiye'de idârî teşkilât*, Ankara 1945, 110, 128, 130, 164).

Bibliography: apart from the references already mentioned in the text, see Ömer Lutfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI yüz yıllarda Osmanlı imparatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları. I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 396; *Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Paşa lâyıhası*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat, *Tarih Vesikaları*, Istanbul 1942, 463; *Koçi Bey risalesi*, ed. Ali Kemali Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 99; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reich*, repr. 1963, i, 81; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des Sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Paris 1967, 162-3; J. H. Kramers, *EI*², s.v. (C. Orhonlu)

KHUDJAND(A), a town and district in Central Asia, now the town and *oblast* of Leninabad in the Tadzhik SSR, the town lying in 40° 17′ lat. N. and 69° 37′ long. E. The mediaeval town was strung out along the left bank of the middle Sīr Daryā at the southernmost bend of its course and at the entrance to the Farghāna valley. It lay in the ill-defined borderlands between the Transoxanian districts of Īlāḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ushrūsana [*q.v.*], and was generally reckoned as being connected administratively with one or other of these two in the early middle ages. Its destinies were, however, frequently linked with those of the region of Farghāna [*q.v.*] to the east, the frontier between the two districts being marked, according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982), tr. 115-16, by the town of Wāthkath or Wān Kath.

At the time of the Arab invasions of Transoxania, there was a local ruler or *malik* of Khudjand, apparently dependent on the ruler of Farghāna. The town was captured by the Arabs in 103-4/722, when anti-Arab elements of the Soghdians who had retreated thither were dislodged by Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Ḥarashī's troops, with a savage massacre of the besieged (Ṭabarī, ii, 1439 ff.; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 189; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 62-3). It must nevertheless have been speedily lost to the Arabs shortly afterwards when the local rulers of Soghdia were joined by the Ḳaghan of the Western Turks or Türgesh, Su-lu, and the Arabs temporarily expelled from most of Transoxania. Not surprisingly, the people of Khudjand joined those of Farghāna, Ushrūsana, Čaghāniyān, etc. in supporting the rebellion of Rāfiʿ b. al-Layth during the years 190-3/806-9, according to Yaʿḳūbī.

The geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries now describe Khudjand and its district as a fertile and prosperous one, with many orchards and vineyards, although the town had to import grain from Farghāna and elsewhere. Ibn Ḥawḳal states that Khudjand had a *ḳuhandiz* or citadel with a prison; a *madīna* or inner city; and a *rabaḍ* or outer city, where the local ruler's palace, the *dār al-imāra*, lay. As befitted a frontier region, the inhabitants were warlike and generous. Furthermore, the town was an important centre for river navigation along the Sīr Daryā. This same author describes the district of Khudjand as extending southwards towards Washgird and Čaghāniyān, sc. to the Buttamān Mts. separating the basins of the upper Sīr Daryā and the upper Oxus. The only other town of the Khudjand district was Kand or Kand-i Bādhām "Kand of the almonds", so-called for a local product, almonds; this was presumably on the site of the modern village of Kan-i Badam, some 40 miles from Khudjand-Leninabad, visited by the American traveller E. Schuyler in the mid-1870s en route for Khoḳand (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, ii, 457, 489; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 479; Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 157-8, 164-5; Schuyler, *Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, ii, 3-4). A considerable number of *ʿulamāʾ* bearing the *nisba* of "al-Khudjandī" are mentioned by e.g. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, v, 53-6, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 348; most notable of these is the mathematician and astronomer Abū Maḥmūd Ḥāmid al-Khudjandī, d. 390/1000 [*q.v.*].

Khudjand was a place of importance under the Ḳarā-Khānids or Ilek Khāns [*q.v.*], and in the early years of the 5th/11th century, from 406/1015-6 onwards, Arslan Khān Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, originally ruler in Talas, minted coins there (see R. Vasmer, *Zur Münzkunde der Qarāḫāniden*, in *MSOS*, Westas. Studien, xxxiii (1939), 90-1, and E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzpragungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). In the mid-5th/11th century it was the frontier town between the eastern khānate of Kāshghar and Balāsāghūn under the sons of Ḳadīr Khān Yūsuf and the western one of Transoxania under Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Tamghač Khān Ibrāhīm. It was also at Khudjand that in 531/1137 the Ḳarā Khiṭāy invaders won a victory over the Ḳarā-Khānid Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad.

During the period of the Mongol invasions, Khudjand was in 617/1220 stubbornly defended after the fall of Samarḳand by the governor Temür Malik against a besieging force of 20,000 Mongol troops and 50,000 pressed levies, and after abandoning the citadel, he sailed away down the river and eventually reached Khʷārazm (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, i, 277-8; Djuwayni-Boyle, ii, 92-4). In the next century, under the Čaghatayids, the *ulus* of the important Djalāyir tribe in the Khāns' following was the district around Khudjand, until in 778/1376, after the revolt of the Djalāyirs, they were disbanded by Tīmūr and dispersed from the region (Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii. *Ulugh Beg*, 9, 26). Bābur, in the period of his struggles in Farghāna against the kinsmen who were his rivals for power, used Khudjand as a centre for operations in 903/1497-8; he has given an enthusiastic description of the walled town or *ḳurghan* of Khudjand and its many amenities (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 7-8, 89-92).

It was the connections of the Mongols and their epigoni in Central Asia with their kinsmen in northern China which stimulated mentions of Khudjand in the Chinese annals of the 14th century, e.g. as Hu-ch'an

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in the *Yüan-shi*, and an early 14th century Chinese map shows it as Hu-jan; mediaeval Chinese travellers call the Sīr Daryā the Ho-ch'an or Hu-k'ien "river of Khudjand", following Arabic usage of such terms as *Nahr Khudjand* or *Nahr al-Shāsh* for that river (cf. Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 54-5).

After being under Özbeg rule, Khudjand became part of the Khānate of Khoķand at the beginning of the 19th century, but in 1842 was captured by the Mangit Khān of Bukhārā, Naṣr Allāh b. Ḥaydar (see F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates*, London 1899, 215-16). In May 1866 Khudjand fell to the Russian armies of General Romanovski after a bloody siege of eight days, in which 2,500 of the defending Khoķandī force were killed, and the town was then used as a base for the final reduction of the Khānate of Khoķand (see *ibid.*, 251-2; Schuyler, *op. cit.*, i, 312 ff., 339, 354; R. A. Pierce, *Russian Central Asia 1867-1917, a study in colonial rule*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960, 23-5, 34-5). In 1875 the Russian garrison in Khudjand was for a while besieged there by a rebellious faction in the Khānate of Khoķand, and it was this revolt in Khoķand which led to the final annexation of the Khānate by Russia [see KHOĶAND]. Under Tsarist rule, Khudjand eventually became part of the Samarķand *oblast* of the Governor-Generalship of Turkestan.

Under the Soviets, Khudjand was in 1936 re-named Leninabad, and this name was also given to the northern *oblast* of the Tadzhik SSR. It is now the second most important industrial and cultural centre of the Republic after Dushambe (the Stalinabad of 1929-61), with manufactures of cotton, silk and footware, food processing, and with orchards and vineyards outside the town. The population in 1970 was 103,000 (see *BSE*³, xxiv, 513-5).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KHUDJANDĪ, ABŪ MAḤMŪD ḤĀMID B. AL-KHIḍR, astronomer and mathematician, originally from Khudjand in Transoxania. He lived under the protection of the Buwayhid Fakhr al-Dawla (366-87/976-97) and died in 390/1000.

From amongst his mathematical works, there has survived in Cairo the manuscript of a treatise on geometry. We know that he was concerned with the resolution of equations of the third degree by geometrical methods and that he demonstrated, in an imperfect manner, that the sum of two cubed numbers cannot be another cube. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (*K. Shakl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ*, Istanbul 1891, 108-20) affirms that Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzadjānī [*q.v.*], Abū Naṣr Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. ʿIrāḳ [*q.v.*] and al-Khudjandī are the three authors to whom are attributed the discovery of the sine law called by the latter the "astronomical law" (*ḳānūn al-hayʾa*), because of its frequent use in astronomy, and he gives the proof which he offered of this law (cf. C. Schoy, *Behandlung einiger geometrischen Fragepunkte durch muslimische Mathematiker*, in *Isis*, viii (1926), 260-3). However, P. Luckey, in his *Zur Entstehung der Kugeldreiechtsrechnung*, in *Deutsche Mathematik*, v (1940-1), 416, 418-9, rejects al-Khudjandī's part in this in principle, because we are concerned here with a person whose outstanding work was in the field of practical astronomy.

Al-Bīrūnī, in his *Taḥdid nihāyat al-amākin*, in *RIMA*, viii (1962), 107, states that al-Khudjandī was "unique in his age" (*awḥad zamānihi*) for the construction of astrolabes and other astronomical instruments. Some manuscripts have been preserved of his treatise *Fī ʿamal al-āla al-ʿāmma*, in which is described a universal instrument (*al-āla al-ʿāmma* or *al-shāmila*) to be used in place of the astrolabe or quadrant. He constructed an armillary sphere and other instruments, and must have worked on theoretical questions concerning the laying out of the plan of an astrolabe, since Abū Naṣr Manṣūr gives two methods of al-Khudjandī's for determining the position of the circles of the azimuth on the astrolabe by the intersection of the equator and the *muḳanṭarāt* (*Risāla fī madjāzāt dawāʾir al-sumūt fī 'l-asṭurlāb*, in *Rasāʾil ilā 'l-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad 1948, 3-9). His most important work in the sphere of astronomical instruments was the sextant called *al-suds al-fakhrī* (sc. dedicated to Fakhr al-Dawla) which he made in order to determine the obliquity of the ecliptic. He described this instrument and the observations which he was able to make with it in his *Risāla fī 'l-mayl wa-ʿarḍ al-balad* (ed. L. Cheikho, in *Machriq*, xi (1908), 60-8). Al-Bīrūnī gave a detailed analysis of this in his *Taḥdīd*, 101-8, which is said to be based on the *Maḳāla fī taṣḥīḥ al-mayl* of al-Khudjandī (probably to be identified with the R. *fī 'l-mayl* cited above). This sextant had a diameter of 40 *dhirāʿ*s or cubits (al-Bīrūnī: 80 cubits) constructed at Ṭabrūk near Rayy and set down on the plan of the meridian; it was surrounded by walls and covered over by a roof, part of which was vaulted (*ṭāḳ*) and with an aperture 3 spans (*shibr*) in diameter (al-Bīrūnī: one span) coinciding with the centre of the sextant. With this instrument it was possible to take the height of the sun; the sun's light threw a circle on to the sextant and, in order to determine the centre, al-Khudjandī used a circle of the same radius which had two perpendicular diameters which he placed on the circle thereby lit up. Al-Khudjandī asserted that the sextant was his own invention, and he boasted that, by using it, he could make calculations down to the very second. Similar instruments seem to have been employed in the observatories of Marāgha (founded before 660/1261-2) and at Samarķand (built in 823/1420).

With this *suds al-fakhrī*, al-Khudjandī observed the meridian height of the sun at the summer and winter solstices of the year 384/994; the procedure involved consisted in making observations on two consecutive days at the time of the solstice and in determining, by interpolation, the exact moment of the passing of the sun into the solstice. He was able to do this in the month of June, but clouds prevented him from repeating the procedure in December, so that the exactness of the whole operation was somewhat affected. His observations were made in the presence of a group of leading scholars who drew up a report. The result was: $\varepsilon = 23^\circ\ 32'\ 19''$ ($21''$ according to al-Bīrūnī in *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Hyderabad 1954, i, 364), a value which, compared to those worked out by the Indian astronomers (24°) and Ptolemy ($23^\circ\ 51'$) justified al-Khudjandī's belief in a progressive reduction in the obliquity of the ecliptic. Al-Bīrūnī, who believed that ε was a constant (*Taḥdīd*, 107-8, 116; *Ḳānūn*, i, 364) emphasises that al-Khudjandī told him verbally that the aperture of the vault by which the sun's rays came in had been displaced downwards by a span before the observations regarding the winter solstice were made, so that it did not coincide exactly with the sextant's centre. This fact may explain the decrease in the value of ε in relation to other determinations made roughly around the same time.

Al-Khudjandī made other observations; he fixed the latitude of Rayy at $35^\circ\ 34'\ 39''$ (al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd*, 86-7, 99, 238; *Ḳānūn*, ii, 612), and he asserted that he had observed the planets for Fakhr al-Dawla by

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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means of armillary spheres and other instruments (*R. fi 'l-mayl*, 62). The final result of this work was the compiling of *al-Zīdj al-fakhrī*. An incomplete copy in Persian of a *zīdj*, preserved in the Madjlis Library in Tehran (ms. 181) may be based on al-Khudjandī's observations; the period of the tables of average movements is 600 of the Yazdagirdī era, sc. about two centuries after al-Khudjandī's death (see E. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, N.S., xlvi (1956), 133, No. 60).

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(J. Samsó)

KHUDJISTĀN, a small town or village of mediaeval Islamic Bādhghīs [*q.v.*], lying to the northeast of Harāt in modern Afghānistān, and described by the mediaeval geographers as being mountainous, possessing agricultural lands and having warlike inhabitants (Iṣṭakhrī, 268-9; Ibn Ḥawkal², 441, tr. Wiet. 426; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 104, 327; Yāḳūt, ii, 404; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr., hist. et litt. de la Perse*, 197). Although within a Sunnī region, Khudjistān itself was one of the last centres for the Khawāridj in eastern Iran, and the population are described as Khāridjīs and extremists (*shurāt wa-ghulāt*).

Its main claim to fame is that it gave birth in the 3rd/9th century to Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī. He was a commander in Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir's army, but after the fall of the Ṭāhirid capital Nishāpūr to Yaʿḳūb b. Layth in 259/853, he made a bid for independent power in Khurāsān, with a base of power in Harāt and Tukhāristān, against the Ṣaffārids, until he was killed by one of his own *ghulāms* in 268/882. Worthy of note is the detail that Khudjistānī was allegedly launched on his career as a condottieri through hearing the martial poetry of a local author, Ḥanẓala of Bādhghīs, who must have been one of the very earliest writers of verse in New Persian (Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahar maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 26-7, revised tr. 27-9, cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persanes* (*IX^e-X^e siècles*), Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 17-8, 53).

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KHULDĀBĀD, a town in the northwestern part of the former Ḥaydarābād state, now in Maharashtra state of the Indian Union, and situated in lat. 20° 1′ N. and long. 75° 12′ E; it is also known as Rauza (sc. Rawḍa). It is 14 miles from Awrangābād and 8 from Dawlatābād [*q.vv.*], and a particularly holy spot for Deccani Muslims, since it contains the tombs of several Muslim saints and great men, including the Niẓām-Shāhī minister Malik ʿAnbar [*q.v.*]; Niẓām al-Mulk Āṣaf Djāh, founder of Ḥaydarābād state [*q.v.*]; and above all, of the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], who died at Aḥmadnagar in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1118/ March 1707 and was buried at the *rawḍa* or shrine of Shaykh Zayn al-Ḥaḳḳ, and of his son Aʿẓam Shāh. After Awrangzīb's burial, the place was called Khuldābād, the monarch's posthumous name being *Khuld-maḳām* "He whose abode is eternity" (see *Cambridge hist. of India*, iv, 302).

Bibliography: *Gazeteer of Aurangabad District*, Bombay 1884; *Imperial gazeteer of India*², xv, 285; *Murray's Handbook to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*²¹, London 1968, 59-61.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHULʿ [see ṬALĀḲ].

KHULḲ [see AKHLĀḲ].

KHULM, a town of northern Afghānistān lying in the lowland region to the south of the upper Oxus at an altitude of 1,400 ft./450 m. and in lat. 36° 42′ N. and long. 67°41′ E.; it is situated some 30 miles/50 km. to the east of modern Mazār-i Sharīf and, according to the mediaeval Islamic geographers, two *marḥalas* or 10 *farsakhs* to the east of Balkh [*q.v.*]. It further lies on the Khulm River which flows down a narrow valley from the Hindu Kush past the town of Haybak and then Khulm itself until it peters out short of the Oxus. It is possible that this river is the Artamis of the Greek geographers.

The mediaeval geographers describe Khulm as the centre of a flourishing agricultural district, with luscious fruits, and as enjoying a healthy climate; the *kharādj* or land-tax was levied on the extent of irrigated land. The grapes and other fruits of Khulm were still the subject of much praise by the Scottish traveller Alexander Burnes in the early 19th century. The road from Balkh eastwards into Badakhshān and to Andarāba and the silver mines of Pandjhīr also passed through Khulm (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 427, 432; *Ḥudud al-ʿālam*, 108).

Regarding the pre-Islamic history of Khulm, it has been conjectured that Khulm is the Aornos mentioned by Arrian as conquered by Alexander the Great in the winter of 330-329 BC (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, i/2, 2659). The Buddhist Chinese traveller of the early 7th century, Hiuen-Tsang, seems, however, to mention it as the kingdom of Hu-lin, whose chief town had over 10 Buddhist monasteries with more than 500 monks (see T. Watters, *On Yüan Chwang's travels in India*, London 1904, i, 106, 109). In the period of the Islamic conquests in Central Asia, it is mentioned at various times in the course of warfare, e.g. in 90/ 708-9 when Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] made his final attack on the Hephthalite leader Ṭarkhān Nīzak (Ṭabarī, ii, 1205-6, 1219, with mention of the *shiʿb Khulm* "defile or valley of Khulm"), and in 119/737 when Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī was endeavouring to expel from Tukhāristān the united forces of the Turkish Khāḳān Su-lu of the Western Türgesh, the rebel al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj and the local princes of the Oxus valley principalities and of Soghdia, and the Khāḳān endeavoured in vain to take the town (Ṭabarī, ii, 1603, 1615). Once pacified, the district was settled by Arabs of Tamīm, Ḳays, Azd and Bakr (Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad 1382-6/1962-6, v, 180). Khulm also figures in the tax-assessment for Tukhāristān in the time of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir's governor-

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ship (years 211-12/826-8) under the sum of 12,300 dirhams per annum (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 36, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 218); and in the fighting around Khulm in the later 3rd/9th century between the Ṣaffārids and other contenders for power in Khurāsān, the condottieri Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudjistānī [see KHUDJISTĀN] in 268/881-2 defeated ʿAmr b. Layth's ally Abū Ṭalḥa Manṣūr b. Sharkab near the town (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 209). Culturally, Khulm was of sufficient note to produce, according to Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, v, 180-3, a well-known poet, Kaʿb b. Aḥmad, and several legal and theological scholars.

We hear little of Khulm under the rule of the successive Turkish and other dynasties of eastern Iran like the Saldjūḳs and Tīmūrids, but it was clearly within these centuries that the Turkicisation of these lands south of the Oxus took place, so that in modern Afghānistān, the population of the region is largely Uzbek.

In the period after Nādir Shāh, sc. in the later 12th/18th century, the region came under the control of a local ruler of Uzbek stock, Ḳïlïdj ʿAlī Beg of Khulm. He held, according to Elphinstone, the title of *Atalīḳ* from the Durrānī kings of Kābul and paid deference to them, but was left virtually independent in return for protecting the northern borders of Afghānistān against Uzbek incursions from beyond the Oxus. It was because of these depredations that the seat of government for the Khulm region was in the early 19th century transferred from Khulm to Tash Ḳurghan 4 miles/6 km. to the south, and this has become the site of the modern town of Khulm. Various British travellers visited it at this time. W. Moorcroft (1824) mentions that the tyrannical Muḥammad Murād Beg, ruler of Ḳunduz and much of the region north of the Hindu Kush, had compelled the inhabitants of Khulm proper to transfer to his own capital of Ḳunduz. Old Khulm certainly now fell into decay, whilst New Khulm or Tash Ḳurghan flourished. Concerning population, Elphinstone (1809) estimated that Old Khulm contained about 8,000 houses, and Burnes (1832) that New Khulm had some 10,000 inhabitants. Subsequently, the sons of Ḳïlïdj ʿAlī Beg reigned from Khulm over an area comprising Khulm, Haybak, Ṭalaḳān, Andarāb and Mazār-i Sharīf as vassals of Muḥammad Murād Beg, but in the early 1850s Dōst Muḥammad of Kābul [*q.v.*] succeeded in bringing Badakhshān and the Uzbek principality of the Khulm district under his own control, and henceforth it formed part of the dominions of the kings of Kābul.

Present-day New Khulm-Tash Ḳurghan forms part of the Afghān province of Samangān, within which it and Haybak are the main towns, Khulm, however, being the more populous of the two (population estimated by Humlum at 30,000 in *ca.* 1950); both towns benefit by being on the main road from Kābul to Mazār-i Sharīf and the Russian frontier.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the text): Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 67-8; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. géogr., hist. et litt. de la Perse*, 211; Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its dependencies*, London 1842, ii, 184, 195-200; A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara, together with a Narrative of a voyage on the Indus*, London 1834, i, 202-12, 230-1, ii, 346 ff.; W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjab . . . from 1819 to 1825*, London 1841, ii, 396, 409, 412-3, 415-7, 420, 426, 429 ff., 441, 448 ff.; J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 132, 150, 155. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHULṬ, the classical form of the name of a tribe of northwestern Morocco pronounced Khlot (but ethnic, Khulṭī). The Khlot came into North Africa with the invasions of the Banū Hilāl in the 5th/11th century, and formed part of the "mixed" Arab people known as the Djusham; according to Ibn Khaldūn and other historians, the Khlot allegedly belonged to the Banu 'l-Muntafiḳ. The Djusham spread throughout the central Maghrib, settled there and took part in all the wars which desolated Barbary. After the Almohad conquest, they vainly tried to rebel, and not long afterwards, the Banū Ghāniya [see IBN GHĀNIYA] had little trouble in engaging them as their auxiliaries after the capture of Bougie [see BIDJĀYA]. The Almohad caliph al-Manṣūr, once victorious over his enemies, punished their allies and accordingly transported to the oceanic shores of Morocco the Djusham and Riyāḥ Arabs. The latter were established in the Hibṭ and the Gharb, and the first group in the Tāmesnā (Shāwiya), depopulated since the extermination of the Berghawāṭa [*q.v.*] by the Almoravids.

Under al-Manṣūr's successors, the intrigues of the Almohad *shaykh*s found excellent support in the two component groups of the Djusham, the Khlot and the Sufyān, whose jealousies yet further aggravated the internecine conflicts. In 621/1224 the Khlot espoused the cause of the pretender al-Maʾmūn against the caliph al-ʿĀdil, who was supported by the Sufyān. In 625/1228, al-Maʾmūn was proclaimed caliph; in 630/1233 his son al-Rashīd succeeded him, but because of their misdeeds and violence, he was obliged to take strong measures against the Khlot chiefs, who then rebelled and took the side of the pretender Yaḥyā b. al-Nāṣir. The Sufyān, now reconciled with al-Rashīd, attacked the Khlot on the banks of the Umm al-Rabīʿ and a frightful carnage ensued. The Khlot sought vengeance by proclaiming as caliph the Andalusian pretender Ibn Hūd, but al-Rashīd pursued them, drove them back, and captured and then executed their chiefs (635/1237-8). Much weakened and browbeaten into obedience, they took part in the caliphs' expeditions, but their rivalry with the Sufyān was in no way extinguished and proved fatal to the Almohads. In 646/1248, at the siege of Tamzedekt against the Zayānid pretender Yaghmorasen, this rivalry brought about the caliph al-Saʿīd's death and the Almohads' defeat.

The Marīnid sultan Abū Thābit treated the Khlot harshly for their violence (707/1308), but he took advantage of their assistance in order to destroy the power of the Riyāḥ. They were then settled on the former's lands, in the Azghār and the Hibṭ, and formed part of the *makhzan* [*q.v.*] of the Moroccan sultans, made marriage alliances with these rulers and provided for them provincial governors, ambassadors and advisers. They subsequently passed into the service of the Banū Waṭṭās and gave no support to the Saʿdids, who at first held them at arm's length despite the importance of the tribe which, according to Leo Africanus, could put 12,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry into the field. However, the Khlot's important part in the Moroccan victory of Wādī 'l-Makhāzin against the Portuguese gave them entry in part at least to the *makhzan* of the Saʿdids. At the time of the latters' decadence, the marabout pretender al-ʿAyyāshī [*q.v.*], who sought to compel them to march against the Christians of Larache, was unable to bring them to obedience and was assassinated by them (1048/1638-9). Under the ʿAlawids, the Khlot took the side of the petty princelings of northern Morocco who had made themselves in-

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dependent under the cover of waging holy war. Mawlāy Ismāʿīl and his successors, after first reducing them to submission, deprived the Khlot of their status as a *makẖzan* tribe and favoured the establishment in their region of heterogeneous elements, the Ṭīīḳ and Badāwa groups, who inevitably afflicted and reduced the power of the former occupants of the land.

Bibliography: Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon have provided the most complete information about the habitat, ethnography, administrative organisation, political position and the splits among the Khlot in their article *Tribus arabes de la vallée du Lekkous*, in *AM*, iv-vi (1905-7). (A. Cour)

KHUMĀRAWAYH B. AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN, second Ṭūlūnid ruler of Egypt and Syria. He was born in Sāmarrā in 250/864 and, after the abortive rebellion of his brother ʿAbbās [*q.v.* in Suppl.] against Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn [*q.v.*], was designated heir-apparent as early as 269/882. In an unprecedented act in the history of Muslim Egypt, the popular Khumārawayh came to power upon the death of his father on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 270/10 May 884 without the caliph's sanction, but rather with the general approval of the military and civil authorities of the Ṭūlūnid régime. His brother ʿAbbās was forced to pay homage to his rule, and was assassinated under obscure circumstances only a few days after Khumārawayh's accession. Khumārawayh reigned for twelve years; on 28 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 282/18 January 896 he was killed, a victim to a palace cabal, by one of his own slaves.

Khumārawayh inherited both a stable and wealthy polity from his father—the treasury is said to have contained ten million dīnārs, thanks to Ibn Ṭūlūn's far-sighted internal and external economic policy—and also an unresolved struggle with the court of Baghdād. Since he had come to power only through his father or rather through his father's generals, the caliph regarded him as an usurper. Immediately upon receiving the news of Ibn Ṭūlūn's death, al-Muwaffaḳ, the ruler of the eastern half of the ʿAbbāsid empire and strong man in the Baghdād court, broke off the negotiations which had led to the *de facto* recognition of Ibn Ṭūlūn as governor of Egypt and Syria. One of Ibn Ṭūlūn's foremost generals, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī, then changed sides and urged al-Muwaffaḳ to attack Khumārawayh and reconquer Egypt, exploiting Khumārawayh's lack of political and military experience (al-Kindī, 234, ii, 4-5). Two generals of the caliph with al-Muwaffaḳ's sanction now invaded Ṭūlūnid Syria: Isḥāḳ b. Kundādj, the governor of Mosul whom al-Muwaffaḳ had appointed "legal" governor of Egypt and Syria in 269/882-3, and Muḥammad b. Dīwdād Abī 'l-Sādj of Anbār. The defection of the Ṭūlūnid governor of Damascus and finally the appearance of Aḥmad b. al-Muwaffaḳ (the future caliph al-Muʿtaḍid) leading an ʿIrāḳī army challenged Khumārawayh's control over Syria even further. In Shawwāl 271/February-March 885 (Grabar, 68) Aḥmad's troops met the Egyptians under Khumārawayh's command in the tragi-comic Battle of the Mills (*al-Ṭawāḥīn*) in southern Palestine. Both Aḥmad and Khumārawayh ignominiously fled from the battlefield; the military decision in Khumārawayh's favour was secured by the capable and courageous Ṭūlūnid general Saʿd al-Aysar. After his victory he went to Damascus and rebelled, though unsuccessfully, against the humiliated Khumārawayh. Khumārawayh's long-term strategy of achieving a rapprochement with the ʿAbbāsid court is reflected in the exceptional clemency with which he treated his ʿIrāḳī prisoners of war. In the following years his realm was considerably extended. He beat decisively, though with inferior forces, Ibn Kundādj, who submitted to him and brought areas as far east as Ḥarrān (Grabar, 75) under Khumārawayh's control. The Djazīra became part of the Ṭūlūnid lands when its governor Ibn Abi 'l-Sādj sought Khumārawayh's protection. On Khumārawayh's own initiative, Yāzmān of Ṭarsūs finally accepted Ṭūlūnid sovereignty over Cilicia.

In Radjab 273/December 886 al-Muwaffaḳ and Khumārawayh eventually came to terms. Khumārawayh discontinued the public slandering of al-Muwaffaḳ in the sermons of Egypt and formally acknowledged ʿAbbāsid sovereignty. In return he was granted the *de jure* governorship of both Egypt and the lands of Syria (al-Shaʾmāt) for thirty years for himself and his progeny (*wulduhū*). Thus not only his own succession, but also the dignity of his family, were recognised by the caliph. The time limit imposed, however, clearly shows that the caliph regarded the Ṭūlūnid rule over Egypt and Syria to be temporary and revocable, unlike the privileges granted to the Aghlabids [*q.v.*] of Ifrīḳiya. Unfortunately, the financial provisions of this first treaty between Khumārawayh and al-Muwaffaḳ are not recorded in the sources. Syria now became an integral part of the Ṭūlūnid domains; in the provincial capitals of the Shaʾmāt, Ramla/Filasṭīn, Ḥimṣ, Ḥalab and Anṭākiya, new mints were set up.

In Radjab 279/October 892 al-Muʿtaḍid, the son of al-Muwaffaḳ, succeeded al-Muʿtamid as caliph. In a new treaty he readily confirmed these arrangements with Khumārawayh. The annual tribute to be paid by Khumārawayh as vassal to al-Muʿtaḍid was fixed at a rate of presumably 300,000 dīnārs, supplemented by 200,000 dīnārs to be paid for each preceding year of his rule. The sources are vague and inconsistent on these crucial figures. Khumārawayh lost the territories east of the Euphrates, Mawṣil, Diyār Rabīʿa and Diyār Muḍar around al-Rāfiḳa, where coins had been struck on his behalf before 279/892. The important and prestigious *ṭirāz*-manufactures of Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria remained under the control of the caliph. Ṭūlūnid coins bore his along with Khumārawayh's name.

Khumārawayh's limited autonomy made him susceptible to honours bestowed upon him by the caliph, the most exalted and highest sovereign of the Muslim community. In 279/892, through the mediation of his closest adviser, al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Djaṣṣāṣ al-Djawharī, he arranged for one of the great political marriages of mediaeval Islamic history. He offered his daughter Ḳaṭr al-Nadā to the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid's son ʿAlī, but the caliph took her as a bride for himself. It remains unclear whether or not this marriage, which entailed an exorbitant dowry of one million dīnārs, was a calculated device on the part of the caliph to wreck the finances of his dangerously wealthy and powerful vassal. The splendid nuptials of Ḳaṭr al-Nadā lived on in the memory of the Egyptians well into the Ottoman period, as is recorded in the chronicles and the folk-literature.

Khumārawayh's frivolity and generosity are well attested in the sources. He had sumptuous palaces and gardens built for himself and his favourites. To his contemporaries, his awesome blue-eyed palace lion epitomised his prodigality. He was said to ride no horse more than once. Becker (*Beiträge*, ii, 191) connects his addiction to luxury and debauchery with his status as heir to the capable and successful founder of a dynasty. "Rule was something self-evident to him, something given. He liked to exercise it, but shied from the burdens which were indispensable for

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it". When Khumārawayh was murdered in 282/896, the treasury was empty. All the wealth Ibn Ṭūlūn had amassed had been squandered within a few years. In Khumārawayh's rule the *dīnār*'s worth sank to one third of its former value (Hassan, 245). Under Khumārawayh's sons Djaysh and Hārūn who succeeded him in rapid sequence, the political and financial demise of the Ṭūlūnid state was still further accelerated. In 292/905 ʿAbbāsid troops sacked Ibn Ṭūlūn's new city of al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ and brought back for thirty years direct ʿAbbāsid rule to Egypt.

Khumārawayh's military prowess was notable. After the disaster of al-Ṭawāḥīn he showed strategic skills and astounding personal bravery; he is said to have killed the rebellious Saʿd al-Aysar with his own hands. He could rely on the multi-racial army of his father, composed mainly of Turkish, Greek and Sudanese military slaves and some, mainly Greek, mercenaries; he strengthened its force with numerous fresh soldiers from Turkestan. Yet in contrast to his father, he lacked undisputed authority over the military. He tried to compensate for this with overly-generous special distributions that further undermined the precarious finances of the state.

Possibly under ʿAbbāsid influence (al-Muʿtaḍid had his own élite body of military slaves, *al-mukḥtārūn*), Khumārawayh established a corps d'élite, *al-mukḥtāra*, composed of unruly Egyptian Bedouins of the Eastern delta, on whom he bestowed various privileges. By converting these tribesmen into a loyal and efficient bodyguard he reasserted control and brought back peace to this strategic region between the centres of Egypt and Syria. Significantly enough, there seem to have been no Turks among Khumārawayh's *mukḥtāra* soldiers; he seems rather to have used them to offset the predominant influence of his own Turkish entourage. One thousand Negroes formed a less highly privileged special contingent within the *mukḥtāra*.

Already under Khumārawayh, the civil administration of Egypt passed gradually into the hands of the Madhārāʾi family who later, during the ʿAbbāsid intermezzo and under the Ikhshīdids, directed the finances of the country. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Madhārāʾi began his illustrious career by bringing under his control the *barīd*, the intelligence and communications service. Khumārawayh's relations with the religious establishment of Egypt were strained; his libertinism and frivolity made him the target of harsh attacks both in contemporary and later historiography.

Khumārawayh's prodigal rule encouraged a rich life. Few traces of his splendid architectural and cultural monuments and the minor arts are preserved. His patronage of scholarship and poetry is well known; the grammarian Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Muslim (d. 329/944) was his protégé and the teacher of his sons. Al-Ḳāsim b. Yaḥyā al-Maryamī (d. 317/929) wrote encomia to celebrate Khumārawayh's triumphs on the battlefield.

Bibliography: See *EI*¹ s.v. (Sobernheim). Among the Arabic sources the contemporary historian Ibn al-Dāya [*q.v.*] must be ranked first; fragments of his chronicle of the Ṭūlūnids are preserved in Ibn Saʿīd's *al-Mughrib fī ḥulā 'l-Maghrib*; as far as Khumārawayh is concerned, this important text unfortunately only contains a few remarks on his appointment as heir-apparent, see Ibn Saʿīd, *Fragmente aus dem Mughrib*, ed. K. Vollers, in *Semitistische Studien*, i (1894), 74 ll. 4 ff.; al-Kindī, *K. al-Wulāt*, ed. R. Guest, Leiden/London 1912, 233-41; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg 1902-3, ii, 180-98; Z. M. Hassan, *Les Tulunides. Etude de l'Egypte Musulmane à la fin du IXe siècle 868-905*, Paris 1933, 107-33 and *passim*; O. Grabar, *The Coinage of the Tulunids*, New York 1957, 59-78; Rainer Glagow, *Das Kalifat des al-Muʿtaḍid billāh (892-902)*, Diss. phil. Bonn 1968, 22-3, 61-7, 70-3.

(U. HAARMANN)

KHUMAYR (pronounced locally Khmīr, in French Kroumir), an element of the population which has given its name to a mountainous massif extending along the north-west littoral of Tunisia. The Djebel Khmīr, or Kroumirie, forms part of the administrative district of Djenouba, which covers an area of 3,000 square km. and has a population of 255,000, of whom 225,000 are peasants (census of May 1966).

The massif of the Khumayr, a Tunisian extension of the Atlas range, consists of a series of contrasting sandstone flexures running along a south-west - north-east axis. The two extremities of the massif, separated by the cultivated limestone depression of Ghazwān, present palpable differences in spite of the overall unity. The western Kroumirie has its highest point at Djebel Ghorra in an altitude of 1,202 m., and the eastern Kroumirie, very difficult of access in spite of its modest altitudes, reaches a height of 1,014 m. at Djebel Bīr which dominates Aïn Draham. Everywhere the contrasting forms of rockstrata, deeply furrowed anticlinals and sheer synclinals, give a wild aspect to a landscape covered by a forest 47,000 hectares in area. Of the trees 70% are cork-oak, 20% are zean oak, and 10% other species, including the wild olive. Often the undergrowth consists of fern. Other species have recently been introduced, notably the parasol pine (*bunduḳ*). The level of rainfall in Kroumirie is the highest in Tunisia, with an average of 1 m. per year and a maximum of 1,575 m. at Aïn Draham. In spite of the abundant rain and relatively plentiful falls of snow, the massif suffers from shortage of water. Springs are certainly numerous, but they are dispersed over a wide area and their output is feeble. Some springs even dry up in summer.

In ancient times, the massif of the Khumayr did not escape penetration by the Romans. Three routes crossed it: in the longitudinal axis, the road from Carthage to Hippo Regius (Bône, now called Annaba) via Hippo Diarrhytus (Bizerta), in the transverse axis the road from Simittu (Chemtou) to Thabraca (Tabarka), of which numerous traces have been discovered, and the road from Vaga (Béja) leading to the same destination via Trisipa. Thabraca, originally a Carthaginian market-town, and from the 4th century one of the richest dioceses in Africa, was the centre for the export to Rome of the products of the massif, timber for building and wild animals, as well as oil, wheat and minerals. "A city of luxury, where art has its place alongside commerce" (P. Gaukler, *Mosaïques*, 155), Thabraca has given us some very fine mosaics.

It is curious that throughout the mediaeval period, the massif of the Khumayr has gone unnoticed by the historian. The silence of our sources is complete. It is only in modern times, and in contemporary times in particular, that it has begun to play a historical role, appearing at the same time as a place of refuge and of resistance, escaping almost completely the power of the Tunisian authorities.

The Khumayr had cordial and profitable relations with the colony of Genoese fishermen established since 947/1540 on a rocky island of 40 hectares in area separated from Tabarka by a channel 500 metres wide. They were acutely affected when this islands was unexpectedly attacked and forcibly recovered by

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ʿAlī Pasha in 1153/1740 (Ibn Abī ʾl-Ḍiyāf, *Iṭḥāf*, ii, 124). In 1183/1769-70, the Khumayr gave asylum to the pretender ʿUthmān al-Ḥaddād, who was ultimately captured and executed (*ibid.*, ii, 165). In 1260/1844 they gave their support to another pretender, who claimed to be a descendant of ʿUthmān Bey. The latter also was captured through a trick and beheaded (*ibid.*, iv, 78-9; ed. A. Abdesselem, 116-7). In 1282/1865, ʿAlī Bey, at the head of the military mission (*maḥalla*) responsible for the levying of taxes, bled the region of Béja white, but did not dare venture into the massif, which was subject to tax only within agreed limits (Ibn Abī al-Diyāf, *op. cit.*, vi, 55, 65). However, the mountain-people were not involved in the insurrection of 1864—they did not feel that it concerned them—nor in the troubles of 1867-8.

It was in 1881 that they came abruptly to the fore. The Khumayr were in the habit of pillaging their neighbours, including those in Algeria. Seeing that the Caïd of Tabarka, to whom they were theoretically answerable, had no control over them, the French authorities, in the context of a complex policy which had the effect of setting various powers in competition with one another, decided to act. They set in motion the process which culminated in the establishment of the protectorate over Tunisia. On 24 April 1881, the French Army of Algeria marched into Tunisia; two days later they occupied Kef without a battle; on 13 May it was the turn of Aïn-Draham, and the following day the French routed the Khumayr at Ben Mtir after a number of fierce skirmishes.

Regarding the origins of the inhabitants of the massif, we have no precise and reliable information. The name Khumayr does not appear in any mediaeval text. In the period when Ibn Khaldūn was writing, that is to say, the 8th/14th century, the region between Béja and the sea was inhabited by Hawwāra Berbers, by that time completely arabised, with whom there had been blended various elements of Arab descent, notably the Hudhayl (*ʿIbar*, vi, 288-9; tr. de Slane, *Berbères*, i, 279).

The Khumayr pose an insoluble puzzle to the historian. They only make their appearance in the 19th century, and even for this period there are only scraps of information in the archives, when they pillage their neighbours, or when the *maḥallas* try in vain to force them to pay taxes. Who are they? They themselves say that they are Arabs, and it is true that there is an oasis in the Yemen called Khumayr (Yāḳūt, ii, 390, iii, 406) and there is a Ḳaḥṭānid tribe which bears the name Banū Khamr (Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāya*, 247), of which Khumayr could be a diminutive. Legend would also have us believe that they are the descendants of a certain Khumayr b. ʿUmar, an eminent companion of the conqueror of the Maghrib, ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ. A descendant of Khumayr, Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh Abu ʾl-Djimāl, is supposed to have died, worn out by *djihād*, in the heart of the massif, on a small plateau about 5 km. south-west of Aïn Draham. The mausoleum raised to him in this place perpetuates the legend and unites the Khumayr in an almost total veneration for their patron saint and presumed ancestor. According to another tradition, the Khumayr originally lived in the south of Tunisia and were ruled by the Shābbiyya of al-Ḳayrawān. In the 18th century they were forced to emigrate towards the north, occupying the massif to which they gave their name.

The Khumayr are divided into a number of segments. The most important in the eastern Kroumirie are the Awlād ʿUmar, the Ḥwāmdiyya, the Awlād Ibn Saʿīd, the Saʿādiyya, the Urāhniyya, and the Twādjniyya in the region of Tabarka; the Salūl, the Hudhayl, the Awlād Musallim, the Khrāysiyya, the Djdāydiyya, the Djwābliyya, the Mlāykiyya, the Awlād Mūsā, the Awlād Hilāl, the Ḥumrān, the Dabābisa, and in particular the ʿAṭāṭifa in the region of Aïn Draham; the Gwādiyya, the Tbāniyya, and the Shiḥiyya in the region of Fernana. In the western Kroumirie, there are found the Banū Māzin, the Awlād ʿAlī, the Khzāra, the Mrāsin, and the Washtāta. It would be futile to attempt to distinguish between Berbers and Arabs among these tribes. The population of the massif is in fact the result of an immense and long-term ethnic fusion, dating back to the mediaeval period if not further, a fusion which was doubtless accelerated by the infiltration of the Banū Hilāl in the mid 5th/11th century, and of the Sulaym at the start of the 7th/13th century. Let it be stated explicitly that the local Arabic dialect contains no traces of Berber, and that sometimes the nomadic tent is found incongruously pitched on the mountain itself.

The geographers of the Middle Ages show little interest in the massif of Kroumirie in its own right. Their main concern is to describe the itineraries. The first, Ibn Ḥawkal, who visited the Maghrib in the mid-4th/10th century, tells us that the main highway (*al-djāda*) from Tunis to Tabarka passed through Béja (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 76). Al-Bakrī, who was writing in the mid 5th/11th century, tells us that from Béja one would reach Tabarka in three stages, passing through Bāslī and Darna (*Masālik*, 56-7/120-1). Al-Idrīsī (mid-6th/12th century) mentions two routes from Tunis to Tabarka, the one passing through Bizerta, and the other branching off after Béja. (*Nuzha*, 84-5). It is clear that this road system follows the routes inherited from ancient times.

We have *no* precise information regarding urban settlement in the massif during the Middle Ages. It is only just possible to follow the evolution of Tabarka. We have seen that it was a very prosperous place in ancient times. In the 4th/10th century, according to Ibn Ḥawkal it was nothing more than "an unhealthy village" (*ḳarya wabīʾa*), infested by scorpions, its only claims to importance being the movement of ships between it and Muslim Spain and its status as a customs station (*op. cit.*, 76). In the 5th/11th century al-Bakrī noted that impressive ruins of ancient monuments were still to be seen at Tabarka, and that the place enjoyed a certain prosperity on account of the activity of its port. In the 6th/12th century, according to al-Idrīsī, it was nothing more than a fortress (*ḥiṣn*), thinly populated and surrounded by gangs of Arab bandits, men with respect for neither law nor religion. Finally, at the start of the 16th century (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, 549) it was nothing more than "an abandoned port".

Today, Tabarka (population 4,000), is a port of modest size whose primary function is the export of cork from the massif of Kroumirie, 3-4,000 tons per year. There is also fishing and the limited exploitation of coral, and the town has profited, albeit on a relatively minor scale by comparison with other regions, from the growth of tourism in Tunisia. The most important settlement on the massif is Aïn Draham, at an altitude of 800 m., a summer resort and a centre for boar-hunting; Fernana, at 275 m., is principally a market-centre; Babouche is little more than a frontier-station controlling the border-crossing into Algeria; at Oued El-Lil, near the hamlet of Ben Mtir, there was constructed in 1955 a dam with a capacity

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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of 73 million cubic m. to produce Hydro-electric power and to provide Tunis with water. Another dam, at Oued El-Kebir, is in the process of construction. In spite of efforts at re-organisation, settlements continue in the main to be scattered, according to the location of wells and agricultural small-holdings. Huts and shacks built of branches have not yet disappeared

In fact, the massif of the Kroumirie, dependant on a silvo-pastoral economy, is impoverished. The standard of living of the inhabitants is the lowest in Tunisia. The most important source of income is provided by the extraction of cork. The cultivation of tobacco is also moderately profitable. The breeding of cattle, sheep and goats, in which the methods used have not evolved at all in the course of time, provides only a mediocre income. Attempts at improving the cultivation of trees, by introducing apple, pear, and cherry-trees to the area, have yielded only very limited results. Products of local craftsmanship—Kroumirie carpets in white, black and beige; wooden kitchen-utensils; embroidery—are not much in demand outside the region and provide employment for a very small number. Finally, let it be added that the hot and sulphurous springs of Bordj al-Ḥammām, much appreciated from the earliest times for their medicinal properties, have led to the establishment in 1966 of a modern spa resort, built presumably alongside the ruins of the ancient baths and given the name Ḥammām Bourguiba. Enlarged in 1973, this resort is attracting an ever-growing Tunisian clientèle.

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KHUMBARADJĪ, bombardier, grenadier (Persian *ḫumbara* "explosive projectile, grenade, mortar bomb", etc.), a term used in the Ottoman military organisation. The bombardiers in the Janissary corps and the *Ḫumbaradjī* unit in the Djebedjii corps are thought to have been first introduced in the 9th/15th century. The *Ḫumbaradjī*s were of two types, the *ulūfelī* ones, who were paid, and the *tīmār*-holders, who formed the majority of them and who served in the fortresses. The *Ḫumbaradjī*s were neglected until the beginning of the 12th/18th century. Khumbaradjī Aḥmed Pasha [see AḤMED PASHA BONNEVAL] was appointed by Maḥmūd I in 1144/1731 to reorganise the Khumbaradjīs; under his reorganisation, 301 soldiers from Bosnia were registered as paid *ulūfelī*s, and thus a separate corps of bombardiers was formed. Each 100 soldiers became an *oda*, and each *oda* was to have 1 captain (*yüzbashī*), 2 *elibashī*s, and 10 corporals (*onbashī*s) (*Taʾrīkh-i Sāmī-Shākir Ṣubḥī*, Istanbul 1198, 58 a-b). In the Ayazma palace at Üsküdar, there were constructed a barracks and a factory for the Khumbaradjī corps, and later, their numbers increased to 601, half of whom were *ulūfelī*s and the other half *tīmār*-holders (for the activities of Khumbaradjī Aḥmad Pasha, see also Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Cevdet tasnifi, Askeri kısım, no. 45137; for the number of *Ḫumbaradjī*s on the strength at 8 Ramaḍān 1152/December 1739, see Cevdet tasnifi-Askeri kısım, no. 37485). The *Ḫumbaradjī* corps, which expanded until 1160/1747, was neglected thereafter, but in 1197/1783, during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I, there were attempts to improve it again (Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, iii, 85; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu ocakları*, Istanbul 1944, ii, 125-6). During the reign of Selīm III, when the army was organised on western lines, the *Ḫumbaradjī* corps was also included in the plan of reform. According to the decree of 1206/1792, the *Ḫumbaradjī* corps, whether paid or *tīmār*-holders, were to be concentrated on Istanbul and the names of those absent were struck from the pay rolls. Also, there were to be 10 *Ḫumbaradjī* soldiers and five assistants (*mülāzim*) for each *Ḫumbara*, so that the whole corps would comprise 500 *Ḫumbaradjī* soldiers and 250 assistants. Out of every 10 soldiers, one was to be considered as the *ḫalīfe*, and the other 9 as his aides (*yamaks*); out of every 5 *Ḫumbaradjī*s one was to be an officer with the title of *ser-ḫalīfe*, and the most notable among the officers was to be *odjak ketkhūdāsī*, another *čāwūsh*, and another *ʿalemdār* or standard-bearer; beside the chief bombardier (*Ḫumbaradjī-bashī*), who was responsible for the soldiers' discipline, there was to be appointed a superintendent (*nāẓir*) from among the state officials (Enver Ziya Karal, *Selim III'ün hatt-ı humâyunları Nizâm-ı cedîd (1789-1807)*, Ankara 1946, 45-6; for the text of the regulation relating to the bombardiers' corps, see Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*, vi, 356-8). The barracks for their training were built at Hasköy on the Golden Horn shores in Istanbul. A more detailed ordinance for the *Ḫumbaradjī*s was prepared and put into effect in 1211/1797 (Cevdet tasnifi, Askeri kısım, no. 40887). In the move-

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ment to dethrone Selīm III, the *Khumbaradjī*s sided with the rebels, but when the Janissary corps was abolished in 1241/1826 during the reign of Maḥmūd II, they supported the government action (Djewdet, *op. cit.*, xii, 157; Esʿad, *Üss-i ẓafer*, Istanbul 1293, passim). When a new army was established under the title of the *ʿAsākir-i Manṣūra*, the *Khumbaradjī* corps was reorganised and retained within it (Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1290, i, 159), but was included in the artillery division and was to be headed by the *Topdjū-bashī* (later by the *Topkhāne-i ʿāmire müshirliği*). There was one *Khumbara* regiment (*alay*), with two battalions (*tabur*s) in existence in 1248/1832 (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 6744), and four years later, 109 cavalrymen and 229 foot soldiers, a total of 338 soldiers (Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 6750).

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KHUMM [see GHADĪR AL-KHUMM]

KHUNĀṢIRA, an ancient fortified settlement situated some 60 km. to the south-east of Aleppo and 100 km. to the north-east of Ḥamāt, on a route through the desert—on the fringes of which it lies—connecting Aleppo with Baghdād. The foundation of the place is attributed to Khunāsir(a) b. ʿAmr of the Banū Kināna (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 290 and ii, 349), but it is probably older than this. Yāḳūt (s.v.), who cites also al-Khunāṣir b. ʿAmr, the representative of Abraha al-Ashram, may be echoing a later legend. In the Umayyad period, this chef-lieu of the *kūra* of al-Aḥaṣṣ owed its fame to the fact that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had a stronghold constructed there in which he frequently resided (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 343 = § 2188; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra*, ed. D. Sourdel, Damascus 1953, i/1, 28; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ed. S. Dahhān, Damascus 1951, i, 42, 46). Ibn Ḥawḳal (*K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*[2], 179, tr. Kramers-Wiet, Beirut-Paris 1964, 176), describes the role played by al-Khunāṣira at a time when the state's power had become relaxed and the routes in the interior of Syria were uncertain, so that travellers from Aleppo to Baghdād preferred to journey through the desert where they could enjoy, for a price, the protection of the Bedouins. In 515/1121 it was captured and destroyed by Baldwin II, who carried off to Antioch the gates of the citadel (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ii, 201), after which the place was abandoned (N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-dīn*, Damascus 1967, i, 179). Nevertheless, there still exists a place there called today Khanāṣir.

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KHUNĀTHA BINT BAKKĀR B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-MAGHĀFIRĪ, wife of Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, sultan of Morocco (1082-1139/1672-1727). She was highly versed in literature and the religious sciences and acted as an adviser to her royal spouse. In 1143/1731, during the reign of her sons Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh, she performed the Pilgrimage; and at Mecca, she bought buildings and established them as *awḳāf*, in particular, a house in the Bāb al-ʿUmra, one of the gates of the Holy House, which she placed at the disposal of students. The memory of her sumptuous pilgrimage was commemorated by the *shaykh* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Shāfiʿī al-Ṭabarī, *imām* of the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, in a splendid poem. She died at Fās in Djumādā I 1159/May-June 1746 and was buried in the mausoleum of the Shorfa in Fās al-Djadīd.

Her writings include a letter addressed to the people to calm their fears over the neighbouring Turks, and a commentary on the *Iṣāba* of Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī.

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KHUNDJĪ, FAḌL ALLĀH B. RŪZBIHĀN (860-927/1455-1521), Persian religious scholar and political writer, who as a staunch Sunnī fiercely opposed Shāh Ismāʿīl, left Iran and fled to Uzbek Transoxania.

Khundjī's background, both on the side of his father (of the famous Rūzbihān family, cf. Rūzbihān al-Baḳlī) and of his mother (of the Ṣāʿidī family), made him a member of the wealthy and influential *ʿulamāʾ* of Fārs who were important as *soyūrghālādārs* and who enjoyed the high esteem and the protection of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu rulers. Khundjī received an exceptional scholarly training; in his native Shīrāz he studied under the great Shāfiʿī Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī [*q.v.*], the author of the *Akhlāḳ-i Djalālī*. Dawānī's preoccupation with political thought is likely to have influenced Khundjī's own interest in a practical application of the norms of the *sharīʿa* in a post-Mongol, Sunnī state, as his sophisticated manual of government, *Sulūk al-mulūk*—which he wrote shortly before his death on the suggestion of the Uzbek ruler ʿUbayd Allāh Khān in Bukhārā—attests. He was introduced to Ṣūfism by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ardistānī, a follower of the Suhrawardiyya *ṭarīḳa*. With him he travelled to Egypt and Palestine and he devoted a *manāḳib* biography to him which has not, however, come down to us. Khundjī himself joined the Djahriyya order, an offshoot of the Naḳshbandiyya, possibly only after he had left Ādharbāydjān and Iran and had settled at the Uzbek court. Khundjī represents the typical intellectual Ṣūfī of his time, for whom *taṣawwuf* is an indispensable item in the academic curriculum. He wrote a commentary on the *Waṣiyyat-nāma* of ʿAbd al-Khāliḳ al-Ghudjuwānī [*q.v.*], one of the great precursors of the Central Asian Naḳshbandiyya. Khundjī eulogised Khwādja Bahāʾ al-Dīn Naḳshband and extensively quoted his doctrines; he sought and cherished the friendship of the disciples of the famous Naḳshbandī popular leader

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Khwādja ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥrār [*q.v.*], who had dominated religious and political life in Transoxania in the second half of the 9th/15th century. At the same time, Khundjī fiercely opposed any excess and abuse in mysticism, particularly the doctrine that man can acquire divine attributes through *fanāʾ*. For him, such exaggerated mysticism was as much *irtidād*, apostasy, as the pernicious *ghuluww* of Shāh Ismāʿīl I. Khundjī's paramount concern in all his writings is the protection of the revealed *sharīʿa* from any infringements. In his sharp differentiation between types of mysticism, one is reminded of Ibn Khaldūn's *Shifāʾ al-sāʾil ilā tahdhīb al-masāʾil*; an influence from Ibn Khaldūn on Khundjī cannot be ruled out. Khundjī also severly attacked the semi-pagan religious practices of the nomadic Uzbeks, such as the institutionalised pilgrimage to the tombs of local saints; however, he does not seem to have been very successful with these admonitions.

It was from the well-known Mamlūk historiographer and polyhistorian al-Sakhāwī [*q.v.*] that Khundjī owed his initiation into the sciences of *ḥadīth*, i.e. the discipline for which he acquired particular fame in his century. In Uzbek Central Asia, he became known as the "paragon of the traditionalists" (*sanad al-muḥaddithīn*). He studied law, theology, the Arabic sciences and *ḥadīth* with al-Sakhāwī in Medina; his proficiency is attested by the very complimentary *tardjama* which al-Sakhāwī, who was normally very critical of his students and compeers, included in his biographical dictionary of 9th/15th century celebrities. Among Khundjī's writings on tradition, one might mention an Arabic *risāla* on the big fire in Medina in 886/1481, *Hidāyat al-taṣdīḳ ilā ḥikāyat al-ḥarīḳ* (ed. Muḥammad Dānishpazhūh, in *Yādnāma-yi īrānī-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 77-113), which is a methodically exemplary study based on *ḥadīth*.

Khundjī began his public career at the court of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Yaʿḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan, whose attention he had attracted in 892/1487 with a copy of his lost—possibly panegyrical—work *Badīʿ al-zamān fī ḳiṣṣat Ḥayy b. Yaḳẓān*. He served as a *kātib* in Yaʿḳūb's *dīwān*, and dedicated to him and his unfortunate son Baysonḳor his chronicle of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu house, the carefully-composed *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi amīnī* (partial translation by V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490—An abridged translation of Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i ʿĀlamārā-yi Amīnī*, London 1957; full edition under preparation by John Woods, Chicago). In this work, which is the most important single narrative source on the history of the later Aḳ Ḳoyunlu rulers, Khundjī presents himself as an active courtier, who probably participated in the cabal to overthrow Yaʿḳūb's first minister ʿĪsā of Sāva who had tried to re-islamise the fiscal system of the state, thus endangering the *soyūrghāls* of Khundjī's affluent *ʿulamāʾ* relatives. The most significant passages of this chronicle are his diatribes against Ismāʿīl's grandfather and father, Shaykh Djunayd and Ḥaydar [*qq.v.*], whose self-styled religious authority he reviled in vitriolic language.

After Ismāʿīl's accession to power in 907/1501, he fled in 909/1503 to Ḳāshān, where he wrote his refutation of Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī's treatise *Kashf al-ḥaḳḳ wa-nahdj al-ṣidḳ wa 'l-ṣawāb*, entitled *Ibṭāl nahdj al-bāṭil wa-ihmāl kashf al-ʿāṭil* (partial edn. and German tr. by I. Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte der Šīʿa und der sunnitischen Polemik*, in *SBWAW*, lxxviii (1874), 475-86). There he questions the originality and consistency of Imāmī *fiḳh* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and disqualifies Shīʿī dogmatics as a bad reproduction of Muʿtazilī (that is, in itself reprehensible) *kalām*. A hundred years later, the Shīʿī Ḳāḍī Nūr Allāh Shushtarī (d. 1019/1610), a victim of Djahāngīr's anti-Shīʿī religious policy, again wrote a refutation of Khundjī's treatise. Khundjī's book has had a lasting influence on Shīʿī-Sunnī polemics in the Arab lands, even in the 20th century. Khundjī, who himself held the *ahl al-bayt* in high esteem and wrote poems in praise of the twelve *imāms* (see the text in Muḥammad Amīn Khundjī, *Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī*, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, iv (1335/1956), 178-9) and, on the occasion of a pilgrimage to Mashhad in the company of Shaybānī Khān [*q.v.*], of the eighth *Imām* ʿAlī Riḍā (see Khundjī, *Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1341/1962, 336-8), accused the Ithnā-ʿAsharī theologians of placing more emphasis on the slander and cursing of the Prophet's Companions, and the *shaykhayn* Abū Bakr and ʿUmar in particular, than on the due veneration of the immaculate family.

On his flight to the east, which also took him to Tīmūrid and later Uzbek Herāt, Khundjī passed through Ṭūs, where he was inspired, as he describes in a touchingly impressionistic and intimate account, by the decaying ruins of al-Ghazālī's tomb in the solitude of the steppe (*Mihmān-nāma* 352). Al-Ghazālī was Khundjī's revered model whom he quotes extensively. On this occasion Khundjī pledged that he would make an effort to emulate the great master and bring to the land of Khurāsān, in this age of great calamity, a revival of the orthodox religious sciences. He came to Bukhārā, to the court of Shaybānī Khān, the successful Uzbek ruler, who had ended Tīmūrid rule in Transoxania and Herāt and had conquered most of western Khurāsān. He gained access to and was to dominate the scholarly *madjālis* in which the Khān, himself a cultured man, had scholars discussing questions on religion, particularly on the compatibility of certain policies with the *sharīʿā*, e.g. the issue whether it was permissible for the Muslim Uzbeks to eat the meat of animals slaughtered by their semi-pagan Ḳazaḳ enemies. Khundjī compiled at the court before 916/1510, perhaps at the suggestion of the ruler himself, the unique "guest-book of Bukhārā" (*Mihmān-nāma-yi Bukhārā*, see above; partial German tr. by Ursula Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts—Das Mihmān-nāma-yi Buḫārā des Faḍlallāh b. Rūzbihān Ḫunǧī—Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Freiburg 1973) as a token of gratitude to his host and friend Shaybānī Khān. This work defies any formal classification. Its beautiful language and style evidences his literary talent. We find here, in a loose, more or less chronological sequel, passages on tradition, refreshingly natural descriptions of the scenery of Turkestan in spring and winter, surprisingly personal and autobiographical sketches (Khundjī tells us, unusually, much about himself, e.g. his fits of hypochondria), and straightforward narrative passages. In the latter he e.g. gives an account of the manners of the Ḳazaḳs, the cousins and at the same time the most dangerous enemies of the Uzbeks to their north. He devotes special attention to Shaybānī Khān and to his nephew ʿUbayd Allāh Khān, who much later was to lead the Uzbek federation back to political power.

The impelling idea of the *Mihmān-nāma* was the effort to drive Shaybānī Khān into attacking and exterminating the Shīʿī heresy from Iran and reviving the legal order of the *sunna* in Iranian homeland. He unsuccessfully opposed the scheme of defeating the Ḳazaḳs in the rear of the Uzbeks first, before marching against the Ṣafavids, whose deeds Khundjī denounced—in a familiar *topos*—as even more abomi-

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nable than the unbelief of the Franks, who were *kuffār ab origine*. He expatiates on the apocryphal *ḥadīth* of Ḥārith, both in the *Mihmān-nāma* (95-107) and in a separate *risāla*: Ḥārith, the prototype of Shaybānī Khān, saved the true doctrine of Islam from a heretic tribe which slandered and vilified the companions of the prophet and the four orthodox caliphs, an unconcealed allusion to Shāh Ismāʿīl, the foe, and his damnable creatures, the Ḳizilbāsh [*q.v.*]. Khundjī's concept of history is remarkable. He regards the Uzbeks as another manifestation of the nomadic migrations from Inner Asia to the Muslim East, destined to overwhelm Iran and ʿIrāḳ and to bring back justice to these lands, just as the Saldjūḳs had done. He praises the legendary past of the Uzbeks and predicts a glorious future for them. He elevates Shaybānī Khān, beyond the bounds of conventional encomium, to appear as a *mudjaddid* of his age.

The catastrophe of Marw in 916/1510, when Shaybānī Khān was slain in battle by the Ṣafawid army, shattered Khundjī's dreams. His advice had proved fatal for his protector and sovereign. Taking into account the vulnerable personality of the author, which shines through so often in the autobiographical passages of the *Mihmān-nāma*, this turn of events must have had drastic effects on Khundjī. He passed the following two years in hiding in Samarḳand which had returned to the rule of the Tīmurīd Bābur, Ismāʿīl's half-hearted ally. In 918/1512 Khundjī suddenly re-appears delivering an eloquent sermon in Samarḳand (cf. Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāṣifī, *Badāʾiʿ al-waḳāʾi*, ed. A. N. Boldyrev, Moscow 1961, i, 45 f.), which had been recaptured by the Uzbeks under ʿUbayd Allāh Khān.

Fulfilling a vow made at the tomb of Shaykh Aḥmad Yasawī in the hour of greatest affliction, ʿUbayd Allāh commissioned Khundjī to compile, as a guide for a righteous Sunnī ruler, the *Sulūk al-mulūk* (ed. Muḥammad Niẓāmuddīn, Hyderabad/Dn. 1386/1966). In form this didactic work displays features of the Mirror for Princes books; in its topics and in the arrangement however, it belongs to the tradition of the manuals of government, such as al-Māwardī's *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*. It represents a highly intelligent attempt to harmonise the norms of the *sharīʿa*, as developed in the first centuries of Islam, with the realities of a tribal confederation, the body-politic of which is nomadic and Turkish, and not Islamic. Khundjī gives the prescriptions and legal interpretations both according to the Ḥanafī *maḏhab* of the Turkish Uzbeks and his own, Persian, Shāfiʿī *maḏhab*. He carefully juxtaposes lengthy passages on the legal norms, with numerous quotations from the *ḥadīth* and the canonical textbooks, with highly realistic and sober opinions on the present state of affairs. This can be observed in his treatment of taxation; he appears to equate certain aspects of the canonical *zakāt*-duties with the prevailing Mongol *tamghā*-imposts. Even more significant is his chapter on the *djihād*. He took his lesson from the catastrophe of Marw. No longer does he call for *djihād* against the Ṣafawids at all costs, lest the blood of innocent subjects of Ismāʿīl be shed. He even concedes (and thereby joins the mainstream of traditional Sunnī polemics) that the Twelver Shīʿī doctrine does allow for the observance of the precepts of the *sharīʿa*, such as legal marriage contracts, the call to prayer etc. We do not know to what degree Khundjī's enlightened doctrines were taken up by ʿUbayd Allāh, an energetic and pious ruler, who despite the bitter polemics on both sides, kept religious issues largely out of his long controversy with the Ṣafawids over the possession of Khurāsān. His fame lived on at least in Central Asia; the increasing isolation of Transoxania from the Sunnī central lands probably accounts for the little influence which his writings—particularly the *Sulūk al-mulūk*, which was explicitly directed to a broad audience of Sunnī rulers—exercised outside the Uzbek domains. An effect on political thought in Mughal India is more likely, yet remains to be investigated.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see V. Minorsky, *The Aq-Qoyunlu and Land Reforms*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 451-8, 461-2; M. A. Salié, *Maloizvestnyj istočnik po istorii Uzbekistana*, in *Trudī instituta vostokovedeniya* iii (1954), 107-18; S. K. Ibragimov, *Mikhman-namei Bukhara Ruzbekhana kak istočnik po istorii Kazakhstana XV-XVI vv.*, in *Trudī instituta ist. arkheol. i etnogr. Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR*, viii (1960), 141-57; Muhammad Aslam, *Faḍl-ullah bin Rūzbihān al-Iṣfahānī*, in *JAS Pakistan*, x/2 (1965), 121-34; M. M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Ṣafawids, Šīʿism and the Ġulāt*, Wiesbaden 1972; E. Glassen, *Schah Ismāʿīl I. und die Theologen seiner Zeit*, in *Isl.* xlviii (1972), 258 f.; U. Haarmann, *Staat und Religion in Transoxanien im frühen 16. Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, cxxiv (1974), 332-69. (U. HAARMANN)

KHUNZAL (self designation, Khunzami; Russian designations, Khunzalī, Gun(d)zalī, Gunzebi, Gunzibtsī, Enzebi, Nakhad; other designations, Khunzeb, Gunzeb), a numerically small people of the eastern Caucasus. Khunzal forms with Bezheta, Dido, Ginukh and Khvarshi [*qq.v.*], the Dido division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group, of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian languages.

According to the Soviet census, in 1926 there were, ethnically, 106 Khunzals, and 129 claiming Khunzal as their mother tongue; in 1933 (estimation by Grande) there were 616 Khunzals. The Khunzals inhabit four *auls* on the upper course of the Avar Koysu in the Tliarata district of the Dāghistān A.S.S.R. They live in the highest and most inaccessible part of mountainous Dāghistān. This isolated position has protected the Khunzals from exterior influences, and they have maintained to a great degree many of the patriarchal customs. The Khunzals are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī rite. The economy has remained traditional: raising sheep with a transhumance system, agriculture on terraces, and handicrafts (especially leather work).

Khunzal is a purely vernacular language, and the Khunzals use Avar as their first literary and second spoken (sometimes first) language, having Avar as the language in primary education. Russian is the second literary language. They are in fact being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Avars.

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KHURĀSĀN, today the north-easternmost *ustān* or province of Persia, with its administrative capital at Mashhad [*q.v.*]. But in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times, the term "Khurāsān" frequently had a much wider denotation, covering also parts of what

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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are now Soviet Central Asia and Afghānistān; early Islamic usage often regarded everywhere east of western Persia, sc. Djibāl or what was subsequently termed ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī, as being included in a vast and ill-defined region of Khurāsān, which might even extend to the Indus Valley and Sind. Thus the Armenian geography traditionally attributed to Moses of Khoren depicts Khurāsān as stretching from Gurgān and Ḳūmis in the southeastern Caspian region to Badaḵhshān and Ṭukhāristān on the upper Oxus and Bāmiyān in the Hindū Kush (see J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 47 ff.).

Topographically, Khurāsān in the modern, restricted sense is dominated by a zone of mountain ranges running roughly NW-SE, a continuation of the Alburz chain, and connecting that chain with the Paropamisus and Hindū Kush ranges of northern Afghānistān; in a district such as that of the Kūh-i Bīnālūd to the north of Nīshāpūr, these mountains rise to 11,200 feet. To the north, open steppes and deserts run down through the Soviet Turkmenistan SSR to the Caspian Sea and the Amū-Daryā basin. To the south, there lies an extensive region of land-locked deserts and salt flats, such as the Dasht-i Kawīr, the Dasht-i Lūṭ and the Hilmand basin of Sīstān, but within this region is situated an important upland zone, that of Ḳāʾin and Birdjand, the early Islamic province of Ḳūhistān [*q.v.*], one massif of which, the Kūh-i Mūminābād, rises to 9,100 feet. There is thus considerable topographical diversity, but only in the more northerly mountain zone do adequate rainfall, perennial streams and accessible wells permit a relatively flourishing agricultural and pastoral economy; here, the population is quite dense for Persia. Elsewhere, and especially in the more southerly parts, there is usually an oasis pattern of life, with much dependence on wells and on *kārīz*s or *ḳanāt*s. Also, until the time of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī at least, there was a substantial minority of nomads in Khurāsān, composed mainly of Göklen and Yomut Turkmens, and some Hazāras, Taymūrīs and Balūč- (See for the geographical, topographical and demographic background, Admiralty handbook, *Persia*, London 1945, and *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, ed. W. B. Fisher, Cambridge 1968, chs. 1, 2, 5, 18, 19; and for the historical geography of the older period, Marquart, *op. cit.*, Le Strange, 382-432, and *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, § 23).

The present population of Khurāsān is very mixed. There is of course the still-important Iranian substratum, but there are extensive other groups, such as Turkmens, Kurds, Balūč, Arabs, and Taymūrīs and Hazāras from Afghanistan. The presence of these varied races is a concomitant of Khurāsān's strategic position as a bastion facing Inner Asia and as a corridor between the steppes and the civilised, settled lands of the Middle East. Pressure on Khurāsān by the Inner Asian nomads has been intermittent from the earliest known times till the later 19th century, when permanent political frontiers were established and the free movement of peoples thus impeded. Khurāsān was therefore the gateway through which Alexander the Great passed to Bactria and India, and conversely, that by which Turkish peoples from the Saldjūḳs onwards and then the Mongols entered Persia. The result has been an ethnic commingling in Khurāsān, especially as the rulers of Persia, whether Persian, Arab or Turkish, have, in pursuance of their historic task of defending their north-eastern frontiers, at various times planted colonies of auxiliaries and guards; for political reasons, colonies of peoples like Lurs were settled there as late as the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī. Nevertheless, whilst the basically Iranian ethnic and linguistic nature of northern Khurāsān at least has been overlaid, this process has not gone so far as in a Turkicised province like Āḏharbāydjān; the Ḳāʾin and Birdjand region, in particular, is still predominantly Persian.

In Sāsānid times, Khurāsān was one of the four great provincial satrapies, and was governed from Marw by an Ispahbadh (MP form *Spāhpat*; [see ISPAHBAḎH]). Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīḵh*, i, 201, enumerates as comprising Khurāsān under the Sāsānids the following districts: Nīshāpūr, Harāt, Marw, Marw al-Rūdh, Fāryāb, Ṭālaḳān, Balkh, Bukhārā, Bādghīs, Abīward, Gharčistān, Ṭūs, Sarakhs and Gurgān. In times of military expansion, Sāsānid arms pushed beyond Marw; thus Ṭabarī, i, 819, says that Ardashīr Bābakān extended his power over Khʷārazm and Ṭukhāristān. In fact, many local princes must have remained as Sāsānid feudatories, holding offices like those of *marzbān*s or frontier wardens; many of these achieved temporary independence when the Sāsānid monarchy collapsed under the Arab onslaught. To the immediate east of Sāsānid Khurāsān lay the lands of their enemies, the powerful northern branch of the Hephthalite confederation, with its centres in Bādghīs and Ṭukhāristān; Balāḏhurī, *Futūḥ*, 405, mentions that there was ruling over Harāt, Bādghīs and Pūshang a local potentate, called by him the *ʿaẓīm* or "mighty one", who must have been a Hephthalite chief. The ancient pattern of hostilities between the rulers of Persia and the Hephthalites was to be taken up by the Arab governors of Khurāsān in the Umayyad period (see further, HAYĀṬILA).

It was at Marw that the last Sāsānid Emperor, Yazdagird III, made his stand before his betrayal by the local *marzbān* Māhūya and his murder in 31/651. Meanwhile, the Arabs had already appeared in Khurāsān. During ʿUmar's caliphate, forces from Baṣra penetrated as far as Ṭabasayn in the Great Desert, and a determined attack on the province was made in the following reign of ʿUthmān when ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [*q.v.*] was governor of Baṣra (sc. from 29/649 till 35/655). An expedition eastwards was mounted by the men of Kūfa under Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣī, travelling along the northern route between the Alburz and the central deserts, and another one by the Baṣran army under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir and his lieutenant al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays, approaching via Kirmān and Ṭabasayn, a route which was for long preferred as an easier and safer route than that of the modern highway and railway connecting Tehran and Mashhad. It was the Baṣran army which made most progress, and in 31/651-2 reduced Nīshāpūr to obedience, receiving the submission of local rulers and former Sāsānid governors in most of the other towns of Khurāsān. In the following year, the last great stronghold of the Sāsānids, Marw al-Rūdh, fell to al-Aḥnaf after fierce fighting, but the local *marzbān*, Bāḏhām, was confirmed in his office and possessions there in exchange for a relatively light tribute. The permanent pacification of Khurāsān was, however, a protracted process. Local potentates frequently rebelled against Arab control and appealed to outside powers like the Hephthalites, the Western Turks or Türgesh, the Soghdians, and even the Chinese Emperors (who claimed a vague sovereignty over Central Asia, and with whom certain Sāsānid pretenders took refuge). In particular, the civil war between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya meant a relaxation in Khurāsān of Arab control, which had subsequently to be re-imposed by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir (re-appointed governor of Baṣra and the east by Muʿāwiya from 41/661 to 44/664)

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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and his generals. Thus an important expedition was sent against Sīstān and Zābulistān under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, in the course of which Kābul was reached, and according to Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 409, Balkh was restored to obedience and the great Buddhist shrine of Nawbahār despoiled.

A period of stronger Arab rule came with the appointment in 45/665 of Ziyād b. Abīhi as governor of Baṣra and the east. During the Umayyad age, authority over the extensive provinces of Khurāsān and Sīstān (within which were included at times, as noted above, such distant regions as Transoxania, Farghāna, eastern Afghānistān, Makrān and Sind) was exercised in the first place by the governors of Baṣra, for Baṣran troops, and especially the men of the North Arab or Ḳaysī tribes of Tamīm and Bakr, were prominent in the overrunning of the eastern Persian lands, though in the governorship of al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra (78-82/697-702), considerable numbers of that governor's fellow-tribesmen of the Yamanī Azd were settled in Khurāsān. Since the turbulent province of ʿIrāḳ always demanded the personal presence and attention of the governors of Kūfa and Baṣra, the latter appointed deputies in Khurāsān and often in Sīstān also; and all these appointments tended to reflect policy trends and personal ascendancies at the heart of the caliphate in Syria. In Ziyād's time, attempts were made, against strong resistance from the local peoples and from the Hephthalites, to reduce Ṭukhāristān to obedience. This was achieved by al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād and his son ʿAbd Allāh, in the case of Balkh and the lands up to the Amū-Daryā, in the years after 51/671, but the Hephthalite threat was not finally removed till the governor Ḳutayba b. Muslim captured and killed their leader Ṭarkhān Nīzak in 91/710 and took as a hostage the Turkish *Yabghu* (in the Arabic texts, *Djabbūya*) of Ṭukhāristān. But even after this, Arab rule was far from secure. The Arabs made Marw their military centre, and by the end of the 1st century A.H. were beginning to settle down permanently in the Marw oasis and probably to intermarry with the indigenous Persian population. But their solidarity in the face of external threats from enemies like the Türgesh and Soghdians was adversely affected by the tribal divisions and feuds between the Ḳays faction, numerically superior and generally dominant, and the Yamanīs, and also by the fact that control by the caliphs was difficult to exercise from distant Damascus. See for events in Khurāsān during the Umayyad period, Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 47-70; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Eng. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, esp. ch. 8; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*; Spuler, *Iran*, 5 ff.; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971; idem, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970; and idem, *Khurasan at the time of the Arab conquest*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 479-90.

The last decades of Umayyad rule were characterised by tribal warfare amongst the Arabs, which, amongst other things, delayed the consolidation of Arab control across the Amū-Daryā in Transoxania; noteworthy in this connection is the prolonged revolt in Ṭukhāristān from 116/734 onwards of al-Ḥārith b. Surayḏj [*q.v.*]. Large numbers of Arab troops continued to reach Khurāsān, so that according to the historian Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, there were 40,000 Muslims in Khurāsān by 112/731. The last Umayyad governor there, Naṣr b. Sayyār al-Kinānī (120-30/738-48) [*q.v.*], was faced latterly by the spread of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* or revolutionary movement from its centre at Marw under a political adventurer of consummate skill, Abū Muslim [*q.v.*]. This movement had been organised, from the caliphate of Hishām onwards, under local *naḳībs* or representatives of the ʿAbbāsid family in Marw, until Abū Muslim took over the leadership there in 128/746, apparently drawing his prime support from the older-established Arab settlers in the district, those whom Ṭabarī and the anonymous author of the *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ* edited by Gryaznevich call the *ahl al-taḳādum* (see Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, 155-8). By 130/748 Abū Muslim was undisputed master in Marw and Naṣr b. Sayyār had been forced to flee towards the west.

Since Khūrāsānī support was so decisive in the rise of the ʿAbbāsids, the province enjoyed considerable favour from the early ʿAbbāsid Caliphs; cf. the encomium of the Khurāsānīs as "our party, our helpers and the people of our *daʿwa*" in a *khuṭba* or oration pronounced at Hāshimiyya by al-Manṣūr and reported by Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 203 ff., and the similar sentiments quoted from Ibn Ḳutayba in Muḳaddasī, 293-4. Khurāsānian guards and officials, the *Abnāʾ al-Dawla*, continued to be the mainstay of the régime till towards the middle of the 3rd/9th century, when there began the wholesale adoption of slave troops as the nucleus of the Caliphal army and household [see GHULĀM]. Many Khurāsānīs migrated westwards into ʿAbbāsid service, such as the Barmakī family from Balkh [see BARĀMIKA]; this process was accentuated when al-Maʾmūn, the former governor in Marw, achieved the caliphate in 198/813 with the support of the Persian east against his brother al-Amīn.

The Ṭāhirids [*q.v.*] governed Khurāsān for the ʿAbbāsids, as faithful servants of the caliphs rather than as autonomous rulers, for some fifty years (205-59/821-73). They were of arabised, Persian *mawlā* stock, one member of whom had been secretary to an ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī* or propagandist in Khurāsān, Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʿī. Ṭāhir Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn was one of al-Maʾmūn's generals, and was in 205/821 appointed governor of Khurāsān and the east. The Ṭāhirids were strenuous supporters of Sunnī orthodoxy and the established Perso-Islamic social hierarchy against Shīʿī and older Iranian religious movements in the Caspian provinces and Transoxania, and also against heterodox currents of Persian socio-religious protest which were racking the Persian countryside at this time (see G. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938). Under the Ṭāhirids, Khurāsān blossomed economically and culturally. We find ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213-30/828-45) showing his concern for his province's welfare by his commissioning a book on water rights and the regulation of *ḳanāts*, the characteristic means of irrigation throughout much of Khurāsān; this *Kitāb al-Ḳunī* was, according to the Ghaznawid historian Gardīzī, still in use two centuries later. Whereas in the early Islamic period Khurāsān had been economically and culturally backward compared with western Persia (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Khorasan: Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 107-74), its agricultural prosperity now increased; according to Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 308, tr. 138, the *kharadj* or land tax of Khurāsān under the Ṭāhirids amounted to 40 million dirhams a year. It benefited from commercial traffic connecting ʿIrāḳ and Baghdād with Central Asia and the fringes of the Indian world, and a luxury product like the edible earth of Nīshāpūr was, according to Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, 192, tr. Bosworth, 132, exported all over the

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Islamic world, including to Egypt and the Maghrib. Above all, Khurāsān derived much advantage from the transit trade in Turkish slaves, which were a regular component of the annual tribute forwarded to the caliphs by the early ʿAbbāsid governors, the Ṭāhirids, and later, the Sāmānids, and which often fetched high prices; Ibn Ḥawḳal², ii, 452, tr. ii, 437, says that he saw more than once in Khurāsān slaves sold for 3,000 dīnārs. (Further on the Ṭāhirids, see Bosworth, ch. 3, *The Ṭāhirids and Ṣaffārids*, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 90-106).

The Ṣaffārid adventurer from Sīstān, Yaʿḳūb b. Layth, overthrew Ṭāhirid rule in Khurāsān, entering their capital Nīshāpūr in 259/873, and in the ensuing years, Khurāsān was fought over by various contending generals, until the Sāmānid *amīr* Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] defeated ʿAmr b. Layth in 287/900 and incorporated Khurāsān into the Sāmānid dominions. Under what is described in the sources as the beneficent rule of the Sāmānids, Khurāsān continued to be within the mainstream of Sunnī religious orthodoxy and culture. It had become already under the Ṭāhirids a vigorous centre of Arabic literature and of Sunnī legal and religious scholarship. There is a large representation of Khurāsānī scholars in such literary biographical works as Thaʿālibī's *Yatīmat al-dahr* and the continuations of Bākharzī and Iṣfahānī. Khurāsānī theologians and traditionists were prominent in Sunnī, especially Shāfiʿī and Ashʿarī, learning, and in such theological and philosophical movements as those of the Muʿtazila and Karrāmiyya [*qq.v.*]. The extremist Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī sect had pockets of support in the east, and Khurāsānī ascetics and mystics played important rôles in the development of Ṣūfism. It is, of course, well-known that Khurāsān and the eastern Iranian world in general had a crucial part in the renaissance of the New Persian language and its literature from the 3rd/9th century onwards; see Browne, *LHP*, i, 445 ff., and Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, 133 ff.

As the Sāmānid amīrate disintegrated in the later 4th/10th century under external attack from the north and internal revolt by unruly Turkish generals, Khurāsān passed under the rule of the Turkish Ghaznawid dynasty [*q.v.*]. In 384/994 the founder of the line, Sebüktigin, had been given the governorship of Balkh and the eastern parts of Khurāsān, and in 388/998 his son Maḥmūd consolidated his power in the whole of the province, which was to remain under Ghaznawid control for forty years. The riches of Khurāsān did much to finance the successful Ghaznawid war machine, but the financial exactions of Ghaznawid officials and a series of disastrous famines made the Sulṭāns' rule there unpopular. Hence Nīshāpūr and the other towns were not averse during the period 428-31/1037-50 from surrendering to the incoming Oghuz nomads led by the Saldjūḳ family; and the Saldjūḳ victory at Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 431/1040 sealed the fate of Ghaznawid rule over those parts of greater Khurāsān to the west of Badakhshān and the central Afghān mountain massif.

Under the Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns, Khurāsān was an important province of their empire, even though the founder Ṭoghrïl Beg soon moved his capital westwards from Nīshāpūr to Ray and Iṣfahān. Khurāsān and the east were initially ruled by Ṭoghrïl's brother Čaghrï Beg Dāwūd, whose son and grandson Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh were to raise the Saldjūḳ empire to its apogee. In general, firm rule brought peace to the towns of Khurāsān. This was temporarily ended in the uncertain years after Malik Shāh's death in 485/1092—the local historian of Bayhaḳ or Sabzawār, Ibn Funduḳ, comments on the recrudescence of sectarian strife and the activities of the para-military *ʿayyār* groups in the town—but stability returned under the long reign of Sandjar, who was firstly governor in the east and then Sulṭān for a total of over sixty years. The intellectual and cultural vitality of Khurāsān remained unimpaired, and four of the original nine *madrasas* or colleges founded by the great Vizier Niẓām al-Mulk were, according to his biographer Subkī, in towns of that province, sc. in Nīshāpūr, Balkh, Harāt and Marw. One effect of the Oghuz migrations into Persia was the arrival of Turkmen groups in northern Khurāsān, where suitable pasture was to be found for their flocks. These nomads remained an unassimilable element of Saldjūḳ Khurāsān, until neglect of their interests by the central government drove them into revolt towards the end of Sandjar's reign, leading to the Sulṭān's own capture by the Oghuz and effective deposition in 548/1153.

In the decades preceding the Mongol invasions, post-Saldjūḳ Khurāsān was held by various Oghuz tribal leaders and by former Saldjūḳ generals, and was then fought over by the Ghūrids and Khʷārazm-Shāhs [*qq.v.*], until the Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad finally overthrew his Ghūrid rivals in the opening years of the 7th/13th century. (See, for the history of Khurāsān in the Ghaznawid and Saldjūḳ periods, Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, part II and III, and idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, ch. 5, v, ch. 1).

The Mongol hordes of Čingiz Khān, driving the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn before them, appeared in Khurāsān in 617/1220, and seized control of its towns. Whilst not all of the notorious massacres of the Mongols may have been perpetrated at the original surrender of some towns, but at the time of subsequent revolts, Marw and Nīshāpūr, which resisted fiercely in 618/1221, suffered appallingly. Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 256, places the number of dead in Marw at 700,000, and Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 163-4, has the figure of 1,300,000 for the Marw oasis as a whole. Even allowing for statistical exaggeration, the Mongol invasions undoubtedly devastated Khurāsān to a far greater degree than the Oghuz incursions of the 5th/11th century had done, as is amply demonstrated in the accounts of European and Muslim travellers and geographers of the following period of the Il-Khānids, e.g. those of Marco Polo, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, etc. As well as the population losses and destruction of settlements, the increased proportion of Turkish and Mongol nomads in the province accentuated the existing trend from Saldjūḳ times towards pastoralisation and the decline of agriculture; moreover, the arbitrary Mongol system of taxation bore especially heavily on cultivators and landholders, according to I. P. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, ch. 6. Certainly, Khurāsān never recovered its cultural and intellectual position within Persia as a whole; the Il-Khānids made their centre in western Persia, and Djibāl, Ādharbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ became the foci of political activity and artistic and literary life. The towns of Khurāsān continued to suffer from the warfare between the Il-Khānids and the Čaghatayids, and a place like Harāt only became a major centre with the florescence of the Tīmūrids in the 9th/15th century.

After the death of the Il-Khānid Abū Saʿīd in 736/1335, various local dynasties arose in Persia, including in Khurāsān the Karts or Kurts and the Sarbadārids [*qq.v.*]. The Karts arose in Harāt during the 7th/13th century, and successive rulers with the

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title of *malik* or king retained power there till the deposition by Tīmūr of the last ruler, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī, in 791/1389. The Sarbadārs stemmed from Bayhaḳ, and in the middle years of the 8th/14th century they held this region of western Khurāsān, extending to Dāmghān and even holding Nīshāpūr temporarily, till they too were extinguished by Tīmūr in 783/1381. Tīmūr made his own capital at Samarḳand in Transoxania, but his son Shāh Rukh became governor of Khurāsān for his father in 799/1397 and ruled there for fifty years until his death in 850/1446-7. Towns like Harāt and Marw were rebuilt, and a considerable degree of prosperity restored; and under the Tīmūrid prince Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr b. Bayḳara (875-911/1470-1506) [*q.v.*], Harāt and Khurāsān enjoyed a period of political stability and of brilliant cultural and artistic life.

In the early 10th/16th century, Khurāsān was overrun by the Özbeg chief Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān and his hordes, but three years later, in 915/1510, the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I killed the Khān and incorporated Khurāsān into the Ṣafawid dominions. The Ṣafawids were, however, unable to hold Balkh, and lost it permanently in 922/1516. Warfare with the Özbegs remained endemic in northern Khurāsān, with the possession of frontier towns like Marw oscillating between the two powers. Noteworthy in the Ṣafawid period—one in which Persia became in majority a Shīʿī land—was the rise in importance of the great shrine of the *Imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*] at Mashhad, originally the village of Sanābād, where both the eighth *Imām* of the Shīʿa and the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd were buried. The shrine was already splendidly ornamented in Il-Khānid times, as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted (*Riḥla*, iii, 77-9, tr. Gibb, iii, 582-3), and was increasingly enriched by the Tīmūrids and Ṣafawids. Shāh ʿAbbās I endeavoured to encourage the Shīʿī pilgrimage to Mashhad, since the holy places of ʿIrāḳ, such as Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ, were often in Sunnī, Ottoman hands. In the comparatively peaceful period of Ḳādjār rule, Mashhad gradually attained its modern position as the principal city of Khurāsān.

With the resurgence of tribalism and the political upheavals of the 12th/18th century, Mashhad became Nādir Shāh's capital, and he made his military redoubt in the massif of Ḳalʿat-i Nādirī in northern Khurāsān, but after Nādir's death in 1160/1747, the eastern parts of Khurāsān passed for a while into the control of the Durrānī Afghān chief Aḥmad Shāh [*q.v.*], and by 1163/1750, Balkh, Harāt, Mashhad and Nīshāpūr were all in his possession. But the blind, half-Ṣafawid grandson of Nādir, Shāh Rukh, had meanwhile been raised to power in Khurāsān, and remained there as nominal ruler at least till his death in 1210/1796.

Once Āghā Muḥammad Ḳādjār had made firm his power over the whole land of Persia, control over Khurāsān was fully restored to the central government, now installed in Tehran. But the depredations of the Özbegs and other Turkmens continued to make life in northern Khurāsān chronically insecure; the progress of commerce and agriculture was inhibited, and many Persians were carried off and enslaved by raiders from the Central Asian amirates. These causes of friction were only ended by the Russians' virtual annexation of Khīwa in 1873 and the crushing of the Tekke Turkmens at Gök Tepe in 1881. After this last victory, the Persian government was not strong enough to withstand Russian pressure, and the Russians annexed the Marw oasis in 1884. Relations with the amīrs of Afghānistān had meanwhile continued to be bad, with contention over possession of Hārat. The town was besieged in vain by the Persians in 1838, and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh fought a brief war with Britain in 1856-7 over a temporary Persian seizure of Harāt. After this, overt Persian attempts on these districts of western Afghānistān ceased, though disputes over the demarcation of the boundary between Khurāsān and Afghānistān were not finally settled till the definitive demarcation of the whole boundary as far south as Sīstān in 1934-5.

Khurāsān and the provincial capital Mashhad are now fully connected with Tehran by a metalled road, a railway and air services. The present population of the province (1966 census) is 2½ millions, with Mashhad now the third largest city of Persia with 409,000 inhabitants.

Bibliography: This is largely given in the article, but note for the earlier period the flourishing genre of local histories, e.g. of Bayhaḳ, Nīshāpūr, Balkh and Harāt (see Storey, i, 353 ff.). The political and social history of the province must be largely extracted from such general works as the books of Spuler, *Iran* and *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Sykes' *History of Persia*, the relevant chapters of the *Cambridge history of Islam*, i, and above all, the published and forthcoming volumes iv-viii of the *Camb. hist. of Iran*. For the 19th and early 20th centuries, the works of European, mainly British, travellers, officials, consuls, etc. are a prime source, e.g. those of J. B. Fraser, C. Metcalfe MacGregor, the Hon. G. C. Napier, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, C. E. Yate, P. M. Sykes, W. Ivanow, etc.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

BANŪ **KHURĀSĀN**, the dynasty which, taking advantage of the anarchy initiated in Zīrīd Ifrīḳiya by the Hilālī invasion, governed Tunis 454-522/1062-1128 and 543-554/1148-59. When leaving Ḳayrawān to take refuge in al-Mahdiyya (449/1057), the Zīrīd al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs had left Ḳayrawān and Tunis in the protection of a Ṣanhādjī chieftain Ḳāʾid b. Maymūn. The latter seems to have exercised no authority at Tunis, which was probably evacuated by the Ṣanhādja, regrouping at al-Mahdiyya or in Ḥammādid territory, and independent. Ibn Khaldūn states that it fell prey to a Hilālī *amīr*, a son-in-law of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, ʿĀbid b. Abi 'l-Ghayth who reduced the inhabitants to slavery; this episode, undated, seems to have been no more than an isolated raid of which the effects were short-lived. According to the same author, a mercenary leader, Ḳahrūn b. Ghannūsh, who became governor of Tunis, was banished from there because of his bad administration; subsequently he made a stronghold for himself in the arches of the aqueduct at Manzil Daḥmūn, a refuge of brigands which the Tunisians succeeded in destroying with the aid of the Riyāḥid *amīr* Muḥriz b. Ziyād. One imagines the Tunisians paying ransoms and tribute to the nomads, the rulers of the plains, but wishing to be protected against these marauders.

In the West, the Ḥammādid principality, still intact, and indeed reinforced by the downfall of the Zīrīd state, passed into the hands of an energetic, far-sighted sovereign, al-Nāṣir (454/1062). His power was quickly consolidated by the rallying to his side of Sfax and Ḳasṭīliya. It was only to be expected that Tunis should have considered doing the same thing, and accordingly a delegation of Tunisian *shaykh*s went to the Ḳalʿa to ask the Ḥammādid prince to choose them a governor. According to Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Nāṣir, prudently no doubt, contented himself with advising them to choose for themselves a *shaykh* who would govern them whilst he confined himself to observing them, taking his time to study

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the situation (*yaḳūmu bi-amrihim ḵẖalāla mā yanẓuru ilayhim*); they chose one of the leaders of their own community but he refused, and it was then that ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḵẖurāsān took power in the name of al-Nāṣir. According to Ibn Ḵẖaldūn, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ was appointed by the Ḥammādid immediately following the reception of the embassy of the Tunisian *s̲h̲aykẖ*s. This historian, who makes no mention of the election of a Tunisian *s̲h̲aykẖ*, proposed initially by al-Nāṣir, seems to have condensed his account of events; possibly there was a second deputation which returned with the designation of the Ḵẖurāsānid, or even with the governor in person.

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḵẖurāsān, a native of Tunis, was quite probably, says Ibn Ḵẖaldūn, of Ṣanhād̲j̲ī origin; without this affirmation one would have to postulate for him a Ḵẖurāsānī descent; in Tunisian dialect, Ḵẖurāsān became Ḵẖrīsān (the cupola of Sīdī Bū Ḵẖrīsān).

He bore only the title of *s̲h̲aykẖ* and ruled the city assisted by a council of *s̲h̲aykẖ*s, a kind of senate partaking, no doubt, of the nature of the Berber *d̲j̲amāʿa*. Nothing more is known of the institutions, certainly of a rudimentary nature, of this oligarchic republic. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ showed himself a good administrator, knowing how to assert himself and gain the sympathy of the population. To put an end to the brigandage of the Hilālī Arabs, he had the wisdom to agree to pay them an annual tribute (*itāwa maʿlūma*); this *modus vivendi* probably made conditions favourable for the exploitation of neighbouring lands, for the provision of food supplies, for industry, and commerce.

The Ḥammādid suzerainty seems to have been no more then nominal; besides, al-Nāṣir was occupied warding off the Hilālī peril and in 457/1064-5, at Sabība, he suffered a defeat as great as that of the Zīrid at Ḥaydarān in 443/1052. Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs took advantage of his cousin's defeat to attack Tunis (458/1065-6); after a siege lasting fourteen months, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ submitted to him and recognised his suzerainty, but the authority of the Zīrīd of al-Mahdiyya seems to have been exercised in Tunis no more than had been that of the Ḥammādid of Ḳalʿa. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ governed for a further thirty years until his death (488/1095). His son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz succeeded him. One may suppose, on the basis of an inscription on the foundation of a mosque dated Ramaḍān 485/5 Oct. - 3 Nov. 1092 where he is called *al-s̲h̲aykẖ al-aḏj̲all* (the most venerable *s̲h̲aykẖ*) that before his father's death he bore at least some of the authority. In addition, the frieze on the cupola of Sīdī Bū Ḵẖrīsān says that this mausoleum was built in D̲j̲umādā II 486/29 June - 27 July 1093 by "the victorious power" (*al-sulṭān al-manṣūr*) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Abu 'l-Ṭāhir ʾIsmāʿīl, both of them sons of *s̲h̲aykẖ* ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ḵẖurāsān; from this we may suppose that at this date, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, doubtless aged and sick, had handed over the reins of government to his two sons. It seems that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, whom Ibn Ḵẖaldūn accuses of "a feeble spirit", at least to a certain extent shared power with his brother Ismāʿīl.

Tunis must have broken with the Zīrīd of al-Mahdiyya, since the sources state that Tamīm attacked and took it again in 491/1097-8.

The epitaph has survived of *s̲h̲aykẖ* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Ḵẖurāsān who died on 5th Muḥarram 499/17th Sept. 1105, also that of the *amīr* Abu 'l-Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Ḵẖurāsān, who died on 12th Raḏj̲ab 500/8th March 1107; so the latter must have reigned from 5th Muḥarram 499 to 12th Raḏj̲ab 500 with the title of *amīr*. Had he seized power? Had he aimed a blow at the power of the council of elders? Whatever the explanation, his nephew Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz put him to death and his son Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl fled to Bizerta.

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Ḵẖurāsān showed himself a dictator, abolishing the authority of the *s̲h̲aykẖ*s, many of whom were exiled to al-Mahdiyya and elsewhere, and he sought the favour of the jurists with whom he liked to surround himself. He built the *Ḳaṣr* (palace) of the Banū Ḵẖurāsān, surrounded Tunis with ramparts and obtained from the Hilālī Arabs a guarantee to watch over the safety of travellers. Ibn Ḥamdīs wrote a panegyric of this prince, considered by Ibn Ḵẖaldūn the most remarkable of his family.

In 510/1116-17, he was obliged to submit to ʿAlī the Zīrīd of al-Mahdiyya who sent an army to besiege Tunis, but in 514/1120-1 it was al-ʿAzīz the Ḥammādid of Bougie who laid siege to Tunis and imposed this suzerainty upon it. Finally, in 522/1128, a general of the Ḥammādid Yaḥyā b. al-ʿAzīz attacked Tunis. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz went out of the city, surrendered and was banished, with all his family, to Bougie where he died. Tunis was entrusted to Ḥammādid governors who continued to rule there until 543/1148-9.

There followed for the Tunisians a period of anarchy; they were threatened simultaneously by the Normans—already masters of Djerba (530/1135), of Tripoli (541/1146), of Gabès (whose chieftain, a usurper, recognized them in about 541/1146-7), of al-Mahdiyya, of Sousse and of Sfax (these three taken in the same year, 543/1148)—and by the Ḥammādids of Bougie who were making preparations to subjugate them unconditionally; in addition, they were harassed by Muḥriz b. Ziyād, the Riyāḥid *amīr* of La Malga (al-Muʿallaḳa, between Tunis and Carthage). They took as their chief the *ḳāḍī* Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, son of the *imām* Abu 'l-Ḥasan. With his approval, they made an astonishing *volte-face*, deciding to appoint Muḥriz b. Ziyād as their king. In reply to their invitation, the Riyāḥid approached Tunis; the *ḳāḍī* and the *s̲h̲aykẖ*s came in procession to meet him; but a cry taken up by the crowd, "No obedience to an Arab or a G̲h̲uzz (sc. a Turcoman)", caused the enterprise to fail. It seems that the ruling class, having acted out of realism or for the defence of their own interests, were foiled by public opinion. Muḥriz b. Ziyād made his way back to La Malga where he was joined by the *ḳāḍī* who had been chased out of Tunis.

In order to put an end to the civil war, the Tunisians decided on a restoration of the Banū Ḵẖurāsān. A deputation went to Bizerta to fetch Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ who was hauled up at night over the city walls of Tunis in a wicker basket. This secret entry, which is not adequately explained by the closure at night of the city gates, suggests that the population was not unanimous in the decision to adopt him as *amīr*. Seven months later he was betrayed by his brother's son, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who seems to have had him drowned. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ remained in power for about ten years. He killed the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Faḍl D̲j̲aʿfar b. Ḥalwān, his son and the son of his sister Ibn al-Bannād, fearing lest they conspire against him with the Arabs, doubtless with Muḥriz b. Ziyād.

Nevertheless, it was thanks to a unit commanded by Muḥriz b. Ziyād, which had penetrated into Tunis,

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that the inhabitants, under siege by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, son of the Almohad caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, made a successful sortie and forced the enemy to retire. On the last day of Djumādā I 552/ 10th July 1157, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz reported to the archbishop of Pisa the victory which he had just won over the Maṣmūda, in a letter preserved in the archives of Pisa confirming the verbal terms of a commercial treaty between Pisa and Tunis.

He was succeeded by his nephew ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Azīz b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ b. Khurāsān (in about mid-February 1159). But five months later (about mid-July 1159), Tunis was laid under siege by a formidable army and fleet under the caliph ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, and surrendered. A deputation of twelve (or seventeen) *shaykh*s went to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin to ask for peace. After an initial refusal, and long equivocation, he accepted. In the list of these *shaykh*s, unfortunately incomplete, we notice nine names: three brothers, the Banū ʿAbd al-Sayyid, Hāshimī *sharīf*s (the epitaph of another member of this line, dating from 528/1113, is qualified by *faḳīh* and *imām*), and two sons of Manṣūr Ismāʿīl and their paternal cousin; so we are dealing here with an oligarchy, and, once more, it is making terms with the enemy. In fact, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin promised to respect the lives, families and goods of the *shaykh*s who had come to negotiate, in return for their readiness to surrender, but he made the same guarantees to the other inhabitants of the city and environs only after they had handed over to him half of their goods.

The last of the Khurāsānids, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, had not only to surrender half of his goods, but also to accept exile in Bougie; once these conditions were accepted, he left Tunis that same day, but died on the road.

Tunis has kept some relics of the Banū Khurāsān, sc. the mosque of the Djāmiʿ al-Ḳaṣr (*ca.* 499/1106), which probably adjoined their palace (no longer in existence), and not far from Sīdī Bū Khrīsān street, a *Ḳubba*, their funeral mausoleum in the centre of a necropolis excavated by S. M. Zbiss, to whom we owe the establishment of an epigraphic musuem and the publication of a number of tomb-inscriptions of the men and women of this family.

Bibliography: exhaustive references in H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, i-ii, Paris 1962, index, 842. (H. R. IDRIS)

KHURĀSĀNĪ, Āḳhūnd Mullā Muḥammad Kāẓim (1839-1911), a distinguised Shīʿī *mudjtahid* of Iran; born in Ṭūs, he received his early education in Mashhad, pursued traditional studies including natural philosophy in Tehran in 1860, and moved to Nadjaf in 1861 for further studies. He studied under Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī, the then sole *marḏjaʿ-i taḳlīd* of the Shīʿī world. After the latter's death (1894), Khurāsānī was recognised as the legitimate successor to Shīrāzī. He proved to be a resourceful teacher, lecturing daily before more than 1,000 students of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and producing as graduates of his courses some 120 *mudjtahid*s (Mahdī al-Mūsawī, *Aḥsan al-wadīʿa*, i, Nadjaf 1968, 147-8). He established three religious (*ibid.*, 148) and some modern schools in ʿIrāḳ (ʿAbd Allāh al-Fayyāḍ, *al-Thawra al-ʿIrāḳiyya al-kubrā sana 1920*, Baghdād 1967, 82 ff.). Since 1906 Khurāsānī's name has been associated with the Persian Constitutional Revolution as one of its most influential supporters. He and two other *mudjtahid*s, Ṭihrānī and Māzandarānī, issued numerous *fatwā*s and manifestos, sent many telegrams, wrote many letters to responsible authorities in Persia and Turkey, and organised two uprisings. Led by Khurāsānī, the Persian *ʿulamāʾ* of ʿIrāḳ intensified their campaign after Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh's abrogation of the constitution in 1908, and in a *fatwā* they declared that obedience to the Shāh and the payment of taxes to his government were un-Islamic (Aḥmad Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i Mashrūṭa-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1951, 730) and strongly condemned their clerical opponent Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (*ibid.*, 528). Khurāsānī's activities were not favoured by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II of Turkey. Thanks to the Young Turks' Revolution of 1908, however, there appeared a degree of mutual co-operation between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the Turks, and Khurāsānī openly supported the Turkish Revolution. He even threatened to dethrone ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd upon the latter's counter-revolution in 1909 (Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥasan Naḏjafī Ḳūčānī, *Siyāḥāt-i sharḳ*, Mashhad 1972, 474-6).

Living in an Ottoman province, ʿIrāḳ, Khurāsānī and other Persian constitutionalists seem to have been led to an agreement of expedience with the Young Turks. We see Khurāsānī, for instance, sanctioning the Pan-Islamic policy of the Young Turks (*RMM*, xiii (1911), 385-6) and at times, despite his being a Shīʿī *mudjtahid*, calling the Ottoman sultan "caliph" (*al-ʿIrfān*, i (1909), 240-1; Niẓām al-Dīn-Zāda, *Huḏjūm-i Rūs bi-Īrān*, Baghdād 1913, 45). In support of the sultan, he also declared a holy war against the Italian invasion of Lībya in 1911 (*al-ʿIlm*, ii (1911), 246-7, 290-7, 338-42). In return, Khurāsānī appealed to the sultan to interfere in favour of the Persian constitutionalists: once in 1909 when he was successfully working towards the dethronement of the foreign-backed Shāh (*al-ʿIrfān*, i (1909), 240-1), and another time when, upon the Anglo-Russian invasions of Iran in 1911, the deposed Shāh vainly attempted to regain his throne (*Huḏjūm-i Rūs*, 45-6). In both cases Khurāsānī, leading many of his supporters, set out for Persia to mobilise the masses; the first uprising was stopped because of the Shāh's downfall (*al-ʿIrfān*, i (1909), and iv (1912), 36-40), and the second one was postponed because of Khurāsānī's sudden death (*Huḏjūm-i Rūs*, 58-67).

Despite the allegation concerning Khurāsānī's ties to the Oudh Bequest (Maḥmūd Maḥmūd, *Tārīkh-i rawābiṭ-i siyāsī-yi Īrān va Ingilīs*, Tehran 1953, vi, 1741-5), he does not seem to have favoured the British. Since the Russian troops were suppressing the Persian Revolution and the British were thought to have supported it, Khurāsānī sent delegates to the British Consulate in Baghdād seeking co-operation (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977), though this proved useless because of the British commitment to the 1907 Convention. From then on, we see Khurāsānī in an equal opposition to the two powers. He expressed his deep mistrust in the Shāh, and paid no attention to the intercession of the two powers under whose pressures the Shāh had to promise the re-establishment of the Persian constitution; Khurāsānī only insisted upon the deposition of the Shāh and the declaration of a genuine constitutional régime (Hairi, *Why did the ʿUlamāʾ participate in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909?*, in *WI*, xvii [1976-7].

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Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥal-i riḏjal-i Īrān*, i, Tehran 1968; E. G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909*, Cambridge 1910. (ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

AL-KHURAYMĪ [see ABŪ YA'ḲŪB AL-KHURAYMĪ]

AL-KHŪRĪ, FĀRIS (1875?-1962) a Syrian politician, a Christian, who played a very important role over a period of almost half a century. Born in a Lebanese village on the slopes of Mount Hermon, he studied at Ṣaydā then at the school in Beirut which was later to become the American University, while also working as a teacher. When family affairs took him to Damascus in 1899, he took up residence in the Syrian capital, learned Turkish and French and was employed as an interpreter in the British consulate. His political career began in 1909 when he joined the Committee of Union and Progress. As legal adviser to the municipality of Damascus (1910-38) he was elected a member of the municipal council of the town in 1914, took part in 1918 in the Council of State which met in Istanbul, participated in the creation of the Arab Academy, and then occupied a number of important political offices: Minister of Finance in 1920, of National Education in 1926, President of the Chamber of Deputies in 1943 and then from 1946 to 1949, and President of the Council of Ministers in 1944-5 and in 1954-5. At the same time, he was President of the Bar of Damascus (1920-36), for a short time Professor of Law (1922), a founder member of the People's Party (1925), then of the Nationalist Bloc (*al-Kutla al-Waṭanīyya*, 1928), and was a member of the delegation which negotiated with France the Treaty of 1936. After the war he was appointed Syrian delegate to the United Nations, and presided over the Security Council in 1947 and 1948. He retired from active life in 1955 and died on 2 January 1962.

Fāris al-Khūrī was a calm, level-headed man whose essential aim was to achieve the supremacy of justice. He was a man of great culture and erudition, and his powers of oratory were widely recognised. After the beginning of this century he took an interest in events outside the Arab world and derived from them the inspiration for his literary, more precisely his poetic, production, for this man of politics was also a poet. His classical background gave him the idea in 1898 of preparing an anthology entitled *Shuḏḏūr al-ḏahab fī laṭā'if al-'Arab* which has remained unedited, but he continued subsequently to compose verses, of which the total number is close to 2,000. His poetry is neo-classical in style and comprises a number of *ḳaṣīdas* on various events, notably on the Russo-Japanese War, panegyrics and obituary tributes dedicated to his friends or to distinguished personalities, a single *hiḏjā'* (of sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II, which he later regretted), and some love poems, including three *muwashshaḥāt*; another product of his classical education is a *takhmīs* of the *nūniyya* of Ibn Zaydūn [*q.v.*]. He also found the time, in spite of his many commitments, to write two legal works: a *Mūḏjaz fī 'ilm al-mālīyya* (1924, 1937) and the *Uṣūl al-muḥākamat al-ḥuḳūḳiyya* (2nd ed. 1936).

Bibliography: In addition to the archival information held by the family, whose material is unedited, there have been two monographs on Fāris al-Khūrī: Ḥannā al-Khabbās and Djurdj Ḥaddād, *Fāris al-Khūrī*, Beirut 1952, and Muḥammad al-Farḥānī, *Fāris al-Khūrī wa-ayyām la tunsā*, Beirut 1964. See also *Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain*, Paris, i-xxxii (1945-55), index; Nasīm Sh. al-Khūrī has presented at the Lebanese University in 1973 a *Dīwān Fāris al-Khūrī* containing all of his poetic work which is accessible, together with a detailed bibliography; this work should be published. (ED.)

AL-KHURMA, an oasis in western Saudi Arabia situated at lat. 21° 54′ N and long. 42° 2′ E, which became prominent in Arabian politics during the first quarter of this century. The oasis lies in the middle reaches of Wādī Taraba or Turaba (also shown on maps as Wādī Subay'). The companion oasis of Taraba [*q.v.*], capital of the tribe of the Buḳūm, is farther up the valley about 75 km. to the south-west. Another 75 km. downstream from al-Khurma the valley passes by the wells of al-Ḳunṣuliyya and then ends at 'Irḳ Subay', whose sands keep the floodwaters from joining the main drainage system emptying into Wādī 'l-Dawāsir [see (DJAZĪRAT) AL-'ARAB]. The oasis is close to the northern tip of Ḥarrat Nawāṣif, the southern part of which is called Ḥarrat al-Buḳūm. The road from al-Khurma to al-Ṭā'if runs south of west over the range of Ḥaḍn, often taken as marking the eastern geographical limit of al-Ḥidjāz [*q.v.*]. About 80 km. north of al-Khurma is the ancient gold mine of Ẓalim, attempts to rework which in recent times proved a failure. Beyond Ẓalim to the north is the present main highway from Djudda and Mecca to al-Riyāḍ (Darb al-Ḥidjāz); earlier, many pilgrims and a considerable amount of trade went along the track through al-Ḳunṣuliyya and al-Khurma.

The relatively small population of al-Khurma is made up of tribesmen from the western section of Subay' [*q.v.*], who regard the oasis as their capital, Sharīfs, and black freemen. The chief place in the oasis is Ḳaṣr Khālid, named after a former *Amīr* (see below), and the other principal settlements are al-Sūḳ and al-Sulaymiyya.

Unlike Taraba, al-Khurma is not mentioned by Hamdānī, though it may have been inhabited even before his time. Its first appearance in history seems to have been in 1212/1798, when the Sharīf Ghālib b. Musā'ad, a determined foe of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*], pitched his camp there with a host of "Bedouins, townsmen, Egyptians (*maṣāriyya*), and Maghribīs" (Ibn Bishr, i, 112) while making a sweep through the southwestern oases in an effort to halt the spread of the reform movement. Surprised by Wahhābī warriors under the leadership of Hādī b. Ḳarmala of Ḳaḥṭān and Rubayyi' b. Zayd of the Dawāsir, Ghālib and his host fled pell-mell, losing many hundreds of men and rich booty. This catastrophe compelled Ghālib to rescind in 1213/1799 the ban that for some years prevented the Wahhābīs of Nadjd from making the pilgrimage.

With the resurgence of the Wahhābiyya in this century under 'Abd al-'Azīz Āl Su'ūd, possession of al-Khurma became a crucial issue. Many Khurmans had remained attached to the reform movement since the preceding century. As Wahhābī proselytising also won new adherents in the west, the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī of Mecca tried to assert sovereignty over al-Khurma, which would have carried his authority well towards the east. In the words of Philby, "Khurma itself was a locality of little importance, economically or politically, though it occupied a strategic position as the back-door to Najd. Its real significance was as a symbol of the struggle for Arabian hegemony, which had now been transferred from the old cockpit of the Qasim [see AL-ḲAṢĪM] to the frontiers of the Hijaz" (*Arabian jubilee*, 60). The British government held that al-Khurma, which it thought was not very far away from al-Ṭā'if (the actual distance is 190 km.), fell within al-Ḥusayn's sphere. 'Abd al-'Azīz, on the other hand, avowed that he had inherited all

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the territory that had belonged to his forefathers, including al-Khurma.

The Sharīf Khālid b. Manṣūr Ibn Luʾayy, said to have been named *amīr* of al-Khurma by al-Ḥusayn, became a convert to the Wahhābiyya, as a result of which al-Ḥusayn detained him in Mecca for a time; al-Ḥusayn also rebuked the Ḥanbalī *ḳāḍī* of al-Khurma for preaching in the Wahhābī vein. The Khurman Wahhābīs were devout enough to be reckoned as belonging to the ranks of the Ikhwān [*q.v.*]. Late in 1335/1917 al-Ḥusayn's son ʿAbd Allāh delivered ultimata to Khālid demanding that he return to his original loyalty. Khālid rejected the ultimata, and the Khurmans called on ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz for help. Sympathetic though he was to their cause, he was occupied elsewhere and could do little for them. During 1336/1918, expeditions sent by al-Ḥusayn to subdue al-Khurma were repulsed one after another by Khālid and the Ikhwān.

Infuriated by the tenacious and successful resistance of the little oasis, al-Ḥusayn in Shaʿbān 1337/May 1919 deputed his son ʿAbd Allāh with a martial array, well armed by Arabian standards, to settle accounts there once and for all. On the way, ʿAbd Allāh paused at Taraba, where Khālid and the Ikhwān, striking suddenly at night, won a signal victory reminiscent of the one achieved by their Wahhābī predecessors over the Sharīf Ghālib. No serious military obstacle then barred the way to al-Ṭāʾif and Mecca, but ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz chose to bide his time. When the move in that direction leading to the capture of Mecca was finally made in 1343/1924, al-Khurma and Taraba provided the springboard for Khālid and the Ikhwān.

The *hiḏjra* of the Ikhwān beside Khālid's castle in al-Khurma is said to have been founded after the battle of Taraba. The British explorer Philby visited the oasis in 1336/1917 and again in 1351/1932, as well as a year or two before that while hunting with ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited under AL-IKHWĀN, see ʿUthmān b. Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-maḏjd*, Mecca 1349; H. Philby, *Arabian highlands*, Ithaca, N. Y. 1952; G. Troeller, *The birth of Saudi Arabia*, London 1976. (G. RENTZ)

KHURRAMĀBĀD, chief town of the *shahristān* of the same name in the Iranian province of Luristān (*ustān* 6), situated in long. 48° 21′ E., lat. 33° 29′ N.; population of the *shahristān* (1966): 259,000, elevation above sea-level: 4,700 feet.

The town is first mentioned under its present name in the 8th/14th century by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, who states: "this was fine town, but it is now in ruins" (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 74). To the south-east of the town, along the banks of the Khurramābād river, and also to the south-west, are remains dating from the time when the site, then known as Diz-i Siyāh, was the capital of the Saldjūḳ *atābegs* of Lur-i Kučik [*q.v.*], who governed the area from 580/1184 and whose last representative was killed by Shāh ʿAbbās I in 1006/1597. At a still earlier date, the Sāsānid town of Shāpūrkhwāst seems to have occupied the site (thus Minorsky, in *EI*¹, LURISTĀN, who supports Rawlinson *contra* Le Strange, *Lands*, 201-2).

This mountainous region, inhabited by Lurī-speaking tribes, remained remote until almost the end of the 13th/19th century, when it was finally opened up by the construction of the Tehran-Ahwāz highway; this reduced to 12 days the 40-50 days previously required for the journey from the Persian Gulf to Tehran via Shīrāz.

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(R. M. SAVORY)

KHURRAMIYYA or KHURRAMDĪNIYYA refers in the Islamic sources to the religious movement founded by Mazdak [*q.v.*] in the late 5th century A.D. and to various Iranian, anti-Arab sects which developed out of it under the impact of certain extremist Shīʿī doctrines. Although the Khurramīyya are sometimes mentioned separately besides the Mazdakiyya, Ibn al-Nadīm, following Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Balkhī, is no doubt right in stating that the name Khurramiyya, as also Muḥammira [*q.v.*], originally meant the movement of Mazdak in general, and not merely a branch of it. Al-Masʿūdī's assertion that the Khurramiyya are distinct from the Mazdakiyya evidently relates to the later development, since he at the same time identifies the former with the followers of Abū Muslim. The Persian name Khurram-dīn ("joyous or agreeable religion") may, as has been suggested, have been chosen by the sectarians in analogy to the name Vēhdēn which the Zoroastrians applied to their own religion, though it seems also possible that it was coined by their Zoroastrian opponents. In the Islamic sources, it is usually explained as referring to their libertinist and hedonistic view that everything agreeable to the senses is permitted. Other explanations of the name, that it is derived either from Khurram, a district of Ardabīl, or from Khurrama, the wife of Mazdak, are probably unfounded.

Although the sources do not mention the Mazdakite movement in early Islamic times, it is evident that Mazdakite communities were dispersed in the countryside of many regions of Iran with the heaviest concentration in the province of al-Djibāl. The coalescence of the Khurramiyya with various extremist factions of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] began during the upheavals of the late Umayyad age. Al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1588, reports that the ʿAbbāsid *dāʿī* Khidāsh [*q.v.*], who was active before 118/736 in the area of Naysābūr and Marw, taught the religion of the Khurramiyya and permitted promiscuity. Al-Nāshiʾ identifies the Khurramiyya of Khurāsān with the Khidāshiyya, who held that the imāmate had passed from the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī by forfeiture to Khidāsh, and who furthermore denied the death of the latter. According to Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, the Ḥārithiyya, the extremist supporters of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] who after his death in 131/748-9 chose various chiefs of their own, were called Khurramiyya. It is likely that these two sects were partially recruited from the local Mazdakites in Khurāsān and western Iran, which was controlled by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya for some time. The strongest impact on the Mazdakite Khurramiyya was made, however, by the figure of Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], who as the leader of the revolutionary movement which overthrew the Umayyad caliphate and as the victim of ʿAbbāsid perfidy came to symbolise Persian self-assertion against Arab dominance. Many heresiographers fully identify the Khurramiyya with the Muslimiyya, who considered Abū Muslim as their *imām*, prophet or an incarnation of the divine spirit. Abū Ḥātim's statement that the Rizāmiyya belonged to the Khurramiyya is to be understood in the same sense, for he and some other sources explain this name as meaning the radical, anti-ʿAbbāsid followers of Abū Muslim.

The *daʿwa* of Abū Muslim evidently gained numer-

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ous Mazdakite adherents during his lifetime. After his murder in 137/755, the Khurramiyya in Khurāsān, according to al-Masʿūdī, rose in revolt. Some of them denied his death and expected his early return to establish justice in the world. Others affirmed his death and held that the imāmate had passed to his daughter Fāṭima. They were known as the Fāṭimiyya. The Zoroastrian Sunbādh [see SINDBĀD], a former associate of Abū Muslim, led an army of rebels from Naysābūr to al-Rayy where his following swelled rapidly. According to the *Siyāsat-nāma*, it was composed of Mazdakites, Shīʿīs and Zoroastrians. Sunbādh predicted the end of the Arab empire and promised to destroy the Kaʿba. Abū Muslim, he asserted, had not died and would shortly reappear, together with Mazdak and the Mahdī. By the latter, who is not identified, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya may have been meant. The revolt was suppressed after 70 days and the leader was killed. Another former associate or *dāʿī* of Abū Muslim, known as Isḥāḳ al-Turk, after the former's murder fomented an insurrection in Transoxania, affirming that Abū Muslim was alive in the mountains of al-Rayy and would return. He is also reported to have previously taught that Abū Muslim was a prophet sent by Zoroaster, who himself was alive and would reappear to restore his religion. Nothing is known about the exact date of the activity of Isḥāḳ and the fate of his movement. It has been suggested, on the basis of the account of Gardīzī, that the governor of Khurāsān, Abū Dāwūd Khālid (d. 140/757) was killed by followers of Isḥāḳ and that the rebel leader Barāzbanda, whom Abū Dāwūd's successor ʿAbd al-Djabbār joined when he revolted against the caliph al-Manṣūr, also belonged to Isḥāḳ's movement. The first suggestion is highly conjectural and the second quite unlikely; the white-clad (*sapīd-djāmagān*) murderers of Abū Dāwūd were, according to Gardīzī, the followers of one Saʿīd the weaver (*djūlāh*), and Barāzbanda claimed to be Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd (read: Muḥammad ?) al-Hāshimī (Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347, 123 f.). About two decades after the death of Abū Muslim, al-Muḳannāʿ [*q.v.*], also a former member of his *daʿwa* and of the Rizāmiyya, appeared in Transoxania to lead another revolutionary movement. His following was composed of white-clad (Ar. Mubayyiḍa [*q.v.*], Pers. Sapīd-djāmagān) Soghdian peasants and by Turkish tribesmen. He claimed to be the final divine incarnation after Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, ʿĪsā, Muḥammad and Abū Muslim (a different report adds Shayth and substitutes ʿAlī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya for Abū Muslim) and taught the transmigration of souls and sexual license. The sect of the Mubayyiḍa is still mentioned as surviving in the 6th/12th century.

The latter two movements usually are not called Khurramiyya in the sources, though as branches of the Muslimiyya they were covered by the name in its wider sense. There is no specific information on their doctrine about Mazdak and the role of Mazdakites in them. Al-Bīrūnī, however, states in general terms that al-Muḳannaʿ prescribed for his followers "everything Mazdak had brought" and al-Shahrastānī counts the Mubayyiḍa as one of the neo-Mazdakite sects and as a variety of the Khurramiyya. They may have been crypto-Mazdakites before the coming of al-Muḳannaʿ (see A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Vosstanie Mukanni-Dviženie lyudey v belykh odeždakh*, in *SO*, v [1948], 35-54).

The use of the name Khurramiyya is more prevalent for the neo-Mazdakites in western Iran. In 162/779 the Muḥammira, i.e. the Mazdakites, of Djurdjān rose and made common cause with the Khurramdīniyya, i.e. the Muslimiyya, claiming that Abū Muslim was alive and promising to restore his reign. They put Abu 'l-Ghazā', the young grandson of Abū Muslim, at their head and reached al-Rayy before they were defeated by ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlā'. At the same time, the Khurramiyya of Iṣfahān revolted. Again in 180-1/796-8 the Muḥammira of Djurdjān rose and for a brief time held sway over the province. In 192/808 the Khurramiyya revolted in Ādharbaydjān and the regions of al-Rayy, Hamadhān and Iṣfahān. The insurrection was quickly suppressed by ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik and Abū Dulaf al-ʿIdjlī.

The anti-Arab and anti-Muslim activity of the Khurramiyya reached its climax in the great rebellion of Bābak [*q.v.*] al-Khurramī in Ādharbaydjān (201-23/816-38). Bābak had become the chief of the Khurramiyya in the region of al-Badhdh in Ādharbaydjān in succession to Djāwīdhān b. Shahrak, whose prophetic spirit, he claimed, had settled upon him. Djāwīdhān was alleged to have predicted the victory of Mazdakism under his successor. The sources offer little information on the religious doctrine of Bābak and his followers. Their connection with the Muslimiyya is indicated by the fact that some people, according to al-Dīnawarī, held Bābak to be a son of Muṭahhar, son of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim. The revolt later spread outside Ādharbaydjān. In 212/827-8 the Khurramiyya rose in the area of Iṣfahān and al-Karadj and some of them joined Bābak in Ādharbaydjān. In 218/833 they revolted around Iṣfahān under their chief ʿAlī b. Mazdak and in Fārs. As ʿAlī b. Mazdak took al-Karadj, the sectarians joined him in large numbers. After a bloody defeat by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm near Hamadhān, some of them retreated and pillaged in Iṣfahān, while others under their leader Bārsīs fled to Byzantine territory. They were enrolled in the Byzantine army and are mentioned in 223/838 fighting under the emperor Theophilus against the Muslims.

ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī treats a sect called Māzyāriyya, followers of the Ḳārinid ruler of Ṭabaristān, Māzyār [see ḲĀRINIDS] (d. 225/840), as the second major branch of the Khurramiyya besides the Bābakiyya. Māzyār, whose revolt against the caliphate developed out of his quarrel with the big landowners of the lowlands of Ṭabaristān and his rivalry with ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, was certainly not a Mazdakite, although he was accused of having aided Bābak. In his political struggle he came to rely on the non-Muslim elements of the highlands, particularly Zoroastrians, but evidently also Mazdakites. The Khurramiyya of Ṭabaristān and Djurdjān may have continued to honour his memory as the account of al-Baghdādī suggests.

According to the *Siyāsat-nāma*, the rebellions of the Khurramiyya in the area of Iṣfahān continued after the execution of Bābak until the year 300/912-3. First they rose during the reign of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), and again sacked al-Karadj. Later, at an unspecified date, one Bāryazdshāh succeeded in fortifying himself in the mountains of Iṣfahān. The Khurramiyya joined him and raided caravans and villages. Only after some 30 years was he seized and executed. Still in 320-1/932-3, ʿAlī b. Būya conquered several fortresses previously held by the Khurramiyya in the region of al-Karadj and captured great treasures.

Khurramī communities are mentioned in the 4th/10th century in the regions of Fārs, al-Ahwāz, Iṣfahān, al-Burdj, al-Karadj, Māsabadhān, Mihridjānḳadhaḳ, al-Ṣaymara, Dīnawar, Nihāwand, Hamadhān, Kāshān, Ḳumm, al-Rayy, in the mountains of

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Ṭabaristān, al-Daylam, Āḏharbaydjān, Armenia, Shahrazūr, Djurdjān, Balkh and Khurāsān. It has been accepted on the basis of a report of Miskawayh (ed. Amedroz, *Eclipse*, ii, 299; tr., v, 321) that Khurramiyya living along the coast of Makrān and Kirmān were subjugated in 360/971 by a general of ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The name al-Khurramiyya is, however, a corruption in the manuscript and should be read al-Djurūmiyya. This is evident from the text of Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 451) which is based on Miskawayh as well as from Miskawayh's mention of the same people called al-Djurūmiyya later under the year 364/974-5 (ii, 359 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 482; Hilāl in *Eclipse*, iii, 377: al-Djurūm; this point is also made by C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 123 n. 34). The latest mention of surviving Khurramiyya communities is for the first half of the 6th/12th century in the region of Ansābādh and Darkazīn, north-west of Hamadhān (al-Bundārī, *Muḵhtaṣar zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1889, 124), and in Āḏharbaydjān.

According to al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), the Khurramiyya in his time mostly belonged to two divisions, the Kūdakiyya and the Lūdshāhiyya). (variants Kūdshāhiyya, Kurdshāhiyya). The former were probably named thus because of their veneration of Mahdī b. Fayrūz, the son (or grandson?) of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim, whom they called *kūdak-i dānā*, the omniscient boy. They are also mentioned in other sources and apparently constituted the great majority of the Khurramiyya in western Iran. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 322/924) states that the extremist factions which originally developed out of the ʿAbbāsid revolutionary movement were known under different names in different regions; in the country of Iṣfahān as Kūdakiyya and Khurramiyya, in al-Rayy and elsewhere in al-Djibāl as Mazdakiyya and Sunbādiyya, in Dīnawar and Nihāwand as Muḥammira and in Āḏharbaydjān as Ḏhaḳūliyya (or Dafūliyya). It is not clear if the latter name implies a distinction in religious doctrine between the Khurramiyya in Āḏharbaydjān and elsewhere in western Iran, though any such differences were most likely not substantial. Abū Dulaf b. Muhalhil, who visited al-Baḏhḏh about the middle of the 4th/10th century, mentions a place there were the Muḥammira known as the Khurramiyya consecrated their flags and where they expected the coming of the Mahdī. Probably the *kūdak-i dānā* or, in any case, a descendant of Abū Muslim's daughter Fāṭima, is meant

The reports of the Muslim sources about the doctrine and practices of the Khurramiyya are mostly summary and biased. An exception is the account of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, which is based on his personal acquaintance with members of the sect and his reading of some of their books. The Khurramiyya were dualists holding that the principle of the world was the light, some of which had become effaced and turned into darkness. They all believed in the transmigration of souls in human, animal, and angel bodies. Prophetic revelation in their view never ceased and the same divine spirit inhered in all prophets. They had no religious law but, according to Muṭahhar, had recourse to their *imāms* in legal matters. Messengers whom they called angels (*firishtagān*) made the rounds among them. They were much concerned with cleanliness and purity, tried to win people's favour through acts of kindness and strictly avoided bloodshed except when they decided on rebellion. They expected the appearance of a descendant of Fāṭima, daughter of Abū Muslim, as the Mahdī who would make their cause prevail in the world. Wine was considered particularly blessed by them. According to Muṭahhar, some held promiscuity licit with the consent of the women and, in general, any fulfillment of natural desires as long as no one was harmed. The more extravagant clichés of some sources concerning their sexual libertinism deserve no credence. There is no sound evidence for community of goods among them.

The Mazdakite and Manichaean basis of these beliefs is manifest. The attempts of some sources to establish a close link between the Khurramiyya and the Ḳarmaṭīs and Ismāʿīliyya must be viewed with reserve. There is no evidence for any influence of Khurramī doctrine on Ismāʿīlī doctrine or of any large-scale conversion of Khurramīs to early Ismāʿīlism.

Bibliography: al-Dīnawarī, *al-Aḵhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 397; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 275; al-Nāshiʾ, *Masāʾil al-imāma*, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 32, 35, 38; al-Nawbaḵhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 32, 41 f.; Ṭabarī, ii, 1588, iii, 119 f., 493, 645 f., 732, 1165, 1235; Iṣṭaḵhrī, 203; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-33, 438; Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *al-Zīna*, ms.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 186-9; idem, *Tanbīh*, 351-5; Narshaḵhī, *Taʾrīḵh-i Bukhārā*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1892, 63-74; Abū Dulaf Misʿar b. Muhalhil, *al-Risāla al-thāniya*, ed. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, 6; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīḵh*, ed. C. Huart, Paris 1899-1919, i, 143, 171 f., ii, 20 f., iii, 122, iv, 8, 30 f., v, 134, vi, 95, 97; *Fihrist*, 342-5; Miskawayh, *Taḏjārib al-umam*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, *The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, Oxford 1920-1, i, 278; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, xx/2, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and S. Dunyā, Cairo [1961], 178; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 251 f.; al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 211; Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Djaʿfar Shaʿār, Tehran 1348, 319-21, 359-68; Shahrastānī, 113, 115, 132, 192-4. Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, especially chs. 2, 3, 5-7; Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Bābak Khurramdīn*, Tehran 1342/1963; B. S. Amoretti, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 494-519. (W. MADELUNG)

KHURRAMSHAHR, chief town (population in 1966: 88,536) of the *shahristān* of the same name (population in 1966: 156,281) in the Iranian province of Khūzistān (*ustān* 6), and situated in long. 48° 09′ E., lat. 30° 25′ N. Its elevation above sea-level is 8 m./26 ft., and the climate is hot and humid, with summer temperatures rising to 58° C./136° F., and a winter minimum of 8° C./46° F.

The present town is the successor of a number of settlements which, since ancient times, have been located in the general area where the Kārūn (Dudjayl) river and the combined Tigris and Euphrates rivers flow into the Persian Gulf a few miles apart. Elamite and Achaemenid settlements were succeeded, in Islamic times, by Bayān and Muḥriza, which were included by the Islamic geographers in the province of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam. The earlier settlements were situated on the Kārūn river itself, the later ones on a channel cut to link the Kārūn and the Tigris-Euphrates estuary (now called by the Arabs Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, and by the Persians Arwand-rūd). The construction of this channel (known at different times as Jūy-i Bayān; Jūy-i ʿAḍudī (after it had been widened by the Buwayhid ruler ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; and the Ḥaffār channel) created the island of Ābādān [see ABBĀDĀN],

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Page 83 of 600

https://archive.org/details/bk1302/page/n85/mode/1up

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the site of the National Iranian Oil Company's refinery.

After being mentioned by al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century), the site is not heard of again until the beginning of the 13th/19th century, when a fort called Kūt al-Muḥammara ("Red Fort") developed into the town of Muḥammara governed by Arab *shaykhs* of the Kaʿb tribe. The new town was situated on the Ḥaffār channel, one mile from its confluence with the Kārūn. The rise of a rival port at the end of the Persian Gulf was regarded by the Ottomans as a threat to the prosperity of Baṣra, and in 1254/1838-9 they sacked the town, which was, however, subsequently ceded to Persia by the Treaty of Erzerum in 1847. This treaty was violated by the Ottomans in 1886 by the construction of a fort at Fao, at the mouth of the estuary, which enabled them to harass shipping bound for Muḥammara.

In 1925, Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī brought the virtually autonomous shaykhdom of Muḥammara firmly under Iranian control, and in 1937 the name of the town, by a decision of the Iranian cabinet, was changed to Khurramshahr. During World War II, the port facilities at Khurramshahr were greatly expanded, and a 75-mile branch line was constructed to link the city with the Trans-Iranian railway at Ahwāz. After further development under the Second Seven-Year Plan (1955-62), Khurramshahr is now one of Iran's principal ports-of-entry on the Persian Gulf; its exports include dates, milk-products, skins and wool.

The 1912-14 Boundary Commission took as the international boundary with ʿIrāḳ the low-water line on the Iranian side of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab. This left the navigation channel to Khurramshahr under ʿIrāḳī jurisdiction, and resulted in constant friction between the two countries. This dispute appears finally to have been settled by the agreement signed on 6 March 1975, whereby Iran and ʿIrāḳ agree that the international boundary shall be the *talweg*, or line of deepest water.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *Lands*, 48; Aḥmad-i Kasrawī, *Taʾrīkh-i pānṣad-sāla-yi Khūzistān*³. Tehran 1330 sh./1951, 206 ff.; ʿAlī Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i djughrāfiyāʾi-yi Īrān* (*Intishārāt-i dāʾira-yi djughrāfiyāʾī-yi sitād-i artish*), vi, Tehran 1330 sh./1951, 140-1; Muḥammad Yūsufī, *Paywastangāh-i Kārūn wa Arwand-rūd*, Tehran 1350 sh./1971; G. N. Curzon, *Persian and the Persian question*, repr. London 1966, ii, 325 ff.

(R. M. Savory)

KHURREM (P. "cheerful, smiling") is a name of both men and women. The most famous bearer of it is the Khāṣṣekī [*q.v.*] and beloved wife of Sulaymān I [*q.v.*], who was born in the early years of the 16th century and died on 26 Djumādā II 965/15 April 1558. Because of the necessary seclusion of her life, few facts about her are known. It is, however, certain that Sulaymān remained passionately devoted to her from their meeting, probably in Istanbul after his accession on 17 Shawwāl 926/30 September 1520, until her death; hence her power, by which she altered the course of the Ottoman Empire. This power, for which she is hated, brought upon her charges of witchraft (Bassano, *Costumi*, Roma 1545, 18*v*.) and sorcery (Busbecq, *Omnia . . .*, Basel 1740, 72-3), but Navagero's remark (Albèri, *Relazioni* iii/1, 74), "she knows the Sultan's nature very well", seems nearer the truth. According to the tradition established by Hammer-Purgstall (*GOR*, iii, 673), she was Polish, from Rogatin (Polish: Rohatyn) on the Gnilaya Lipa river, now in the Ukrainian SSR, then in the Little Russia of Poland, the daughter of a Greek Catholic *papas*; possibly her name was Aleksandra Lisowska (see *Belleten*, xxiii, 230). The area, an old Ruthenian settlement, was subjected to frequent Tatar raids; she may have been carried off on one of these and sold as a slave in Istanbul. It may not be a coincidence that she had a mosque built later in the ʿAvret Pazarī quarter, near the female slave-market. Other traditions, of little reliability, make her Slav, Circassian, Sienese, even French. She may have been presented to Sulaymān by his mother Ḥafṣa Sulṭān or by Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] (Bassano, *loc. cit.*, 18*v*.), with whom she was to share Sulaymān's affection. She was called Khurrem (variants: Churram, Currem, Hürrem) but is known in Turkish histories generally as Khāṣṣekī Sulṭān and in Western accounts as Roxelana (variants: Roxolana, Roxelane, Rossolana, Rossane, la Rossa, la Rosa), probably all referring to her origin as a Russian or even a Ruthenian woman (*Belleten*, xxiii, 229), but not meaning "Rose", "Redhead", nor Baudier's ingenous "Roxana" to Sulaymān's Alexander the Great (*Inventaire*², Paris 1620, 344). Bragadin in 1526 (Albèri, iii/3, 102) describes her as "young not beautiful, but graceful and small".

As heir-apparent in Manisa, Sulaymān seems to have favoured two ladies, Gulbahār and Gulfem, said to be variously of Circassian, Albanian, Montenegrin and Crimean origin. Gulfem bore him Murād in 919/1513 and Maḥmūd in 921/1515, but both these sons died in 927/1521. Gulbahār bore Muṣṭafā [*q.v.*] in 921/1515; thus, by 1521, as mother of the Sultan's eldest surviving son, she was Khāṣṣekī Sulṭān and, after Sulaymān's mother, foremost in the Imperial Harem, then housed in the Old Palace. However, Khurrem had captivated Sulaymān, borne him a son Meḥemmed [*q.v.*] in 927/1521 and, after a squabble reported by Navagero (Albèri, iii/1, 75), during which Gulbahār had called her "sold meat", had ousted her. Gulbahār devoted herself to her son Muṣṭafā and, when she died in 988/1580, was buried beside him in Djem Sulṭān's mausoleum in Bursa (Refik, *xvi. asırda Istanbul hayatı*, Istanbul 1935, 8). Gulfem, no rival, was accepted by Khurrem and lived with her ladies; after her death, in 969/1561-2, a mosque was constructed in her memory in Üsküdar.

There is unanimous agreement that Sulaymān made Khurrem his legal wife by giving her the *kābīn* (dowry), said to be 5,000 ducats annually, but no hint as to when this took place. It may have been after the birth of Meḥemmed. An undated letter in the Archives of the Bank of St. George, Genoa, describes the wedding festivities in some detail (see Davey, *The Sultan and his subjects*, London 1907, 18-19). In 928/1522 their daughter Mihr-i Māh Sulṭān [*q.v.*] was born, the next year a son ʿAbd Allāh (died 932/1526) and, on 24 Radjab 930/28 May 1524, the future Sultan Selīm II [*q.v.*]. Khurrem bore two more sons, Bāyezīd in 932/1526 and, in 937/1530 Djihāngīr, a hunchback much loved by his father. The circumcisions of Muṣṭafā, Meḥemmed and Selīm were celebrated together with great pomp in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 936/July 1530, after which Muṣṭafā, as *sandjak-beg* of Ṣarukhān, departed with his mother to Manisa. On 4 Ramaḍān 940/19 March 1534 the wālide Ḥafṣa Sulṭān died. During the night of 21-2 Ramaḍān 942/14-5 March 1536, Ibrāhīm Pasha was assassinated in the Sultan's bedchamber in Topkapı Sarayı. Khurrem's influence is suspected in this murder, out of jealousy and fear for her children's lives after Ibrāhīm had declared in favour of Muṣṭafā as heir, but there is no proof of this. With Ibrāhīm's death, however, all her rivals had been removed.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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In 945/1539 Khurrem began a long series of pious bequests with the construction of the Haseki mosque in Istanbul, the first commission of the new Chief Architect Sinān [*q.v.*]. It is in the former ʿAvret Pazarī, now Haseki district, and comprises two *medreses*, a *mekteb*, a *sabīl* and a hospital (finished 957/1550) which, as the Haseki Kadınlar Hastanesi, is still in use for women. Sinān also built another mosque on her behalf at Edirne, *ʿimārets* near the Kaʿba at Mecca, at Medina and at Edirne, and baths in the Aya Sofya and Yehudiler districts of Istanbul. Her other charitable works include a caravanserai and fountains at Edirne and a richly endowed *ʿimāret* at Jerusalem.

On the night of 27 Ramaḍān 947/25 January 1541 a fire swept through the Old Palace (Luṭfī, *Tewārīkh*, Istanbul 1341, 384). Khurrem seems to have moved at once with her ladies to Topkapı Sarayı, where she remained. With a woman lodged for the first time at the political centre, there begins at this date the *Ḳadīnlar salṭanatī*, the rule of women, during which the policies of the Ottoman Empire were directed by a succession of foreign favourites, until the death of Murād IV's mother in 1061/1651. In the Genoese Archives there is a description of Khurrem's apartments, probably written in 1542 (see Davey, *Sultan*, 21-3), and also in Bassano (*loc. cit.*, 17v.). On 21 Ṣafar 948/16 June 1541 Khurrem had Muṣṭafā dismissed to Amasya and on 3 Shaʿbān 949/12 November 1542 her own son Meḥemmed was appointed *sandjaḳ-bey* of Ṣarukhān, the heir-apparent's post (*Kanunı armağanı*, 249). One year later, on 8 Shaʿbān 950/6 November 1543, Meḥemmed died in Manisa. Sulaymān was inconsolable; in a deed of gift to Khurrem made some eight years later (Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*², i, 608-10), with all his other sons still alive, he calls her "the mother of my late son Meḥemmed". On 13 Ramaḍān 951/28 November 1544 Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], husband of Mihr-i Māh since 945/1539, was appointed Grand Vizier. He was devoted to the policies of his mother-in-law and wife, foremost of which was the destruction of Muṣṭafā so that one of Khurrem's sons might succeed. The law decreeing that a Sultan at his accession must have all his brothers executed created such a desperate struggle for life within the Sultan's family, of which the pathetic aspect is well illustrated by Navagero (Albèri, iii/1, 77). Their scheming was crowned with success on 27 Shawwāl 960/6 October 1553, when Sulaymān witnessed the execution of his brilliant and popular eldest son in camp at Eregli near Konya. To pacify the infuriated army Rüstem Pasha was dismissed at once and Ḳarā Aḥmad Pasha [*q.v.*] appointed Grand Vizier .Djihāngīr, proceeding with his father on the Persian campaign, died of pleurisy at Aleppo on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 960/29 November 1553. A few weeks later Muṣṭafā's son Meḥemmed, born at Amasya in 953/1546, was executed at Bursa. His death also is attributed to Khurrem's plots, as is the execution in office of Ḳarā Aḥmad Pasha on 13 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 962/29 September 1555 and the immediate reinstatement of Rüstem Pasha. He and Khurrem plotted for the succession to pass to Bāyezīd, the younger but abler of Sulaymān's surviving sons, but neither of them lived to see the end of the struggle between the two brothers which resulted in Bāyezīd's execution in Persia at Selīm's instigation on 25 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 969/23 July 1562. Barbarigo tells us (Albèri, iii/3, 148) that in her last years Khurrem would not allow Sulaymān out of her sight; both infirm, they spent the winter of 965/1557-8 in Edirne together, and she returned to die in Istanbul in April. She is buried in her mausoleum, built by Sinān beside Sulaymān's near the Süleymāniyye mosque. Due largely to her intrigues Selīm, Sulaymān's least worthy son, remained alone to succeed his father.

A number of Khurrem's letters exist. Seven letters to Sulaymān, written between 1526-53, published in modern Turkish transcription in Uluçay, *Osmanlı sultanlarına aşk mektupları*, Istanbul 1950, are preserved in the Archives of the Topkapı Sarayı Museum as TKS Arşivi nos. E. 5038, 5662, 5859, 5926, 6036, 6056, 11480. In 1548 and 1549 she and Mihr-i Māh wrote to Sigismund Augustus of Poland; the originals are in Warsaw, AGAD, Arch. Kor., Dz. turecki, teczka 110, nos. 218, 219, 221, 222: French translations by Askenazy, *Listy Roxolany*, in *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, x (1896), 113-7. A correspondence with Persia ensued over the building of the Süleymāniyye mosque, with Khurrem answering Shāh Tahmāsp's wife's letter of good wishes to her in 962/1555 (reference to copies in Hammer-Purgstall's Ms. in *GOR*, ix, 375: items 499, 500) and the Shāh's sister's letter of congratulations after the completion in 964/1557; published in Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*², ii, 63-6. There are many deeds of gift made by Sulaymān to Khurrem; see, for example, Heyd, *Ottoman documents*, Oxford 1960, 143, and *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman sergisi*, Istanbul 1958, nos. 71, 90, 102, 125. Some examples of embroidery said to be Khurrem's work are preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum and the Türk İslâm Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul.

Khurrem's fame spread through Europe in her lifetime. It is unlikely that she ever sat for a portrait, but several portraits of her exist. In Topkapı Sarayı there is an oil painting (see cover of Uluçay, *Aşk mektupları*), made from the engraving in Boissard, *Vitae et icones sultanorum*, Frankfurt 1596, and two other portraits (see Uluçay, 7, 20). Sokolnicki, *La Sultane Ruthène*, in *Belleten*, xxiii, 1959, 229-39, lists further portraits in Florence, Venice and Vienna, the latter bearing the same inscription as Uluçay, 20, and probably identical to it. There is a fine engraving of her by Melchior Lorich in *Turckische Figuren* (see Rouillard, *The Turk*, Paris 1938, plate 23). Khurrem's story inspired drama and literature in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, including two French plays, *La Sultane*, Paris 1561, and *Roxelane*, Paris 1643; see Rouillard, *The Turk*, 421-66, and Chew, *The Crescent*, New York 1937, 497-503.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the text): Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, iii, 283-4, 314, 317, 350, 672-3, 706, 728-30, 736; Zinkeisen, iii, 24-43; Albèri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti* Ser. iii, Firenze 1840-55, i, 29, 74-9, 115-7, 203: iii, 101-2, 148-9; M. T. Gökbilgin, *İA* art. *Hurrem Sultan*; *Busbequii omnia quae extant*, Basel 1740, 41, 44-5, 48-52, 72, 112-21, 169; Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New Haven 1931, 86-95; Ahmet Refik (Altınay), *Kadınlar saltanatı*, i, Istanbul 1332, 38-93; Uluçay, *Osmanli sultanlarina aşk mektupları*, Istanbul 1950, 5-47; idem, *Kanunı Sultan Süleyman ve ailesi ilgili bazı notlar ve vesikalar*, in *Kanunı armağanı*, Ankara 1970, 227-57; Turan, *Kanunnin oğlu Şehzâde Bayezid vak'asi*, Ankara 1961; Meric, *Mimar Sinan hayatı, eseri*, i, Ankara 1965; Kuran, *Mimar Sinan'in ilk eseri*, in *Belleten*, xxxvii (1973), 533-43; Öz, *İstanbul camileri*, 2 vols., Ankara 1962-5; N. Taşkıran, *Hasekinin kitabı*, Istanbul 1972. (S. A. Skilliter)

KHURSĀBĀD, a village situated 36° 40′ N. and 43° 10′ E. in the plain 17 km. to the north-east of Mosul, in the *muḥāfaẓa* of al-Mawṣil. It is the site of the ancient Assyrian royal city Dūr Shar-

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rukin, "The Fortress of Sargon". The earliest excavations there were undertaken by Paul Emile Botta in 1843 when he was the French Consul at Mosul, and he has been described by Parrot as "the first systematic excavator of a Near Eastern site". He himself described his work in a series of letters which he wrote after each important find and he carefully copied all the inscriptions he discovered, although at that time Akkadian was still an undeciphered language. Victor Place continued the excavation of the site from 1852-5, but then it was abandoned until G. Loud worked there on behalf of the Oriental Institute of Chicago for eight seasons from 1927-35. Since then a number of stone reliefs from the palace, including two famous colossal bulls, have been removed to the Iraq National Musuem in Baghdad (1938, 1943) and the Directorate-General of Antiquities of Iraq resumed excavations for a short period in 1957.

Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) built the city between 717 and 707 when he moved the centre of his administration from Kalkhu (modern Birs Nimrūd), and the city is a model of Assyrian town-planning. It has seven fortified gates and the early excavations revealed the rooms of the palace and the houses of the palace officials. There are a number of shrines to various deities (called by Botta the Harem) and a ziggurat (which Botta described as an observatory). The later American excavation discovered the temple of Nabu who, with his consort Tashmetum, was a god of vegetation and recently it has been suggested by Postgate that the fertility ritual of the sacred marriage was performed in this building. The entrance to the palace was flanked by a pair of massive, winged, human headed bulls (as in other Assyrian cities) and the walls were decorated with detailed reliefs of battle scenes and festival processions. A number of glazed brick panels have also been recovered from the site and chemical analysis of the blue glazes derived from copper suggests that lead was being used as a flux, a technique that was forgotten but later re-developed.

Cuneiform inscriptions show that the city was completed just before Sargon died. It was during his eighth military campaign, on which he plundered towns and villages in north-western Iran, that he was ambushed and killed (705 B.C.) and his corpse was left unburied as "food for the birds of prey". The priests seem to have interpreted this final humiliation as a sign of divine punishment, and his son Sennacherib abandoned the city and turned his attention to the rebuilding of Nineveh, which remained the capital of Assyria until the empire was overthrown in 612 B.C. The most important document for historical research which has been discovered at the site is a list of the names of the kings of Assyria together with the length of their reigns as far back as Irishum I (1852-1813). Although there are inconsistencies of detail between this list and the King list from Asshur [see ASHŪR] in Suppl. and the records of astronomical observations, it does provide the basic framework for the study of Assyrian history.

The palace is built on a raised platform and planned around an open courtyard which was accessible to the public. This gave access to an inner courtyard which seems to have been reserved for those in special positions of authority. The throne room was approached from the inner courtyard through a triple doorway flanked by monumental sculptures. A staircase led from the throne room to the private living rooms. Because of the absence of any relief carving in the throne room it has been suggested that this was originally decorated with mural paintings but no traces have survived.

Sargon had the construction of the city described in detail on the pavement stones in the palace gates with these words: "[the king] built the city at the foot of Mount Musri above Nineveh and named it Dur Sharrukin. He erected palaces of ivory, maple, boxwood, mulberry, cedar, cypress, juniper, pine and terebinth as his royal dwelling place. In front of the gates he built a portico, as in a Hittite palace, which in the Amorite language is called a *bit ḫilāni*." It is particularly interesting to note that he received inspiration for at least one architectural detail from his western expedition.

When the site was first discovered, Botta thought he had found the much more famous city of Nineveh, for he was so astounded by the size and obvious splendour of the ancient city. Layard raised objections to this identification because he thought it was too far away from the Tigris. Neither of them appeared to know the traditional identification in Arabic historical sources; Yāḳūt describes the village as the site of an ancient city called Ṣarʿūn, which probably reflects an earlier corruption of Ṣarghūn.

When excavations began, E. Flandin was sent by the French government to copy the sculptures which had been found. It was identified with Dur Sharrukin after the inscriptions of its founding king had been translated. He had had it built as a strategic defence against the troublesome Cimmerian attacks from the north and had cobbled the main exit roads so that his troops could be transported efficiently with their supplies. The ancient walls surround an area of 320 hectares with the citadel occupying 20 hectares. Yāḳūt mentions that the village of his day (which he refers to as Khurustābād) had good irrigation. The modern village supports a small population (the average density of the area is 29.5 persons per km.²) situated on the eastern bank of the river Khawsar at the northern end of the Djabal Maḳlūb.

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(M. E. J. RICHARDSON)

KHURSHĪD, *ispahbadh* [*q.v.*] of the Dabūyid line in Ṭabaristān. It was long believed that there were two Khurshīds, because of errors in interpreting coin legends; Mordtmann, in *SB Bayr. Ak.* (1871), 30, 36, dated three coins of this prince to the years 70, 60 and 64 of the Ṭabaristān era, and this led people to posit the existence of a Khurshīd I who reigned 50-60 T. and a Khurshīd II who reigned 88-116 T. (idem, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 110, cited by Unvala, p. 8, § 5, p. 30, § 11). He was followed by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 132, who also read 64 T. on a coin which

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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he attributed to Khurshīd I, who must in his opinion have reigned 60-4 T. Vasmer, in *EI*¹ art. MĀZANDARĀN was the first to perceive this false reading, which he explained by the resemblance between *shast* = 60 and *dahsat* = 110 in the Pahlavi script. Accordingly, Vasmer dated the coins to 110 and 114 T., instead of 60 and 64 T., and he therefore denied the existence of two Khurshīds, especially as the local sources make no mention of a Khurshīd I. Unvala, p. 7, § 4, p. 8, § 5, p. 30, § 11, confirmed Vasmer's conclusions, and remarked that the coins of the alleged Khurshīd I are absolutely identical with those which Mordtmann attributed to Khurshīd II. As for the bronze coin dated by Mordtmann (*ZDMG*, xix, 474, No. 170) to the year 70 T. and attributed to Khurshīd I, Vasmer corrects this false reading to 107 T. (*EI*¹, *loc. cit.*). Unvala (p. 9, § 16, coin No. 800 in his catalogue) confirms Vasmer's dating, and observes that to date the coins to 64 and 70 T. and attribute them to Khurshīd I would interrupt in an inexplicable fashion the series of coins issued by Farrukhān the Great (60-79 T.). One must thus cease speaking of two Khurshīds, as does Spuler in *EI*² art. DĀBŪYA.

The *ispahbadh* Khurshīd is therefore the last Dabūyid prince, who reigned in Ṭabaristān 89-110 T./123-44 A.H./740-61 A.D. according to his coins, which corresponds closely with the information of local chroniclers. In fact, Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 40, gives him a reign of 13 years, to which should be added 8 years of the regency of his paternal uncle Sārūya (Ibn Isfandiyār, 113). But elsewhere (319), he gives him a reign of 51 years, which cannot even be given credence as an indication of his age. Al-Ṭabarī, iii, 140, states that Khurshīd was still young when his father Dādhburzmir died. According to Ibn Isfandiyār, *loc. cit.*, Dādhburzmir's brother Sārūya acted as regent for 8 years, but his sons wanted to keep the throne in their own line, hence plotted against their cousin Khurshīd, who had reached his majority. The latter managed to defeat them and recovered his throne (*ibid.*, 113-14). He was a real petty king, with a personal guard, an army and representatives in the various districts of Ṭabaristān (*ibid.*, 114-16). He even sent an embassy to the Chinese court of the T'ang, in *ca.* 746 (Abel-Rémusat, i, 254, ii, 166-49): "In the fifth year Tian-pao, the king Hu-lu-han sent an embassy to the Imperial Court and received in exchange the title of King of Kuei-Sin" (submission to vassalage). These royal pretensions explain his rebellion under the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II (127-32/744-50; cf. Balādhurī, 338), but he had to submit to Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī in 131/749 (Ṭabarī, ii, 2016). After al-Manṣūr's execution of Abū Muslim in 137/755, Sunbādh revolted and entrusted to Khurshīd part of the treasures of Abū Muslim (Ṭabarī, iii, 86, 119; Niẓām al-Mulk, tr. Schefer, 267-8, tr. Darke, 212). After his defeat, Sunbādh sought refuge in Ṭabaristān, but Khurshīd had him killed by his cousin, in order to get his hands on the rest of Abū Muslim's treasures (Ibn Isfandiyār, 117-18). The caliph al-Manṣūr had to send his son al-Mahdī to Rayy to recover Abū Muslim's property (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 369; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 312, 314). Khurshīd refused to send his son as a hostage, but had to pay a heavier tribute, at the level paid to the Sāsānids (Ibn Isfandiyār, 118).

This submission did not last long, since he took advantage of the rebellion of ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, governor of Khurāsān, to cut off tribute in 141/758 (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 309-10; Balʿamī, iv, 380). This time, the caliph decided to finish once and for all with his vassal's insubordination and to annex his principality. His army invaded Ṭabaristān and they made contact with each other without fighting, forcing Khurshīd to take to the mountains, where he shut himself up in the fortress of al-Ṭāḳ (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 310). A long siege followed, but the place was finally captured in 142/759-60. Khurshīd managed to flee for refuge in Daylam (Ibn al-Athīr, v, 387; Ibn Isfandiyār, 121), but his family fell into the hands of the Muslims and were sent to the ʿAbbāsid court (Balādhurī, 339; Ṭabarī, iii, 136-7, 139-49). There is great confusion over the names of these captive princesses, and certain chroniclers identify them with the daughters of the *maṣmughān* of Dunbāwand and not with Khurshīd's family (Vasmer, 91, 100-1). However, various of this prince's daughters became concubines of al-Manṣūr, his brother al-ʿAbbās, and al-Mahdī, who had a son of al-Bakhtariyya (or al-Buḥturiyya, according to Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 193) called al-Manṣūr. It was al-Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī who refused the caliphate, as offered to him by the people of Baghdād in 201/817, after the choice of the ʿAlid ʿAlī al-Riḍā as al-Maʾmūn's heir-presumptive. He merely agreed to become governor of ʿIrāḳ for al-Maʾmūn (Ṭabarī, iii, 1001, 1005-6). Another of Khurshīd's daughters, usually named as Shakla, also became the concubine of al-Mahdī (Ṭabarī, iii, 140; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 314). She gave him a son, Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], sc. the anti-caliph of 201-4/817-19, who accepted his acclamation by the Baghdād populace after his half-brother al-Manṣūr's refusal. All this shows that one cannot set up against each other, in a simplistic fashion, the son of the "Persian concubine" (al-Maʾmūn) and the son of the "Arab princess" (al-Amīn), since the ʿIrāḳīs did not hesitate in 201/817 to set up the son of a Persian concubine (al-Manṣūr and then Ibrāhīm) against the son of another Persian concubine (al-Maʾmūn), who was moreover the very nephew of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī.

Khurshīd gathered an army in Daylam and Gīlān and in 143/760 tried to regain his principality (Ṭabarī, iii, 141-2), but meeting no success, killed himself the following year (Balʿamī, iv, 381; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 314). His son, who was on an embassy to China, learnt of the annexation of Ṭabaristān, as recorded in the Chinese annals: "He was honoured by the title of supernumerary officer-general, and awarded a purple cloak and a golden fish. Whilst he was staying in the capital, the black-robed Arabs conquered his lands" (Abel-Rémusat, i, 254). The other local dynasties of Ṭabaristān (the Bāwandids [*q.v.*] of Mount Sharwīn, the Ḳārinids [*q.v.*] of Mount Ḳārin and the Zarmihrids of Miyāndurūd) were kept as tributaries under the oversight of ʿAbbāsid governors resident at Āmul. These last continued to mint coins with Khurshīd's name till 114 T. (he having killed himself in 110 T.), which has led many historians to think that Khurshīd reigned till 115 T. The first extant coin minted in the name of an ʿAbbāsid governor is that of Rawḥ b. Ḥātim in 147/764 (cited by H. Gaube, *Arabosasanidische Numismatik*, Brunswick 1973, 124; it will be published shortly by R. Curiel, of the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibl. Nat. in Paris).

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AL-KHURṬŪM (Khartum, Khartoum), a city at the confluence of the Blue and White Niles, now the capital of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan. The name is said to be derived from the resemblance of the site to an elephant's trunk. At the time of the Turco-Egyptian invasion (1821), Khartum was a small village, the residence of a holy man. It was chosen as the military and administrative headquarters of the conquered territories by the governor, ʿUthmān Bey Djarkas, in 1824. With the extension of Turco-Egyptian rule, the pacification of the Sudan, and the opening-up of the Equatorial Nile and Baḥr al-Ghazāl [*q.v.*], Khartum developed into a flourishing town with a heterogeneous population, which included European traders, consular officials and Catholic missionaries. After the outbreak of the Mahdist revolt, the defence of Khartum was assumed by the governor-general, C. G. Gordon Pasha (General Gordon), a British subject in the khedivial service. The town, which had been under close siege from October 1884, fell to the Mahdī on 26 January 1885, Gordon being among the slain. During the Mahdist period, the capital was transferred to Omdurman (Umm Durmān), on the left bank of the Nile below the confluence, and Khartum was abandoned, apart from the dockyard (*al-tarsāna*), where the steamers of the Mahdist state were maintained, and the gardens, which became a source of revenue. After the defeat of the Khalīfa ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] at Karārī in September 1898 by Anglo-Egyptian forces, the restoration of Khartum was begun by Kitchener, the *serdār* and governor-general. Although again the administrative centre and the principal place of residence for Europeans, Khartum did not equal Omdurman in extent or population during the Condominium (1899-1955). Together with Omdurman and Khartum North it forms a conurbation known as "the Three Towns" (*al-Mudun al-Thalāth*).

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KHŪRYĀN-MŪRYĀN, a group of islands in the bay of the same name on the south coast of Arabia, lying along latitude 17° 30′ N between longitudes 55° 30′ and 56° 30′ E. The islands, principally of granite and limestone formation, are the peaks of a submarine ridge. From west to east they are Ḥāsikiyya, Sawdā, Ḥallāniyya, Ḳarzawt and Djubayla. Ḥallāniyya is both the largest (about 8 miles long and 23 in circumference) and the only inhabited island of the group. At its centre it rises to a peak some 1,500 feet above sea-level. Its vegetation is scanty: only a few marine shrubs, some scattered tamarisks and occasional mimosas relieve the monotony of the landscape. The water is brackish, the best being obtained from a couple of wells sunk by a RAF survey party in 1963. Sawdā, the second largest island (3 miles long), is equally barren, though it was once inhabited. So also, apparently, was Djubayla, to judge from a few tombs on the island. Djubayla and Ḥāsikiyya, the westernmost island, lying only 20 miles from the mainland, are the haunts of thousands of seabirds, including pelicans and goosanders.

The Khūryān-Mūryān Islands were early identified with the so-called seven successive islands of Zenobios, and as such they marked the frontier between the kingdom of the Parthians and the kingdom of Ḥaḍramawt. From this it would appear that the Parthian frontier should be located in the innermost corner of Khūryān-Mūryān Bay. Over the centuries the inhospitality of the islands has forced their inhabitants to seek their livelihood from the sea. In the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] records that the islanders, who were then politically under al-Shiḥr, were very poor in winter and only managed to make a moderate living in the sailing season. They used to sail to ʿUmān, Aden and the Yemen. Their main source of revenue was tortoise shell, which they traded to the Yemenīs, and occasionally very beautiful amber, for which they sometimes got very high prices. Al-Idrīsī calls the bay containing the islands Djawn al-Ḥashīsh (Bay of Herbs). The Khūryān-Mūryān Islands in their turn were frequented by Arabs from Shiḥr and Mukallā in the Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and from Ḥudayda in the Yemen, to dig guano from Ḥāsikiyya and Djubayla Islands, where the seabirds down the centuries had left rich deposits. The guano was used as agricultural fertiliser, especially in the cultivation of tobacco.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans in modern times to record the existence of the Khūryān-Mūryān Islands. Affonso d'Albuquerque discovered them in 1503, and they appear thereafter in Portuguese sources as the Curia-Muria Islands, with Ḥāsikiyya as Asquié, Sawdā as Sodié and Ḳarzawt as Rodondo. Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*] from Ra's al-Khayma descended upon the islands in 1818, possibly with the intention of using them as a base for attacks upon shipping. The local inhabitants were driven or carried off and the islands remained unpopulated for several years afterwards. Sometime before or, more probably, after this incursion (the sources are unclear) the islands came into the possession of a sub-section of the Māḥrā tribe, the Ibn Khalfān, residing in the vicinity of Mirbāṭ on the coast of Dhufār (Ẓufār [*q.v.*]). It is from this clan that the islands have derived the name by which they are known to the Arabs of southern Arabia—Djazāʾir bin Khalfān. By the middle of the 13th/19th century—and possibly a decade or so earlier—the islands had become a dependency of the sultanate of Masḳaṭ. French planters from Réunion Islands occasionally resorted to the islands to load guano for use as fertiliser, and it was the existence of these valuable deposits that led the British government in 1854 to ask the Sulṭān of Masḳaṭ, Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭan, to cede the islands to Great Britain. The deed of cession was signed on 14 July 1854 and the guano deposits were worked from 1857 to 1859. A cable station was set up on Ḥallāniyya Island in 1861, only to be abandoned a year later when the Red Sea-Karachi cable proved unworkable.

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From 1854 onwards, the Khūryān-Mūryān Islands were formally designated a dependency of the British colony of Aden, although administrative control over them was vested in the British political resident in the Persian Gulf, since it was more practicable for the British political agent at Masḳaṭ to visit them than it was for the political resident (later governor) at Aden. When British rule over Aden ceased on 30 November 1967, the islands were handed back to the Sulṭān of Masḳaṭ, despite the protests of the Aden successor government, the People's Republic of South Yemen, that it was entitled to succeed to sovereignty over all the dependencies of the former colony. Since that time the islands have been administered as part of the *wilāya* of Dhufār of the sultanate of ʿUmān. Ḥallāniyya Island is still populated, the number of inhabitants having remained fairly constant over the past century—36 in 1883, 50 in 1936, 70 in 1947 and 53 in 1976. They still derive their living from the sea, and especially from the great shoals of sardines which appear off the islands in late October each year, at the end of the south-west monsoon. Of late, foodstuffs and medical treatment provided by the ʿUmānī authorities in Salāla have gone some way to alleviate the rigours of the islanders' existence.

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(A. GROHMANN-[J. B. KELLY])

KHUSDĀR [see KALĀT]

AL-KHUSHANĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤĀRITH, Mālikī faḳīh and biographer, originally from Khushan near Ḳayrawān. After studying *fiḳh* at the latter place and at Tunis, he left his homeland *ca.* 311/923, passing through Ceuta, where he was held back some time by teaching (he is said also to have corrected the orientation of the mosque there), and travelling to Spain. He resided in the Marches, and completed his legal training, especially from Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh [*q.v.*], and ended up by enjoying the favour of the heir to the throne, prince al-Ḥakam, who procured for him the job of *ḳāḍī* of inheritances (*mawārith*) at Pechina, then that of the *shūrā* of Cordoba and after that, summoned him to his own side. He was something of a poet (though accused of committing faults here), and was considered to have a certain manual dexterity and to practise alchemy; he seems also to have acquired some medical expertise which allowed him, after his disgrace following al-Ḥakam's death in 366/976, to live by making up electuaries (*adhān*). He is said to have died in 371/981, but this date is not accepted by all his biographers, who however knew very little information about the last years of his life.

Al-Khushanī is credited with a hundred or so works and treatises composed at al-Ḥakam's behest, who was, as is well-known, a great lover of books. Amongst the titles cited here figure *al-Ittifāḳ wa 'l-ikhtilāf fī madhhab Mālik*, *al-Taḥāṣur wa 'l-mughālāt*, *al-Futyā*, *al-Taʿrīf*, *al-Mawlid wa 'l-wafāt*, *al-Nasab* and *al-Iḳtibās*, which do not seem to have survived. His fame, however, rests on his biographical works. As well as a *Taʾrīkh ʿUlamāʾ al-Andalus* and a *K. Fuḳahāʾ al-Mālikiyya*, which are no longer extant, al-Khushanī left two collections of especial interest. The first one which one thinks of is his *T. Ḳuḍāt al-Andalus*, ed. and tr. into Spanish by Ribera, Madrid 1914. Basing himself on written sources, archives and oral traditions, the author traces the biographies of the *ḳāḍī*s of al-Andalus from the conquest till 357/968, in a lively and instructive manner; and if he lacks a critical spirit in relaying, for instance, the fictitious story of the first three judges in Cordoba, he nevertheless does not omit items of information which are sometimes unfavourable to the Umayyads.

The second work which has been preserved, the *Ṭabaḳāt ʿulamāʾ Ifrīḳiya*, has been published by M. Ben Cheneb in his *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīḳiya*, Algiers 1915-20, as a continuation of the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Abu 'l-ʿArab [*q.v.*]. These *Ṭabaḳāt*, which the *ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] utilises freely in his *Madārik* under the title of *Taʾrīkh al-Ifrīḳiyyīn*, calling the author in familiar fashion Ibn Ḥārith, contain biographies of scholars who did not belong to the Mālikī school, and most remarkably, of converts to Shīʿism established in Ifrīḳiya by the Fāṭimids. It is the opinion of R. Brunschvig (*Un aspect de la littérature historico-géographique de l'Islam*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 150-1) that this exile, unable to come to terms with the doctrine imposed upon his native land, may have written this work at the demand of al-Ḥakam, who was eager to know about the situation there; in this respect, the *Ṭabaḳāt* are interesting for the information which they give on the Fāṭimids, but the author, far from being impartial, paints a gloomy picture of the *ʿulamāʾ* who remained behind in Ifrīḳiya and were compelled, according to his view, to rally to the new masters, either out of financial cupidity or from fear of persecution.

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(CH. PELLAT)

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KHUSHḤĀL KHĀN KHAṬAK, Pashtun poet and a warrior chieftain (1022-1100/1613-89), Khushḥāl Khān is recognised as the national poet of the Pashtūns.

1. Life. Son of Shah-bāz Khan and grandson of Yaḥyā Khān who, in turn, was the son of Malik Akōṛay, leader of a clan of the Khaṭak [*q.v.*], the boy Khushḥāl accompanied his father in tribal wars. After his father's death in a tribal battle, Khushḥāl succeeded him as *khān* or chieftain, and was recognized as such by Shāh Djahān, the Mughal Emperor. Khushḥāl served Shāh-Djahān in his army's campaigns in Balkh and Badakhshān in 1055/1645, but later, in the time of the Emperor Aurangzīb, the governor of Kābul aligned himself, along with some of Khushḥāl's uncles and cousins, against Khushḥāl. In 1074/1664, Khushḥāl, then 51 years old, was summoned by the governor to Peshāwar, where he was arrested and dispatched in chains to a fortress in Djaypūr. He was released two years later, but was not allowed to return home until 1080/1669. For the rest of his life, his sympathies rested with the rebel Pashtūn tribes. In his poems he preached unity of the Afghān tribes to resist Mughal domination. Khushḥāl greatly admired the Afrīdī chieftain Daryā Khān, who defeated the Mughal army at Landī Kōtal in the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR Pass] in 1083/1672, while leading a confederation of Afrīdī and Muhmand tribesmen. Accompanied by one of his loyal sons, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Khaṭak, Khushḥāl fought and defeated the Bangash tribe, which supported Mughal rule. He also had to fight his third son, Bahrām, whom the Mughals sponsored in attempts to replace Khushḥāl as chieftain. In 1085/1674, he voluntarily relinquished his chieftainship to his eldest son, Ashraf, also a poet who was later (1044/1683) jailed by the Mughals. Khushḥāl declared himself a rebel and spent rest of his life with Afrīdī friends in the inaccessible eyries of Tīrāh, a zone "never effectively occupied by any government in all history". He travelled from tribal area to tribal area, seeking assistance and refuge. He was relentlessly pursued by his treacherous son, Bahrām, but evaded capture and died in the Afrīdī country in 1100/1689. The armed resistance which he encouraged by his pen and emphasised by his sword is "to be counted among the causes that brought about the dramatic collapse of the Mogul Empire in India" (Sir Olaf Caroe).

2. Literary Works. Khushḥāl, a prolific poet, constantly chanted his love of beauty, honour, and justice. As part of his opposition to Aurangzīb and his forces, Khushḥāl preached union of all Afghān tribes and encouraged revolt against Mughal rule:

> "My sword I gird upon my thigh
> To guard Afghān honour and fame:
> Its champion in this age am I,
> The Khaṭak Khān, Khushḥāl my name".

Khushḥāl also celebrates his successes and laments his subsequent misfortunes. He chastises those Pashtūns who accept gold rather than give battle to the Mughals.

As well as poetry, he wrote manuals on falconry, folk medicine, a dialogue between the pen and the sword, an account of his imprisonment and exile, and a geography of Swāt. "His lyrics and epics, alike present his religious devotion, occasionally in mystic terms, his patriotic feelings, his moral code, his many loves in object or joyful mood, and many other subjects" (D. N. MacKenzie). Khushḥāl rightly claims to be the originator of Pashtō poetic form and metre, but it must be remembered that he had a predecessor, Mīrzā Anṣārī. Both these early Pashtō poets used the Darī or Persian poetic mould, but instead of strictly applying the classical rules of prosody to Pashtō, they adopted the metres of popular Pashtō songs to verse forms known in Persian. "This metre is syllabic in nature, but the pattern is made by the stress usually recurring on every fourth syllable" (MacKenzie).

Khushḥāl further left many *ghazal*s in Persian under the pen-name of Rūḥī, and a Persian *ḳaṣīda* or ode on the futility of this world in same metre as the *Baḥr al-abrār* of Amīr-Khusraw Dihlawī; this Persian poetry is amongst the best of that written in the so-called *Sabk-i Hind* or "Indian style".

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(RAVAN FARHADI)

KHUSHḲADAM, AL-MALIK AL-ẒĀHIR ABŪ SAʿĪD SAYF AL-DĪN AL-NĀṢIRĪ AL-MUʾAYYADĪ, Mamluk sultan of the Burdjīs (regn. 19 Ramaḍān 865 - 10 Rabīʿ I 872/22 June 1461 - 9 October 1467). By origin a Rūmī (i.e. perhaps a Greek, but the term had a wide range of meanings), he was born *ca.* 815/1413. Brought as a boy to Egypt by the slave-merchant Khʷādjā Nāṣir al-Dīn, he was purchased by the sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, whence his two *nisbas*. He rose through the grades of promotion of the Royal Mamlūks as *khāṣṣakī*, *sāḳī* and *amīr*, finally succeeding al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad b. Īnāl as *atābak al-ʿasākir* in Egypt when the latter became sultan in Djumādā I 865/Feb. 1461. The *atābakiyya* was at this time the highest in rank of the great offices of state, but had no specific functions; its holder was also styled *amīr kabīr*, i.e. the senior *amīr*. The reign of al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad was soon disturbed by the intrigues of Djānim al-Ashrafī, the governor of Damascus, who sought to usurp the sultanate with the support of his *khushdāshiyya*, the Ashrafiyya, i.e. the Mamlūk household of al-Ashraf Barsbāy [*q.v.*]. The Ashrafiyya were at first opposed by their rivals, the Ẓāhiriyya, i.e. the household of al-Ẓāhir Čaḳmaḳ [*q.v.*], whose chief Djānibak al-Ẓāhirī (formerly governor of Djudda) skilfully won the agreement of the two factions to the deposition of al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad and the installation of Khushḳadam as a compromise candidate until the arrival of Djānim from Syria. Since Khushḳadam was not of "the Nation" (*al-djins*, i.e. not a Circassian), it would be easy to depose him at will. Thus Djānibak alleged, but he rightly calculated that once Khushḳadam was recognised as sultan, he would be difficult to oust. He was accordingly proclaimed, and his supporters captured the Citadel of Cairo with little resistance, al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad being arrested and sent to imprisonment in Alexandria.

The new sultan was thus faced at the outset with both an over-mighty kingmaker and a powerful rival. Djānibak, who was appointed *dawādār kabīr* (a great office of state of growing importance in the later Circassian period), was at first the effective ruler (*mudabbir al-mamlaka*). When Djānim al-Ashrafī advanced to Khānḳāh Siryāḳūs, north of Cairo, Djānibak succeeded in obtaining an oath of loyalty to the new sultan from him, and Djānim returned, loaded with gifts, to Damascus (Shawwāl 865/July 1461). Some months later, Djānim was removed from office, and fled to Uzun Ḥasan of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] in Ṣafar 866/Nov. 1461. With a force of Mamlūks and Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Turcomans, he subsequently crossed the Euphrates and advanced to Tall Bāshir (Shawwāl 866/July 1462), but the invasion came to nothing, and in the following winter he was killed in Edessa. The sultan was now strong enough to procure the murder of Djānibak (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 867/August 1463); an event which was followed by the arrest of leading members of the Ẓāhiriyya faction. Khushḳadam's coup against the Ẓāhiriyya was, however, abruptly halted, probably because of a conspiracy against him in his own Mamlūk household. A reconciliation was effected through Ḳāyitbāy al-Ẓāhirī (the future sultan), and the offices and *iḳṭāʿs* of the Ẓāhiriyya were restored.

There were no major foreign developments during the reign. Suzerainty was maintained over King James of Cyprus (who had been installed with the help of a Mamlūk contingent sent by al-Ashraf Īnāl [*q.v.*] in 864/1460), although in a clash between the king and the sultan's resident in Cyprus, the latter was killed, and Famagusta, which he had held, passed into the king's possession (868/1464). Another vassal-state, the march-principality of Ilbistan [*q.v.*] under the Turcoman dynasty of Dulghādir (Dhu 'l-Ḳadr [*q.v.*]), was disturbed by a succession-struggle following the murder of its ruler, Malik Arslān, in 870/1465. Two pretenders, Shāh-Budaḳ and Rustum, successively backed by Khushḳadam, failed to hold their position against a third Dulghādirid, Shāh-Suwār, who had Ottoman support and at the end of the sultan's reign was threatening northern Syria. Khushḳadam sent orders to the governors of Tripoli and Ḥamāh to assist Aleppo, and made provisional arrangements for an expeditionary force from Egypt (Muḥarram 872/August 1467). There are some indications of a resurgence of Arab tribal power during the reign. Five expeditions were launched between 866/1462 and 869/1465 against the Labīd tribe of al-Buḥayra; while a few months before the sultan's death, he sent a punitive force against Shaykh Mubārak of Banū ʿUḳba, who had plundered the provisions for the pilgrims in the vicinity of Ayla. One of his last acts was to approve an expedition to Upper Egypt, where the *kāshif* had been defeated in a fight with Yūnus b. ʿUmar, the chief of the powerful tribe of Hawwāra [*q.v.*]. The sultan died a few days later. Shortly before his death, an assembly of magnates had elected the *atābak* Yalbāy al Īnālī al Muʾayyadī to succeed him.

Bibliography: Contemporary memoirs of the reign are given by (1) Ibn Taghrībirdī in *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo edn., xvi, 253-355; California edn. by W. Popper, vii, 685-821; tr. W. Popper, *History of Egypt 1382-1469 A.D.*, vii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1960, 32-123; also W. Popper (ed.), *Extracts from ... Ibn Taghrī Birdī's ... Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, iii, Berkeley 1932, 398-602; (2) Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, ii, ed. Mohamed Mostafa, Wiesbaden, 1972, 378-458.

(P. M. HOLT)

KHUSRAW [see ANŪSHIRWĀN, AMĪR KHUSRAW, KHOSREW, KISRĀ, PARWĪZ].

KHUSRAW FĪRŪZ, name of the last Būyid ruler, better known by his *laḳab* of al-Malik al-Raḥīm. He succeeded his father Abū Kālīdjār in ʿIrāḳ in 440/1048. Most of his reign was spent in disputing with his brother Fulādh Sūtūn the possession of Fārs and Khūzistān and in trying to maintain discipline amongst the Turkish troops of his general al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*]. There is no discernible doctrinal reason for his adoption, in defiance of the caliph, of an epithet reserved for God. In any case, the enfeeblement of the Būyid dynasty allowed the caliph in question, al-Ḳāʾim, to recover a certain amount of political authority, seen in the appointment once more of a vizier to the caliph, Ibn al-Muslima [*q.v.*]. A group within the caliphate, in which Ibn al-Muslima was a driving force, hoped to throw off the Būyid tutelage as the Sunnī sultan, the Saldjūḳ Toghril Beg approached, at the invitation also of Fulādh Sūtūn. In 448/1055 Toghril entered Baghdād, after having promised to respect al-Malik al-Raḥīm's position as his vassal, but a rebellion gave him a pretext to arrest the Būyid ruler, and the latter died two years later in prison at Rayy.

Bibliography: See the main histories of the period, and especially Ibn al-Djawzī's *Muntaẓam*, Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* and Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī's *Mirʾāt*; H. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, in *JRAS* (1928);

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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and in general, the bibliography to BUWAYHIDS, to which should be added, H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969. (CL. CAHEN)

KHUSRAW MALIK [see GHAZNAWIDS].

KHUSRAW PASHA [see KHOSREW PASHA].

KHUSRAW SHĀH [see GHAZNAWIDS].

KHUSRAW SULṬĀN, eldest son of the Mughal emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] by the daughter of Rādjā Bhagwān Dās, was born at Lahore in 995/1587. He was a favourite with his grandfather, Akbar, who perhaps wanted to make him his successor. He rebelled against his father in the first year of the latter's reign (sc. in 1015/1606), was defeated and imprisoned. He made a second conspiracy in Afghānistān, and this having been detected, he was, with one interval, kept in confinement for the rest of his life. He died at Asīrgaṛh near Burhānpūr in the Deccan in 1031/1622, in suspicious circumstances, and was in all probability murdered by Shāh Djahān. His sister had his body buried in the Khusraw Bāgh at Allāhābād. His two sons, Dāwar Bakhsh, otherwise Bulāķī, and Garshāsp, were put to death at Shāh Djahān's accession.

Bibliography: The principal source is the *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*; see also the bibliography to DJAHĀNGĪR. (H. BEVERIDGE)

KHUSŪF [see KUSŪF].

KHUṬBA (A.), sermon, address by the *khaṭīb* [*q.v.*]. The *khuṭba* has a fixed place in Islamic ritual, viz. in the Friday-service, in the celebration of the two festivals, in services held at particular occasions such as an eclipse or excessive drought. On the Friday it precedes the *ṣalāt*, in all the other services the *ṣalāt* comes first. A short description of the rules for the *khuṭba* according to al-Shīrāzī (*Tanbīh*, ed. Juynboll, 40), one of the early Shāfi'ī doctors [*q.v.*], may be given here.

(a.) One of the conditions for the validity of the Friday service is that it must be preceded by two sermons. The conditions for the validity of these sermons are the following: the *khaṭīb* must be in a state of ritual purity; his dress must be in accord with the prescriptions; he must pronounce the two *khuṭbas* standing and sit down between them; the number of auditors required for a valid *djum'a* must be present [see ṢALAT].

Regarding the sermon itself, there are obligatory: the *ḥamdala*, the *ṣalāt* on the Prophet, admonitions to piety in both *khuṭbas*, prayer (*du'ā'*) on behalf of the faithful, and recitation of a part of the Ḳur'ān in the first *khuṭba* or, according to some doctors, in both. It is commendable (*sunna*) for the *khaṭīb* to be on a pulpit or an elevated place; to salute the audience when directing himself towards them; to sit down till the *aḏhān* is pronounced by the *mu'aḏḏhin*; to lean on a bow, a sword or a staff; to direct himself straightway to his audience; to pray (*du'ā'*) on behalf of the Muslims; and to make his *khuṭba* short.

(b.) Regarding the *khuṭbas* on the days of festival the same author says (42) that they are like those of the Friday-service, except in the following points: the *khaṭīb* must open the first with nine *takbīrs*, the second with seven. On the *'īd* he must instruct his audience in the rules for the *zakāt al-fiṭr*, on the *'īd al-aḏḥā* in the rules for the sacrifice of this day. It is allowable for him to pronounce the sermon sitting.

Regarding the *khuṭbas* of the service during an eclipse, al-Shīrāzī (43) remarks that the preacher must admonish his audience to be afraid, and in the service in times of drought he must ask Allāh's pardon, in the opening of the first *khuṭba* nine times, in the second seven times; further, he must repeat several times the *ṣalāt* on Muḥammad as well as *istiġfār*, recite verse 9 of Sūra LXVI, elevate his hands and say Muḥammad's *du'ā'* (which is communicated by al-Shīrāzī in full). Further, he must turn towards the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] in the middle of the second *khuṭba* and change his shirt, putting the right side to the left, the left to the right, the upper part beneath and keep it on till he puts off all his other garments.

These prescriptions give rise to the following remarks. C. H. Becker was the first to point to the relation between the Islamic pulpit and the judge's seat in early Arabia. This explains why the *khaṭīb* must sit down between the two *khuṭbas*; it explains why he must lean on a staff, sword or bow; for these were the attributes of the old Arabian judge. It is not easy to see why the *khuṭba* precedes the services on Friday, whereas on the days of festival and the other special occasions *ṣalāt* comes first. *Ḥadīth* tells us that Marwān b. al-Ḥakam was the first to change this order by pronouncing the *khuṭba* before the performance of the *ṣalāt* on the days of festival (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *'Īdayn*, *bāb* 6 and especially the pathetic picture in Muslim, *'Īdayn*, trad. 9).

It is also said that Marwān was the first to hold the *khuṭba* on these days on a pulpit, the old custom being a service without *minbar* or *aḏhān*. According to other authorities (cf. Muslim, *Īmān*, tr. 78, 79, and al-Nawawī's commentary) the *khuṭba* before the *ṣalāt* was an institution going back to 'Uthmān or even to 'Umar. The common opinion of traditionists is, however, that it was an innovation due to the general tendency of the Umayyads to favour their own dynastic interests rather than those of religion. If this opinion should be right, the innovation as well as the holding of the *khuṭba* in a sitting attitude may be looked upon as an endeavour to go back to the pre-Islamic judicial rites concerning *minbar* and *khuṭba*.

Regarding the prayer on behalf of the faithful (*du'ā' li 'l-mu'minīn*) it must be observed that in this prayer before the Friday-*ṣalāt* it has become customary to mention the ruling sovereign. The history of Islam is full of examples of the importance which was attached to this custom, especially in times of political troubles, the name mentioned in this *du'ā'* betraying the *imām*'s political opinion or position. Though it is not prescribed by law to mention the ruler's name, the suppression of the name at this occasion exposed the *khaṭīb* to suspicion. In countries where Muslims lived under non-Muslim rule, even a prayer for the worldly prosperity of the ruler could expose the *khaṭīb* to suspicion on the part of his fellow-Muslims (cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam und Phonograph*, 13 f. = *Verspr. Geschr.*, ii, 430 f.; idem, *Mr. L. W. C. van den Berg's beoefening van het Mohammedaansche recht*, in *Ind. Gids*, vi/1, 809 f. = *Verspr. Geschriften*, ii, 214 f.). The custom of mentioning the ruler in prayer is found as early as the 5th century B.C. in the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine (Pap. i, line 26; cf. also Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, i, 286.

Several of the characteristics of the *khuṭba* prescribed by the doctors of the law occur also in *ḥadīth*. The *khuṭbas* of Muḥammad usually begin with the formula *ammā ba'du* (al-Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, *bāb* 29). Side by side with the *ḥamdala* (Muslim, *Djum'a*, tr. 44, 45) the *shahāda* occurs (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 302, 343: "A *khuṭba* without the *shahāda* is like a mutilated hand". In a large number of traditions it

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is stated that Muḥammad used to recite passages from the Ḳur'ān (e.g. Muslim *Djum'a*, tr. 49-52; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v. 86, 88, 93 etc.). The *khuṭba* must be short, in accord with Muḥammad's saying: "Make your *ṣalāt* long and your *khuṭba* short" (Muslim, *Djum'a*, tr. 47). Just like the *ṣalāt* the *khuṭba* must be right to the purpose (*ḳaṣd*[an], Muslim, *Djum'a* tr. 41). The audience must be silent and quiet; "who says to his neighbour 'listen', has spoken a superfluous word", al-Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, *bāb* 36). The two *khuṭba*s pronounced by the standing *khaṭīb*, who sits between them, are based on Muḥammad's example (al-Bukhārī, *Djum'a*, *bāb* 27; Muslim, *Djum'a*, tr. 33-5; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 35, 91, 98). During the *adhān* Muḥammad used to sit on the *minbar*; the *iḳāma* was spoken when he had descended (in order to hold the *khuṭba* standing); this order was observed by Abū Bakr and 'Umar (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 449 *bis*).

Neither the term *khuṭba* nor the verb *khaṭaba* in their technical meaning occur in the Ḳur'ān. Even in the passage containing an admonition not to abandon the Friday-service for worldly profit, it is only the *ṣalāt* which is mentioned (Sūra LXII, 9-11). It would be wrong to conclude from this silence that the *khuṭba* did not yet form a constituent part of worship in Muḥammad's time. Still, it is not probable that the different kinds of service were accurately regulated from the beginning. *Ḥadīth* has preserved descriptions showing that Muḥammad's *khuṭba* often did not have much to do with the regular sermon of later times. Abū Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-diyāt*, *bāb* 13, reports, for example, that the Prophet pronounced two *khuṭba*s at the end of a complaint raised against a collector of the *zakāt*. Still, it is not possible to distinguish between the kinds, as may appear from the following traditions. According to one of them related on the authority of Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī it is said that Muḥammad on the days of festival used to open the service with the *ṣalāt*; then he pronounced the *khuṭba* "and his *khuṭba* usually consisted in the command to participate in some mission or expedition" (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 56 f.). A similar statement is to be found in Muslim, *'Īdayn*, tr. 9: "When Muḥammad had concluded the *ṣalāt* on the days of festival by the *taslīm*, he remained on his feet and turned to the sitting audience; when he wanted to send a mission or when he desired some other arrangement, he gave his orders on it; he used also to say: give alms, give alms; ... then he went away. This state of things asted till Marwān, etc.". This is a very simple description of the service and would be a considerable support to the view that a service with a fixed order only arose long after Muḥammad's time. Yet it must not be forgotten that the description just translated betrays the tendency to contrast the simple service of the Prophet with the highly official style introduced by Marwān, who even had a *minbar* built on the *muṣallā*. According to another tradition, the Prophet once interrupted his *khuṭba* in order to reply to a stranger who had asked for instruction in the Muslim faith (Muslim, *Djum'a*, tr. 60); he is also portrayed as interrupting the *khuṭba* to call out directly to a man (*ibid.*, tr. 54-9).

However uncertain the value of these traditions may be, it seems not out of place to suppose that a fixed order of service on Friday and the days of festival arose only after Muḥammad's lifetime. This order reposes on three elements: the early-Arabian *khuṭba*, Muḥammad's *sunna* and the example of Jews and Christians.

In his study on the history of Muslim worship C. H. Becker endeavoured to establish a close connection between the services on Friday and the days of festival on the one hand, and the mass on the other. But this view was opposed by Mittwoch, who found in the Jewish liturgy features corresponding to *adhān* and *iḳāma*, to the *ḥamdala*, the recitation of the Tora (first *khuṭba*) and the recitation from the Prophets (second *khuṭba*). It is perhaps impossible to decide the question; probably the example of the Jewish as well as that of the Christian liturgy exercised influence on the final constitution of the Muslim worship.

It is customary to pronounce the *khuṭba* in Arabic; nevertheless, this rule is not infrequently broken in non-Arabic speaking lands.

The history of the *khuṭba* in Islam remains to be written, and the study of oratory from the *minbar* or pulpit likewise remains to be undertaken. On the latter point, the enquirer might utilise with profit the texts (of varying degrees of authenticity) of those sermons of the Prophet given in the *Sīra*, in the *ḥadīth* collections and in historical texts, as well as in those *adab* works which have preserved specimens of famous *khuṭba*s. Collections like those of Ibn Nubāta al-Fāriḳī [*q.v.*] and the specially-compiled anthologies of sermons used by the professional *khaṭīb*s, just as the secretaries used collections of model letters, would also be found useful. Collections of this latter type are often arranged according to the calendar, i.e. there are four sermons for each month plus supplementary ones for festival days, the Prophet's birthday and his *mi'rādj* or night-journey (see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arab. Hss.*, iii, 437).

Bibliography: Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Moh. Wet*, Leiden 1925, 71 f., 109 f.; Shaykh Niẓām, *al-Fatāwī al-'Ālamgīriyya*, Calcutta 1828 ff., i, 205 f., 210 f., 214 f.; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Hillī, *Kitāb Sharā'i' al-Islām*, Calcutta 1893, i, 44, 48; C. H. Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam*, in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, Giessen 1906, 331 ff., idem, *Zur Geschichte des islamischen Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 374 ff.; E. Mittwoch, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des islamischen Gebets und Kultus* in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, (1913), no. 2; see also KHAṬĪB.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KHUTTALĀN, Khuttal, a region on the right bank of the upper Oxus river, in what is now Soviet Central Asia, lying between the Wakhsh river and the Pandj river (sc. the head waters of the Oxus), called the Waḳhshāb and Djaryāb in mediaeval times. It was bounded on the west by the topographically similar regions of Čaghāniyan and Wakhsh [*qq.v.*], and was often administratively linked with Wakhsh (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 402). Khuttal was a land of rich pastures in both the river valleys and on the upper slopes of the hills, where the famed horses of Khuttal, known even to the Chinese, were reared; the geographers advert frequently to the Khuttalī and Ṭukhārī breeds, and the men of Khuttal were celebrated for their knowledge of horse-breeding, farriery and veterinary science, and for their skill in making saddles and other accoutrements (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 113). The valleys ran northwards towards the Buttamān mountains, which separated Khuttal from the upper Zarafshān river valley; gold and silver were mined there, and there dwelt in these mountains two fierce and predatory groups, the Kumīdjīs and the Kandjīna Turks, both of them probably remnants of Hephthalite peoples [see KUMĪDJĪS].

The form Khuttalān, with the plural ending, is early attested, for this is found in the very early New Persian satirical verses composed by the local

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people against the Arab commander Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī when he unsuccessfully raided Khuttal in 108/726-7, see Ṭabarī, ii, 1492, 1494, 1602. Later Persian poetry requires forms like Khutlān or Khatlān, whilst the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 119, spells Khatulān. Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, gives both Khatlān and Khuttal, with his main entry under the latter form. In the Chinese annals we find forms like Kʿo-tut-lo, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 299-300. An etymological connection with the name of the Hephthalites, within whose northern kingdom Khuttal certainly fell [see HAYĀṬILA] is certainly not impossible.

The principal town of Khuttal and the residence of its ruler was at Hulbuk to the south of the modern centre Kulāb/Kulyab, whilst Nučārā or Andīčārāgh is described as the main trading centre. Other towns enumerated by the geographers include the important centres of Halāwand and Munk, the latter probably corresponding roughly to the modern Baldjuwān; according to Yaʿḳūbī, Munk was on the borderland with Rāsht and the Turkish lands, sc. those of the Kumīdjīs, etc. Clearly, Khuttal was a prosperous and well-settled region at this time.

In the pre-Islamic period, the local rulers bore the titles Khuttalān-Shāh or Khuttalān-Khudāh and Shēr-i Khuttalān (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 40). The Arab invaders did not gain full control of Khuttal till the end of the Umayyad period. The rebel al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*] received support from the local ruler, and in retaliation, Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī led two expeditions into Khuttal in 119/737. These provoked an appeal for help to the Khāḳān of the Türgesh or Western Turks Su-lu, and the Arabs had to retreat hastily (Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 81-3). The region was not fully secured till 133/750-1, when Abū Dāwūd Khālid b. Ibrāhīm, governor of Balkh, drove out the ruler (*malik*) of Khuttal, who fled first to the Turks and then to China, where he was granted the honorific title of *Yabghu* (Gibb, *op. cit.*, 95; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue occidentaux*, 168, 216.

In the ensuing century or so, Khuttal came under the rule of the Banīdjūrids or Abū Dāwūdids, who exercised power on both sides of the upper Oxus. In the Sāmānid period, the *amīrs* of Khuttal were in loose tributary status only to the Sāmānids, sending presents but not taxation to Bukhārā (Muḳaddasī, 337), and they exercised suzerainty south of the Oxus, for the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 109, says that the *dihḳān* of the small principality of Yūn in Badakhshān was tributary to the *amīr* of Khuttal. In the warfare of 336-7/947-9 between the Sāmānid Nūḥ b. Naṣr and Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī, all the vassal rulers (*mulūk-i aṭrāf*) along the upper Oxus were stirred into revolt by Abū ʿAlī, including the *amīr* Aḥmad b. Djaʿfar of Khuttal, the *amīr* of Rāsht and the Kumīdjīs (Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 36-7, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 157-8, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*², 248).

Under the early Ghaznawids, Khuttal was strategically important as being in the buffer zone between the Ghaznawids and their Ḳarakhānid rivals. Khuttal is included with Čaghāniyān and Ḳubādhiyān amongst the territories enumerated in the ʿAbbāsid Caliph's investiture diploma of 422/1031 to Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd (Bayhaḳī, in Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 54), but it was also claimed by the Ḳarakhānid ʿAlī-tigin [see ILEK-KHĀNS], who stirred up the Kumīdjīs to harry the region. Unlike as in the neighbouring principality of Čaghāniyān, where the Muḥtādjī *amīrs* remained, no separate family of local rulers is mentioned for Khuttal at this time; Ghaznavid influence was exercised directly, seen in Masʿūd's appointment of *a ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* for Khuttal (Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 178).

In the Saldjūḳ period, however, various local *amīrs* are mentioned. An *amīr* of Khuttal rebelled against Alp Arslan in 456/1064, but was killed (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 22), and in 553/1158 there was a campaign by the lord of Khuttal, one Ibn Shudjāʿ Farrukhshāh, formerly a vassal of Sandjar, against the important crossing-place of Tirmidh, taking advantage of the chaos in Khurāsān consequent upon Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz and then his death; this Ibn Shudjāʿ is said to have claimed descent from the Sāsānid emperor Bahrām Gūr (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 155). In the period of the Ghūrids and Khʷārazm-Shāhs, no separate native dynasty is mentioned. Like Wakhsh, it may have been part of the Ghūrid empire and may have become one of the small principalities into which that empire broke up, see Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī², Kabul 1341-3/1962-4, i, 387, 392, tr. Raverty, 426, 236, 490. A Djalāl al-Dīn ʿUmar of Wakhsh, apparently from the Bāmiyān branch of the Ghūrids [*q.v.*], was carried off into captivity in Khʷārazm *ca.* 612/1215, according to Nasawī, see Barthold, *Turkestan*², 372.

In the 8th/14th century, Khuttal was likewise one of the small states into which Čaghatay's empire disintegrated; Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī records that the ruler of Khuttal Kay Khusraw was killed by Tīmūr for treasonable contacts with Khʷārazm (*Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1885-8, i, 243). Later, Khuttal was one of the dependencies of the region of Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*] and was controlled by the later Tīmūrid *amīr* of Ḳunduz. Then in the 10th/16th century it passed under Özbeg control. The name Khuttal now disappears from use, being replaced by that of the modern town of Kulāb; one of the last recorded uses of the old name is in the dynastic history of the Özbegs, the *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāḳib al-akhyār* of Maḥmūd b. Amīr Walī (begun in 1044/1634). After being included in the Khānate of Bukhārā during the 18th and 19th centuries, the mediaeval region of Khuttal now forms part of the Tadzhikistan SSR.

Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 402, also mentions a village of al-Khuttal in ʿIrāḳ on the Baghdād-Khurāsān high road near Daskara.

Bibliography: Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 299-303; idem, *Wehrot und Arang*, 57-8; Barthold, *Turkestan*, index; Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 438-9; Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i rashīdī*, ed. and tr. Elias and Ross, tr. 21 n. 1; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 109, 119-20, 339 (map), 341, 359-61; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, index. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHUZĀʿA, an ancient Arab tribe of obscure origin. Muslim genealogists assuming a Muḍarī origin of Khuzāʿa based their argument on an utterance attributed to the Prophet according to which the ancestor of the tribe, ʿAmr b. Luḥayy [*q.v.*] was a descendant of Ḳamaʿa (= ʿUmayr) b. Khindif, thus tracing their pedigree to Muḍar (Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Saḳā², al-Abyārī and Shalabī, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 78; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, i, 34; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi-akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām*, Cairo 1956, ii, 44-5; Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953, 7-8, 11; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh ʿalā ḳabāʾil al-ruwāh*, al-Nadjaf 1386/1966, 97-8; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 222-4; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Muʿallamī, Hyderabad 1385/1966, V, 116). Some sections in Khuzāʿa asserted that

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they were descendants of al-Ṣalt b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. The claims for Muḍarī descent made by some groups of Khuzāʿa were firmly rejected by genealogists, who asserted that both Ḳamaʿa and al-Ṣalt died childless. (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Ms. B.M., Add. 23297, fol. 4b, ll. 9-10; al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, Ms. Bursa, Hüseyin Çelebi, 19, fols. 84b-86a; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 34 ult., 38-9; Muṣʿab, *op. cit.*, 11-12). Muṣʿab, recording the Muḍarī genealogy of Khuzāʿa, confirmed by an utterance of the Prophet, remarks cautiously that the pedigree uttered by the Prophet is certainly true, provided that it was actually said by him (Muṣʿab, 8; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, 98). Harmonising traditions, trying in the usual way to bridge the contradictory reports about the origin of Khuzāʿa, claim that the mother of Luḥayy married after the death of Ḳamaʿa the Yamanī Ḥāritha and the child traced his pedigree to the Yamanī father who adopted him (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 46). Another tradition states that Ḳamaʿa married, begot children, but clashed with his relatives, left for al-Yaman and allied himself with the Azd (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 35, ll. 1-2). The Yamanī tradition, on the other hand, records a lengthy list of ancestors of Khuzāʿa beginning with Luḥayy (= Rabīʿa) b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥāritha b. Imru 'l-Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba b. al-Azd. The pedigree is traced back, of course, to Ḳaḥtān (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 45, ll. 5-10; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, 97; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1378/1958, 468; al-Ḥāzimī, *ʿUdjālat al-mubtadī*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Kānūn, Cairo 1384/1965, 54).

The traditions about the beginnings of the rule of Khuzāʿa in Mecca, ascribing Khuzāʿa to Azd, record a lengthy story about the migration of the tribal groups of Azd from al-Yaman to the North. While some tribal divisions continued their migration to Syria (Ghassān) and ʿUmān (Azd Shanūʾa), the Khuzāʿa separated (*inkhazaʿat*) and managed to get control of Mecca. One of the traditions reports that the leader of the Azd asked Djurhum [*q.v.*], the tribe which ruled Mecca at the time, to permit them to stay in the territory of Mecca until their foragers would find for them suitable pasture-grounds, threatening war if they were denied this. In fact, when Djurhum refused to grant permission, Khuzāʿa fought them, defeated them and got possession of the Sanctuary of Mecca. Another tradition, on the authority of Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, reports that the custodianship of the Kaʿba was gained legally by Khuzāʿa, as their leader Rabīʿa b. Ḥāritha married Fuhayra, the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Muḍāḍ al-Djurhumī; his son ʿAmr b. Rabīʿa (i.e. ʿAmr b. Luḥayy) had thus a legal basis for his claims to the custodianship. In the protracted battles which ensued between Khuzāʿa and Djurhum, Khuzāʿa defeated Djurhum, who had to leave the city. A third tradition ascribes the decline of the Djurhum in Mecca to their deterioration and moral decay. Afflicted by plagues, God's chastisement for their wickedness, they were extirpated, and only few survivors from amongst them left Mecca; the custodianship of the *ḥaram* was then taken over by Khuzāʿa. A diverse tradition gives a quite different account of the events, sc. that Khuzāʿa took over the control of Mecca from Iyād [*q.v.*]. A peculiar version of this tradition transmitted by al-Zubayr b. Bakkār reports a battle which followed some clashes between the ruling Iyād and Muḍar in which Iyād was defeated. Iyād got permission to leave Mecca on the condition that Muḍarī women married to Iyādīs would be returned to Muḍar if they wished. Among the returned women was a Khuzāʿa woman named Ḳudāma. Khuzāʿa, the report states, traced at that time their pedigree to Muḍar. As the Iyād failed to carry with them into exile the pillar with the Black Stone, they decided to bury it. The Khuzāʿī woman revealed to her people the place of the buried Stone and advised them to ask from Muḍar the custodianship of the Kaʿba as reward for finding the pillar with the Black Stone. Muḍar complied and Khuzāʿa got control of the Kaʿba, and retained this office until the arrival of Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*] (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 26 f.; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, al-Naḏjaf 1384/1964, i, 208; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, ed. Khūrshīd Aḥmad Fāriḳ, Hyderabad 1384/1964, 344 f.; al-ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nuḏjūm al-ʿawālī*, Cairo 1380, i, 183). Another tradition reports that Djurhum were driven out through a joint action of Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt of Kināna and the Banū Ghubshān of Khuzāʿa (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, i, 370; "Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt of Khuzāʿa", as recorded in the article DJURHUM above is an error).

These stories allotting exceptionally long lives to the rulers of Djurhum and Khuzāʿa have the character of folk-tradition in which were embedded elements of *muʿammarūn*-tales, edifying stories about righteous and pious men (see e.g. the story of Wakīʿ b. Salama of Iyād and his servant Ḥazwara, in al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 26, and Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, 346-7), accounts of battles and clashes in the popular style of the *ayyām al-ʿarab*, and recollections of legends about the migrations of tribes caused by a dam breaking in South Arabia. The tradition focuses around the person of ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, almost unanimously putting on him the blame for the wicked innovations in the faith of Abraham and for the introduction of idol-worship, especially that of Hubal, into Mecca. There is, however, a contradictory tradition asserting that it was Khuzayma b. Mudrika, one of the ancestors of Ḳuraysh, who introduced the worship of Hubal and stating that Hubal was consequently called "Hubal Khuzayma" (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 37, no. 77; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 51 inf.). As in the case of Iyād, some traditions mention among the Khuzāʿa a *homo religiosus*, Abū Kabsha, who in his search after the true religion worshipped Sirius. The unbelievers used to refer to the Prophet as Ibn Abī Kabsha in the early period of his prophethood, pointing out his deviation from the current beliefs of his people. (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, 129; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿuyūn fī sīrat al-amīn al-maʾmūn* (= *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*), Cairo 1382/1962, i, 333; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 91, 327; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314, vi, 131; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, 1387/1967, xvii, 119; al-Maḳrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, Cairo 1941, i, 77, 158; al-Kāzarūnī, *Sīrat al-nabī*, Ms. B.M. Add. 1499, fol. 231a-b, ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, ed., *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1370/1951, i, 100 (al-Fayrūzābādhī, *Tuḥfat al-abīh fīman nusiba ilā ghayri abīh*).

These conflicting and contradictory stories seem to indicate that the formation of the tribe of Khuzāʿa took place over a long period of time, ramifying into various tribal units. The main area of abode of the tribe was between Mecca and Medina.

When Ḳuṣayy arrived in Mecca aiming to gain control of the city, he had to subdue the ruling Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt of Kināna, the Khuzāʿa and their abettors, the Ṣūfa. The different stories about the enigmatic Ḳuṣayy resemble in their outline the stories about the former rulers of Mecca; his marriage with Ḥubbā bint Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya gave legitimacy to his custodianship of the Kaʿba. Another manner of

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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legitimisation, the tale of how this office was purchased by Ḳuṣayy for a goat's skin of wine from the drunken Abū Ghubshān, is recounted in the compilations of proverbs and stories of fools (al-ʿAskarī, *Djamharat al-amṯāl*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḳaṭāmish, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 387, no. 585; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Durra al-fākhira fi 'l-amṯāl al-sāʾira*, ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḳaṭāmish, Cairo 1972, i, 139, no. 126; al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1384/1965, 135, no. 190; al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amṯal*, ed. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1379/1959, i, 216, no. 1167; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Akhbār al-ḥamḳā*, Beirut, n.d., 42). The court of Abū Ghubshān (*dār Abī Ghubshān*) was extant in Mecca in the second half of the 3rd century of the Hidjra (al-Fākihī, *Taʾrīkh Makka*, Ms. Leiden, or. 463, fol. 456b, l.15). Like the preceding rulers, he fought, according to another account, the two tribes Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt and Khuzāʿa and crushed their power. His wife Ḥubbā revealed, as in the story of Iyād, the place where the pillar with the Black Stone was buried, and so the true worship of the Kaʿba could be resumed (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 73; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, Cairo 1374/1955, xvi, 31). The relations between Ḳuṣayy on the one side and the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt and Khuzāʿa on the other were settled on the basis of the judgment of the arbiter Yaʿmar b. ʿAwf of the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt, called al-Shuddākh. The verdict granted Ḳuṣayy the custodianship of the Kaʿba and provided that Khuzāʿa should be left in the area of the *ḥaram* (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, fols. 51a, inf.—51b, sup.).

In the new régime set up by Ḳuṣayy, in which the scattered tribal units of Ḳuraysh were gathered and settled in Mecca, the groups of Khuzāʿa played an important role in strengthening the power of Mecca, aiding Ḳuraysh to extend their influence among the tribes. Khuzāʿa was included in the organisation of the Ḥums. Two tribal groups of Khuzāʿa, the Muṣṭaliḳ and Ḥayā, were included in the organisation of the Aḥābīsh, the allies of Ḳuraysh (see e.g. Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿānī 'l-Kabīr*, Hyderabad 1368/1949, 998, l. 4; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 178; al-Ḥāzimī, *al-Iʿtibār fī-bayān al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh min al-āthār*, Hyderabad 1359, 150; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, fols. 48b-49a sup.; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 41; Yāḳūt, s.v. Makka; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1364/1945, 245; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1885, 18). Together with Muḍarī tribes, Khuzāʿa worshipped al-ʿUzzā and Manāt; together with the Daws they worshipped Dhu 'l-Kaffayn (Yāḳūt, s.v. Manāt; Ibn ʿArabī, *Muḥādarat al-abrār*, Beirut 1388/1968, i, 415; Ps. Aṣmaʿī, *al-Shāmil*, the section *Tawārīkh al-anbiyāʾ*, Ms. B.M. Or. 1493, fol. 27a; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 318). The involvement of Khuzāʿa and Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt in the affairs of Mecca and their influence can be gauged from the story about the agreement between Ḳuraysh and Thaḳīf concerning the mutual rights of these two tribes to enter Mecca and Wadjdj: the Thaḳīf complied with the demands of Ḳuraysh, fearing the strength of Ḳuraysh, Khuzāʿa and the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, 280).

The considerable number of names of Khuzāʿīs married by Ḳurashīs recorded in the sources bears evidence of the close relations between Ḳuraysh and Khuzāʿa. Indeed, when Khuzāʿa decided to ally themselves with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, they stressed that he was "borne" by Khuzāʿī women (*fa-ḥad waladnāka*). In the same style the Khuzāʿī ʿAmr b. Sālim addressed the Prophet with the words *ḥad kuntum waladan wakunnā wālidā* when he came asking his help against the Banu Bakr and Ḳuraysh (Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar fī funūn al-maghāzī wa'l-shamāʾil wa 'l-siyar*, Cairo 1356, ii, 164-5, 182).

When the Prophet was on his *hidjra* to Medina he met, according to one tradition, Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb al-Aslamī [*q.v.*] with a large group of his people; he and his people embraced Islam and prayed behind the Prophet. These Aslam, a branch of Khuzāʿa, allied themselves very early to the Prophet and warriors of Aslam took part on the side of the Prophet in his campaign. The agreements of the Prophet with Aslam (see Ḥamīdullāh, *Madjmūʿat al-waṯāʾik al-siyāsiyya li 'l-ʿahd al-nabawī wa 'l-khilāfa al-rāshida*, Cairo 1376/1956, 191-4, nos. 165-70) bear evidence to the friendly relations between the Prophet and Aslam. After the murder of the people of the expedition of Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*], the Prophet invoked God's blessing for Aslam (*wa-Aslam sālamahā Allāhu*; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, Oxford 1966, 350). When the Prophet mobilised the forces for the conquest of Mecca he summoned the Aslam, who dwelt in the neighbourhood of Medina, to present themselves in Medina. In fact, 400 warriors of Aslam, among them 30 riders, took part in the conquest of Mecca. The two standard bearers were Burayda b. al-Ḥuṣayb and Nādjiya b. al-Aʿdjam of Aslam (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 123; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. ʿAlī-Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1392/1972, vi, 398, no. 8647; al-Wāḳidī, 799-800). Aslam, along with Ghifār, Muzayna and Djuhayna, were pointed out by the Prophet as surpassing in virtues the mighty tribes of Tamīm, Asad, ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and Ghaṭafān (al-Ḳasṭallānī, *Irshād al-sārī*, Cairo 1327, vi, 11-13; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, Cairo 1301, vi, 395-7). Commentators of *ḥadīth* are unanimous in saying that this high position was granted to them because they hurried to embrace Islam.

The attitude of the Muṣṭaliḳ, another branch of Khuzāʿa allied with the Banū Mudliḏ of Kināna and included in the Aḥābīsh organisation linked with Ḳuraysh, was however quite different towards the Muslim commonwealth of Medina. Their leader, al-Ḥārith b. Abī Ḍirār, gathered the forces of his tribe for an attack against Medina. The forces of the Prophet attacked the Muṣṭaliḳ at Muraysiʿ in 5/627, defeated them and took captives and booty. The Prophet married the captured daughter of the leader, Djuwayriyya (al-Wāḳidī, 404-13).

Another branch of Khuzāʿa, the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, played a decisive role in the struggle between Mecca and the Prophet. The dissensions and clashes between the Kaʿb and their neighbours, the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt, led the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr to opt for an alliance with the Prophet in the pact of al-Ḥudaybiyya, whereas the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt allied themselves with Mecca. A group of the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt aided clandestinely by some leaders of Ḳuraysh attacked the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr at al-Watīr and killed some of them. The orator of the Kaʿb, ʿAmr b. Sālim, appeared at the court of the Prophet in Medina and addressed him, reminding him of the alliance of the Kaʿb with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, pointing out the killing of the Kaʿb at al-Watīr, and urging him to revenge his allies. The Prophet responded and promised aid for victory (*nuṣra*). The request of a man from the ʿAdī b. Amr, the brethren of Kaʿb b. ʿAmr, to be included in the promise was answered by the Prophet's remark that Kaʿb and ʿAdī are one corporate body (*wa-hal ʿAdiyyun illā Kaʿb wa-Kaʿbun illā ʿAdī*: Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, Beirut 1967, vi, 164; Ibn al-Baḳḳāl, *al-Fawāʾid al-muntaḳāt*, Ms. Ẓāhiriyya

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madjmūʿa, 60, fol. 85b; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣaghīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1388/1968, ii, 73-5). It is evident that the tendency of this tradition is to establish the position of the ʿAdī b. ʿAmr in the Prophet's invocation and to stress their role in the expedition against Mecca. Whether the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr were already Muslims when they applied for help is disputed by scholars (Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, ii, 182, penult. says that they were unbelievers; al-Kalāʾī, *al-Iktifāʾ*, ed. Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Cairo 1389/1970, ii, 288, that they were Muslims; and see Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, iv, 36, n. 4). According to some commentators of the Ḳurʾān, vv. 13-15 of *Sūrat al-Tawba* ordering fighting against the people who had broken their solemn pledges (*alā tuḳātilūna ḳawman nakathū aymānahum . . .*) were revealed in connection with the wicked attack of the Banū Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt against the Kaʿb b. ʿAmr (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1958, xiv, 158-62 (nos. 16535-16547); al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, iii, 214-15; idem, *Lubāb al-nuḳūl*, Cairo 1373/1954, 114; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, viii, 86-7; al-Farrāʾ, *Maʿānī l-Ḳurʾān*, ed. Aḥmad Yūsuf al-Nadjātī and Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Nadjdjār, Cairo 1374/1955, i, 425).

When the Prophet went out against Mecca, he was joined by the tribesmen of Kaʿb who stayed in Medina; the main troop of Kaʿb joined the forces of the Prophet in Ḳudayd. The troop of the Kaʿb, numbering 500 warriors, had three standards carried by Busr b. Sufyān, Abū Shurayḥ (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, Damascus 1349, vi, 400; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1377/1957, iv, 294-5; al-Wāḳidī, 801 ["Ibn Shurayḥ" in *ibid.* l.2 is an error]) and ʿAmr b. Sālim. It is noteworthy that the Prophet permitted the Kaʿb to fight the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt in Mecca for some additional hours after he had ordered all other troops to stop fighting (see *ibid.* 839, al-Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 388; al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 144, al-Ḥāzimī, *al-Iʿtibār*, 153; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, iii, 97 inf.). It may be remarked that a group of the Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt hasted to join the forces of the Prophet. When Abū Sufyān looked at the marching troops of the Prophet and noticed the force of the Bakr he remarked sadly "By God, they are an inauspicious people; because of them Muḥammad raided us" (al-Wāḳidī, 820; Ibn ʿAsākir, vi, 401).

The meritorious attitude of Khuzāʿa towards the Prophet is fairly reflected in Muslim tradition. The Prophet is said to have stated that Khuzāʿa was intimately linked with him. (*Khuzāʿatu minnī wa-anā minhum*; *Khuzāʿatu l-wālidu wa-anā ʾl-waladu*: see, e.g. al-Daylamī, *Firdaws al-akhbār*, Ms. Chester Beatty 3037, fol. 78b; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn, iii, 83; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Hyderabad 1385/1965, xiii, 55, no. 316). The Ḳurʾān is said to have been revealed to the Prophet in the dialect (*lugha*) of the two Kaʿbs, Kaʿb b. Luʾayy and Kaʿb b. ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, because they shared the same abode (al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ*, ii, 55; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh*, 99). A special privilege granted by the Prophet to Khuzāʿa was that he awarded them the rank of *muhādjirūn*, permitting them to stay in their abode (*ibid.*, 100). It was a Khuzāʿī, Tamīm b. Usayd, whom the Prophet entrusted with the restoration of the border-marking stones (*anṣāb*) of the *ḥaram* of Mecca (Mughaltāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim fī sīrat Abī ʾl-Ḳāsim*, Ms. Leiden, Or. 370, fol. 319a, inf.-319b; al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, Cairo 1383/1964, iii, 387, no. 861).

The leader of the Kaʿb, Busr b. Sufyān, according to one tradition, was appointed by the Prophet as the tax-collector of the Kaʿb. In 9/630 they were prevented from handing over their taxes by groups of the Banu ʾl-ʿAnbar and Banu ʾl-Hudjaym ("Ibn al-ʿUtayr" and "Banū Djuhaym" in al-Wāḳidī, 974 are errors) of Tamīm; against these two Tamīmī groups the Prophet sent a troop commanded by ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn (al-Wāḳidī, 974 f.). In the account it is emphasised that the Kaʿb were believers, paying the *ṣadaḳa* willingly. A special tax-collector was sent to the other branch of Khuzāʿa, the Banū Muṣṭaliḳ (Ibn Saʿd, iii, 440 inf.).

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to carry the *dīwān* of Khuzāʿa to Ḳudayd and distributed there payments to the people of the tribe (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh and ʿUmar al-Ṭabbāʿ, Beirut 1377/1957, 634; Ibn Saʿd, iii, 298).

Khuzāʿī warriors participated in the conquests of Islam and groups of Khuzāʿa settled in the various provinces of the Arab empire. Some people of Khuzāʿa took part in the revolt against ʿUthmān in Medina (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Aḥmad al-Zayn, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Cairo 1381/1962, iv, 300, l.19). Some groups of Khuzāʿa joined ʿAlī and fought on his side in the battle of Ṣiffīn, and some Khuzāʿīs in Khurāsān were among the ʿAbbāsid agents who paved the way for the new dynasty.

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AL-KHUZĀMĀ (A.) "lavender" has for a long time been considered as the origin of the name of Alhucemas, on the coast of the Rīf of Morocco, and this etymology is still given in *EI*[1] (art. ALHUCEMAS). Since the problem raised by this toponym has not yet been satisfactorily resolved, and since moreover Alhucemas has now, since Morocco's achievement of independence, been "arabised" to al-Ḥusayma, it is under AL-ḤUSAYMA that an article on the place will be found in the Supplement.

KHŪZISTĀN, a province of south-western Persia, and the land of the Hūz/Ḥūz/Khūz (Hussi/Kussi), the Οὔξιοι/Uxii of Strabo and Pliny. The province of Khūzistān corresponds more or less to the ancient Elam and to the classical Susiana, and the names of its present capital, Ahwāz [*q.v.*], its ancient capital, Susa [*q.v.*], and the town of Ḥawīza [*q.v.*], all reflect the name of its inhabitants in Elamite times.

Essentially, the province consists of alluvial fans formed by the Karkha and the Kārūn [*qq.v.*] rivers and situated between the Zagros mountains and the sea; near the Persian Gulf, partially saline mudflats merge into a zone of tidal marshes, and the coastline is pierced by deep tidal estuaries known as *khor*. The province is bounded on the west by the Irano-ʿIrāḳī border; on the north by Luristān [*q.v.*]; on the south by the Persian Gulf; and on the east by the river Hindiyān or Hindījān. The chief towns are: Ābādān [see ʿABBĀDĀN]; Ahwāz [*q.v.*]; Khurramshahr [*q.v.*]; Dasht Mīshān; Dizfūl; and Shūshtar [see SHUSTAR]. The population of the province (1,614,576 in 1966) is mainly hybrid Arab-Persian.

The climate of Khūzistān is hot and, in summer, so humid that water drips from the trees. Both the Greek and Muslim geographers speak eloquently of the heat. Strabo, quoting an unknown source (Nearchos?), says that in Susa at mid-day lizards and snakes could not cross the streets quickly enough to avoid being frizzled, and that barley spread out in the sun jumped as though it had been placed in an oven (*Geography*, xv.3.10). There was general agreement that snow rarely fell in Khūzistān, and water rarely froze. The great heat is accounted for by: (1) the lack of elevation (average altitude in southern Khūzistān = 10 metres/32.80 feet, rising to 100 metres/328 feet in central Khūzistān); (2) the southerly inclination of the land, which exposes it to the maximum effect of the sun's rays; (3) the hot winds in summer from the Syrian desert and Arabia; (4) the clayey nature of the soil, which retains the heat; (5) the lack of open water, snow-covered mountains or forests to the west to moderate the heat of westerly winds. Because of its climate, Khūzistān did not have a good reputation as a place in which to live; the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, tr. Minorsky, 130, describes the people of Ahwāz as "yellow-faced", and quotes a popular belief that "whoever establishes himself in Ahwāz becomes wanting in brains, and every aroma that is carried there loses its scent on account of the climate". Despite this, the province was noted for a perfume manufactured there from violets (B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 389).

Despite the disadvantages of its climate, Khūzistān from earliest times was noted for its prosperity. Unlike the regions of the Iranian plateau, Khūzistān has never lacked for water, which is provided in abundance by the Karkha, Dīz and Kārūn rivers and their tributaries. The province was the breadbasket of the Achaemenid empire. Strabo states that "Susis abounds so exceedingly in grain that barley and wheat regularly produce one hundredfold, and sometimes two hundredfold" (*Geography*, xv.3.11). In Sāsānid times, extensive urban settlements, and cultivated lands watered by large-scale irrigation works, were protected from the destructive raids of the bedouin by a defensive ditch known as *khandaḳ Ṣābūr*. In the 4th/10th century, Khūzistān had a monopoly of the sale of cane-sugar throughout Iran, ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab and Arabia. Other important crops included citrus fruits, dates, melons, cotton and rice. The waters of the Persian Gulf provided abundant fish. The other basis of the province's prosperity was trade; from early times, Ahwāz had been the centre of an important road network and a recognised crossing-place on the river Kārūn.

Under the two great pre-Islamic Iranian empires, that of the Achaemenids and that of the Sāsānids, Khūzistān was firmly under the control of the central government. To the Achaemenids, it was the province of Uvaja, and Susa was the administrative capital of the empire; for the Sāsānids, it formed part of the "super-province" (*pādhghōs*) of Nēm-rōz (the South), and was divided into seven *kūras*. In 17/638 the Muslim Arabs, after a reconnaissance raid across the Kārūn, launched a major attack on Khūzistān under ʿUtba, captured Ahwāz, and completed the subjugation of the province by 19/640. In the 3rd/9th century Khūzistān, and particularly the city of Ahwāz, suffered as a result of the Zandj [*q.v.*] rebellion, and considerable damage was done to the irrigation systems. During the succeeding four centuries, Khūzistān was governed in turn by the Būyids [see BUWAYHIDS], the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*] and the Īlkhānids [*q.v.*].

In the 9th/15th century, following the onslaughts of Tīmūr on the Iranian world, a local Arab Shīʿī dynasty, the Mushaʿshaʿ [*q.v.*], established itself at Ḥawīza, on the old course of the Karkha river on the western edge of Khūzistān, and enjoyed about seventy years of independence. In 914/1508, however, Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī [see ISMĀʿĪL 1], after his capture of Baghdād, occupied Ḥawīza, Dizfūl and Shushtar, and received the submission of the Mushaʿshaʿ *sulṭāns*. Like the rulers of other petty states along the Ottoman-Ṣafawid border during the 10th/16th to 12th/18th centuries, the Mushaʿshaʿ *sulṭāns* played one side off against the other, often very much to their own advantage. As a consequence of Mushaʿshaʿ rule, the western portion of Khūzistān became known, from early Ṣafawid times, as ʿArabistān. In later Ṣafawid times, the title of "*wālī* of ʿArabistān" was conferred on the Mushaʿshaʿ *sulṭāns*. In the Ṣafawid administrative system, the *wālīs* were the highest in rank of the four categories of *umarā-yi sarḥadd*, or "*amīrs* of the marches", and, of the four *wālīs*, the first in rank was the *wālī* of ʿArabistān, who was "higher and more honoured than his colleagues, on account of his belonging to a *sayyid* family, his valour and the number of his tribes" (*Taḏhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. Minorsky, London 1943, 44). When the Afghāns invaded Iran in 1135/1722, the Mushaʿshaʿ *sulṭāns* threw in their lot with the invaders. In 1140/1727 Khūzistān was temporarily occupied by the Ottomans, but in 1142/1729 Nādir Khān Afshār [see

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NĀDIR SHĀH] reoccupied the province and made the Mushaʿshaʿ *sulṭāns* his vassals.

In the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, the Mushaʿshaʿ dynasty steadily lost ground to Arab tribesmen of the Banū Kaʿb and Banū Lām [*qq.v.*]. The former had begun to migrate in large numbers from central and southern Arabia into southern Mesopotamia and southwestern Iran during the 11th/17th century; at the height of their power, in the latter part of the 12th/18th century, their sway extended from Baṣra to Bihbihān (in the province of Fārs, just east of the Khūzistān border). The Banū Lām were nomads inhabiting regions along the lower course of the Tigris, and between 1788 and 1846 some 17,450 families from this tribe moved into Iranian territory. These immigrants lived a life that was neither completely settled nor truly nomadic, but gradually a sedentary way of life became the norm. The Banū Kaʿb not only intermarried with Iranians, but adopted Shīʿīsm, and wore a compromise style of dress consisting of Persian tunic and trousers under an Arab *ʿabāʾ*. Still later Arab arrivals, however, the Muntafiḳ [*q.v.*], who in 1812 migrated to Ḥawīza and ousted the Kaʿb from that area, have remained Sunnīs. As a result of this great influx of Arabs, the name of ʿArabistān was, by the 19th century, usually applied to the province as a whole. In the 19th century, control of the province virtually passed from the hands of the central government into those of the *shaykhs* of Muḥammara (Khurramshahr), and it was not until 1925 that Riḍā Shāh Pahlawī [*q.v.*] overthrew the Shaykh of Muḥammara and restored the proper name of Khūzistān.

After the collapse of the Ṣafawid dynasty (1135/1722), the prosperity of Khūzistān sharply declined. A number of factors seem to have been involved: (1) hostility between Iranian and Arab elements; (2) the extensive damage to agriculture and to the settled communities caused by both the recent Arab immigrants and by the indigenous transhumant tribes like the Lurs and Bakhtiyārīs (A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 157-8); (3) the constant raiding of trade caravans by the Banū Lām; (4) the breakdown of the authority of the central government, which led to general neglect and maladministration, and the instability caused by frequent changes of governors; (5) oppression by tax-collectors. In some areas the Arab *shaykhs* levied taxes five or six times a year (Lambton, *op. cit.*, 292). It was only after the discovery of oil at Masdjid-i Sulaymān in Khūzistān in 1908 that the economy of the province began slowly to recover, and this trend was accelerated by the completion of the Trans-Iranian Railway in 1938; the line ran through Ahwāz, and its southern terminal was Bandar-i Shāhpūr.

In the last twenty years, Khūzistān's prosperity has increased exponentially. Many large oilfields are connected by road and pipeline with the refinery at Ābādān and with the terminal at Bandar-i Māhshahr (formerly Bandar-i Maʿshūr). Ābādān, a virtually uninhabited site fifty years ago, is now Iran's fifth city (estimated population, 1975, 320,000). In 1961, the deep-water tanker terminal on Khārg Island was opened. The construction of the massive Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlawī dam on the Diz river (1962) has not only provided the province with hydro-electricity but with water for the large-scale development of market-gardening and other agricultural projects, including the resumption of the cultivation of sugar-cane; other dams are planned. Khurramshahr is now one of Iran's principal ports-of-entry on the Persian Gulf. More recently, the development of the natural gas industry has taken place on a large scale; in 1973, 8.7 billion cu. m. of natural gas were exported to the U.S.S.R. The petrochemical industry is expanding at a great rate. The rapidly developing Djundīshāpūr University at Ahwāz now has over 2,000 students. The words of the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, written one thousand years ago, now once again hold true: "This province is more prosperous than any province adjoining it. Great rivers and running waters are found in it. Its countryside is flourishing and its mountains are full of utility" (129-30).

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KHVARSHĪ (self-designation, Kedaes hikwa, Khuani, Khvarshal; in Russian, Khvarshintsï) an ethnic group in the Caucasus whose language forms, with Bezheta, Ginukh, Dido and Khunzal [*qq.v.*] the Dido division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian languages.

According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were 1,019 ethnic Khvarshïs, of whom 1,018 gave Khvarshï as their maternal tongue. They formerly lived in five *auls* (including Khvarshï and Inkhorarï) on the upper course of the Ori-Tsḳalis, a southern affluent of the Andi-Koysu in the south-west of the Bagulal district of the Dāghistān ASSR; in 1944, they were resettled in the district of Vedeno in that same republic. They lived originally in an isolated region of high mountains, which long preserved them from any marked degree of outside influence and allowed them to retain their patriarchal customs. They are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī legal school.

Their traditional economy was based on sheep-rearing, with a system of transhumance, and also on terraced agriculture and various crafts; their present-day economy is essentially similar, with the added element of cattle-rearing.

Khvarshï is purely a vernacular language; Avar is used as the first literary language, and also as the second (sometimes first) spoken language, since it is used as the medium for primary education. Russian is the second literary language. Both linguistically and culturally, the Khvarshïs are now being assimilated to the Avars [see further AVAR, DĀGHISTĀN. DIDO, AL-ḲABḲ].

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ḲIBLA, the direction of Mecca (or, to be exact, of the Kaʿba or the point between the *mīzāb* or water-spout and the western corner of it), towards which the worshipper must direct himself for prayer.

i.—Ritual and Legal Aspects

From very early times the direction at prayer and divine service for the worshippers was not a matter of choice among the Semitic peoples. There is already an allusion to this in I Kings, viii, 44 and it is recorded of Daniel (Dan., vi, 11) that he offered prayer three times a day in the direction of Jerusalem (which has remained the Jewish *ḳibla* to this day). As is evident from the names of the quarters of the heavens, the whole life of the Semitic peoples was turned eastwards. The Essenes prayed in the direction of the rising sun and the Syriac Christians also turned eastwards at prayer (*Ancient Syriac documents*, ed. Cureton, 24, 60; *Acta martyrum occid.*, ed. Assemani, ii, 125). It may therefore very well be assumed in agreement with the tradition that Muḥammad appointed a *ḳibla* at the same time as he instituted the *ṣalāt*. It is certain that in the period immediately following the *hiḏjra* the direction taken by the Jews was also used by the Muslims. Tradition places the alteration in the *ḳibla* to 16 or 17 months after the *hiḏjra*, in Radjab or Shaʿbān of the year 2, probably rightly, for in this period we have the important change in Muḥammad's attitude to the Jews. Disappointed at the slight success of his preaching among the Jews of Yathrib, he began to turn more and more to the old Arabian tradition and make the religion of Ibrāhīm the basis of all monotheistic religions. The Kaʿba was brought into prominence as a religious centre and the *ḥadjdj* began to be talked of as a Muslim rite. At the same time a beginning was made with the eviction of the Jewish tribes of Yathrib. The alteration in the *ḳibla* is a not unimportant fact in this series of events and this train of thought. The Ḳurʾān verses, II, 136 ff., refer to this: "What has induced them to abandon their former *ḳibla*? Say: to Allāh belongs the east and the west. He guides whomsoever he pleaseth unto the right path ... We only appointed your previous *ḳibla* to distinguish him who follows the Prophet from him who turns back on his heels ... Turn then thy face toward the holy *masdjid*; turn your face to it wherever you are".

The importance placed by Muḥammad himself upon the change is clear from these words. It is not necessary to assume with the tradition that it was brought about by scornful remarks of the Jews regarding Muḥammad's dependence on the prescriptions of their religion (so Ṭabarī, i, 1280). In other traditions, the new *ḳibla* is represented as that of Ibrāhīm (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, i, 378, ii, 13). Here we have a glimmering of the real truth of the matter, namely the connection with Muḥammad's new politico-religious attitude. According to one tradition (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 32; *Tafsīr*, Sūra II, *bāb* 14) the revelation of the above quoted verses from the Ḳurʾān was communicated to the believers in the morning *ṣalāt* in Ḳubāʾ; according to another story Muḥammad had with a portion of the community performed two *rakʿas* of the *ẓuhr* prayer in a mosque of the Banū Salima, when he turned round to the direction of Mecca (Bayḍāwī, on Sūra II, 139). The mosque received the name of *masdjid al-ḳiblatayn*, "the mosque of the two ḳiblas".

If it may then be considered established that Muḥammad and his community turned towards Jerusalem at the *ṣalāt* during the early years of the *hiḏjra*, the question still remains, what was his *ḳibla* before the *hiḏjra*? In Tradition two answers are given to this question and a third deduced by harmonising the other two. According to one, Muḥammad in Mecca observed the *ḳibla* to the Kaʿba (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 4; Bayḍāwī, on Sūra II, 138); according to the other story the *ḳibla* had always been Jerusalem (Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ii, 3, 8, *Annales*, i, 1280; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 2); according to the third (Ibn Hishām, 190, 228) Muḥammad in Mecca was careful to have the Kaʿba and Jerusalem in a straight line in front of him at the *ṣalāt*. The first view is influenced by the theory of the "religion of Ibrāhīm" for al-Tibrīzī also makes ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib already know that Ibrāhīm appointed the Kaʿba as *ḳibla* (*Ḥamāsa*, i, 125). If the second opinion had not an historical basis, one does not quite understand how it could have arisen, for Tradition does not like to acknowledge Muḥammad's dependence on Jewish practice. This view seems therefore to be the most probable. It is further mentioned as a distinguishing peculiarity of Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr that even in the period before the *hiḏjra* he would not turn his back on the Kaʿba (Ibn Hishām 294); this tradition would lose its point if the old *ḳibla* had been in the direction of the Kaʿba. Besides these traditional views, others have been put forward in recent years. According to Tor Andrae, *Der Ursprung des Islams und das Christentum*, Uppsala and Stockholm 1926, 4 (cf. Buhl, *Mohammed's liv*, 212) the original *ḳibla* was to the east. Andrae bases his view not on the material of Tradition but on the general agreement between early Muslim and Christian religious usages. Schwally said that the Jerusalem *ḳibla* was introduced into Mecca, perhaps as a Jewish-Christian institution (*Geschichte des Qorans*, i, 175, note k).

The direction of the *ḳibla* was, or is, not assumed at the *ṣalāt* only and with the points of the toes (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 28; *Aḏhān*, *bāb* 131; Nasāʾī, *Sāhw*, *bāb* 25; *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 96), but also at the *duʿāʾ* (Bukhārī, *Daʿawāt*, *bāb* 24), at the *iḥlāl* or *iḥrām* (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 29) and after the stone-throwing at the central Djamra (Bukhārī, *Ḥadjdj*, *bāb* 140-2); the head of an animal to be slaughtered is turned to the *ḳibla* and the dead are buried with the face towards Mecca (Lane, *Manners and customs*, Paisley and London 1899; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspr. Geschr.*, iv/1 243; v, 409).

In the *ḥadīth* it is forbidden to turn towards Mecca when relieving nature (Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 11; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, trad. 61; Nasāʾī, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 18-20). On the question whether it is allowable in doing this to turn one's back to Mecca and thus in some parts of Arabia be facing Jerusalem no unanimity prevails (cf. Bukhārī, *Wuḍūʾ*, *bāb* 14; *Khums*, *bāb* 4; *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 29; Muslim, *Ṭahāra*, *trad.* 59, 61-2; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṭahāra*, *bāb* 4); one should not expectorate in the direction of Mecca (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 33).

The observance of a *ḳibla* is given in old traditions along with the performance of the *ṣalāt* and ritual slaughter as a criterion of the Muslim: The Prophet of God said: "The command has been given me to fight the people till they say: There is no god but Allāh; when they say these words, perform our *ṣalāt* and slaughter in our way, their blood and their property shall be inviolate for us", etc. (Bukhārī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 28; cf. *Aḏāḥī*, *bāb* 12). One of the terms for the orthodox community is *ahl al-ḳibla wa 'l-djamāʿa*. In many Muslim lands the word has become the name of a point of the compass, according to the direction in which Mecca lies; thus *ḳibla* (pronounced *ibla*) means in Egypt and Palestine, south, whereas in the Maghrib, east.

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In the mosques the direction of the *ṣalāt* is indicated by the *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*]; in classical *ḥadīth*, this word does not occur and *ḳibla* is used to mean the wall of the mosque towards which one turns. At a *ṣalāt* outside a mosque, a *sutra* [*q.v.*] marks the direction. In Egypt, small compasses specially made for this purpose are used to ascertain the *ḳibla* (Lane, *op. cit.*, 228). It should be noted that many mosques are not accurately but only approximately orientated (according to the *ǧihā*, see below). It sometimes happens that this error has been later corrected by the drawing of lines or the stretching of threads. This is, for example, the case in many mosques of Indonesia where the faithful at the *ṣalāt* take their direction not from the *miḥrāb* but from such indicators.

The laws relating to the *ḳibla* are here given very briefly only and according to the Shāfiʿī school as laid down in al-Shīrāzī's *Kitāb al-Tanbīh* (ed. Juynboll, 20). The adoption of a *ḳibla* is a necessary condition for the validity of a *ṣalāt*. Only in great danger and in a voluntary *ṣalāt* on a journey can it be neglected. But if one is on foot or can turn his steed round, it should be observed at the *iḥrām*, *rukūʿ* and *sudjūd*. One should turn exactly in the direction of the *ḳibla*, and one who is near it can do so with certainty. According to others, when one is distant only the general direction (*ǧihā*) is obligatory. Outside of Mecca one turns towards the *miḥrāb* within a mosque; when not in a mosque one follows the direction of reliable people: only a man who is in a deserted region is allowed to ascertain the direction for himself by means of certain indications. For details of the laws see the *Bibliography*.

Bibliography: The Ḳurʾān commentators on Sūra II, 136 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, 108-10, 133-5; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iii, register; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handleiding tot de kennis van de Mohammedaansche Wet*, Leiden 1925, 67, note 5; al-Nawawī, *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn*, ed. van den Berg, i, 69-73; *al-Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgīriyya*, Calcutta 1828, i, 86-9; al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*, Calcutta 1255, 28-30 (tr. Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris 1871, i, 56 ff.); al-Khallī, *Muḵḵtaṣar*, Paris 1900, 16-7; C. C. Torrey, *The Jewish foundation of Islam*, repr. New York 1967, 134-5; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, index; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*[2], Paris 1969, index. (A. J. Wensinck*)

ii.—Astronomical Aspects

The determination of the *ḳibla* was an important problem for the scientists of mediaeval Islam. Although essentially a problem of mathematical geography, the determination of the *ḳibla* can also be considered as a problem of spherical astronomy. Thus most Islamic astronomical handbooks or *zīdjs*, of which close on 200 were compiled during the millenium beginning in 750 A.D., contain a chapter on the determination of the *ḳibla*. In addition, several dozen mediaeval manuals for timekeeping deal with the topic. In contrast, the number of treatises dealing specifically with the *ḳibla* problem is quite few.

The *ḳibla* at a given locality is a trigonometric function of the local latitude, the latitude of Mecca, and the longitude difference from Mecca. The derivation of the *ḳibla* in terms of these three quantities was the most complicated of the standard problems of mediaeval Islamic spherical astronomy, and the solutions to the *ḳibla* problem proposed by the leading astronomers of mediaeval Islam bear witness to the development of mathematical methods from the 3rd/9th to the 8th/14th centuries and to the level of sophistication in trigonometry and computational techniques attained by these scholars. Already in the 3rd/9th century Muslim scholars had derived exact solutions using the construction of Greek mathematics known as the analemma (in which the various significant planes involved in a specific problem are either projected or folded into a single working plane, whereupon the geometrical solution can be derived graphically or the trigonometric solution can be derived by plane trigonometry) or using the classical Theorem of Menelaos for the complete spherical quadrilateral. Later *ḳibla* methods included trigonometric solutions based on projection methods or on the simpler corollaries of the Theorem of Menelaos. Certain Muslim astronomers contented themselves with approximate solutions, which were adequate for practical purposes. The final mathematical solution to the *ḳibla* problem was the table compiled by the 8th/14th century astronomer al-Khallī, displaying the *ḳibla* for all latitudes and longitudes.

The mathematical problem

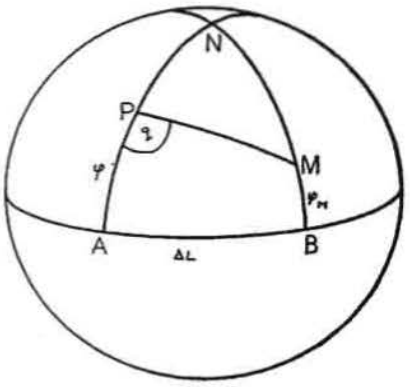

Fig. 1

Fig. 1 shows a locality P and Mecca M on the terrestrial surface. The point N. represents the north pole, and the meridians at P and M are shown as NPA and NMB, where A and B lie on the equator. In mathematical terms the *ḳibla* at P is defined by the direction of the great circle through P and M. In mediaeval Arabic the angle q between the arc PM and the local meridian NPS was called *inḥirāf al-ḳibla*, and the complementary angle between PM and the east-west line through P was called *samt al-ḳibla*. If φ and φ_M denote the latitudes of the locality and of Mecca (= PA nd MB), and ΔL denotes their longitude difference (= AB), then q is a function of φ, φ_M, and ΔL, and can be determined by spherical trigonometry. The modern formula, which can be derived from an application of the spherical contangent rule to ΔNPM, is:

$$q = \cot^{-1} \frac{\sin \varphi \cos \Delta L - \cos \varphi \tan \varphi_M}{\sin \Delta L}.$$

The exact solutions proposed by the mediaeval astronomers are less direct but ultimately equivalent to this.

Although the problem of determining the *ḳibla* is a problem of mathematical geography, it is mathematically equivalent to the astronomical problem of determining the azimuth or direction of a celestial body with given declination for a given hour-angle, and as such it was usually treated by the mediaeval

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astronomers. Indeed, the *ḳibla* problem may be transferred to the celestial sphere simply by considering the zenith of Mecca rather than Mecca.

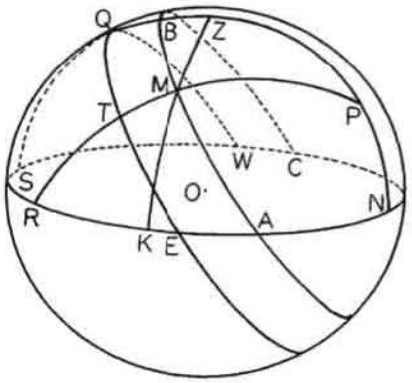

Fig. 2

Fig. 2 shows the zenith of Mecca M on the celestial sphere for a locality O. The local horizon is NESW and the local meridian is NPZS. EQW is the celestial equator, P is the celestial pole, and ABC is the day-circle of M. PMTR is the meridian of Mecca. Now:

$$PN = \varphi,\ MT = \varphi_M,\ \text{and}\ QT = \Delta L,$$

and the problem is to determine the azimuth of M measured from the meridian by the arc SK = q. Most mediaeval methods involve first finding the altitude of the zenith of Mecca above the local horizon, measured by the arc MK = h. This is equivalent to finding the complement of the distance between the two localities. Thus the problem of determining q (φ, φ_M, ΔL) is mathematically equivalent to determining the azimuth a (φ, δ, t) of a celestial body with declination δ (measured by MT) when the hour angle is t (measured by QT) and the local latitude is φ (measured by PN). Indeed, several Islamic *ḳibla* methods state simply that if one faces the sun on the day when the solar declination is φ_M at the time when the hour-angle is ΔL (before or after midday, according as the locality is west or east of Mecca), then one is facing Mecca.

In the sequel a selection of methods is presented to illustrate the variety and sophistication of some of the few mediaeval *ḳibla* determinations that have been investigated in modern times. The notation has been modified in order to relate to that used in Fig. 2. For the details of the original constructions the reader is referred to the secondary literature listed in the bibliography. Those methods that are trigonometric in character are represented by means of trigonometric equations; in the original texts the relations are written out in words. The capital notation for trigonometric functions denotes that they are to a base other than unity: thus, for example, Sin θ = R sin θ where R is generally 60 and occasionally, in the case of works following the Indian-Sāsānid tradition, 150. Likewise Cos θ = R cos θ, Vers θ = R vers θ = R (1 - cos θ), etc. The radius of the celestial sphere is taken to be R.

The trigonometric procedures outlined by the Muslim astronomers can also be performed geometrically using a grid of the kind which occurs on the circular instruments known in mediaeval Arabic as *al-dustūr* and *al-ṣhakkāziyya*, or the related quadrants known as *al-rubʿ al-muḏjayyab* and *rubʿ al-ṣhakkāziyya*. Most Islamic treatises on these instruments contain a chapter on the determination of the *ḳibla*.

Approximate solutions

A popular approximate method for determining the *ḳibla* which occurs in the *Zīḏj* of the Syrian astronomer al-Battānī (*fl.* Raḳḳa, *ca.* 297/910) and in several unsophisticated Islamic astronomical works such as *al-Mulaḵẖḵẖaṣ fi 'l-hay'a* by al-Ḏjaghmīnī (*fl.* Kh^{w}ārazm, ? *ca.* 725/1325) is the following.

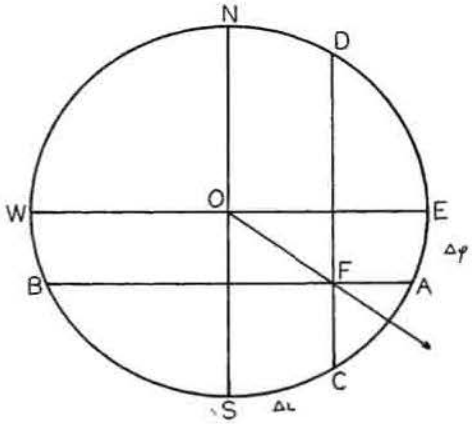

Fig. 3

Fig. 3 shows the construction for a locality where Mecca is to the south east. Mark the cardinal directions NWSE on a horizontal circle centre O and radius R and measure arcs EA=WB=$\Delta\varphi$=φ-φ_M southwards and SC=ND=ΔL eastwards. Next draw AB and CD, and denote their point of intersection by F. Then OF defines the *ḳibla*. This method is equivalent to an application of the formula

$$q = \text{Sin}^{-1}\left\{\frac{R\ \text{Sin}\ \Delta L}{\sqrt{\text{Sin}^2\ \Delta\varphi + \text{Sin}^2\ \Delta L}}\right\} = \text{Tan}^{-1}\left\{\frac{R\ \text{Sin}\ \Delta L}{\text{Sin}\ \Delta\varphi}\right\}.$$

Certain Muslim astronomers also used tables based on this formula and displaying values of q ($\Delta\varphi$, ΔL) for each degree of both arguments from 1° to 20°. A feature of these tables is that the entries for $\Delta\varphi = \Delta L$ are all 45°0′.

Another approximate solution to the *ḳibla* problem is outlined in a treatise related to al-Kh^{w}ārazmī (*fl.* Baghdād, *ca.* 215/830). Here the formula

$$q = \text{Sin}^{-1}\left\{\frac{\left[\frac{\text{Sin}\ \Delta L\ \text{Cos}\ \varphi_M}{R}\right]R}{\sqrt{\text{Sin}^2\ \Delta\varphi + \left[\frac{\text{Sin}\ \Delta L\ \text{Cos}\ \varphi_M}{R}\right]^2}}\right\},$$

with the trigonometric functions to base R = 150 rather than R = 60, is outlined in words. The table displaying q ($\Delta\varphi$, ΔL) that accompanies this treatise was rather popular with later Muslim astronomers and exists in several manuscript copies, some of which are of Syrian, Yemenī, and Turkish provenance. Yet other approximate *ḳibla* tables based on non-trivial formulae are found in the *Aṣhrafī zīḏj* of the Persian astronomer Sayf-i Munaḏjdjim (*fl. ca.* 710/1310), the *Zīḏj* of the Persian astronomer Shams al-Munaḏjdjim al-Wābiknawī (*fl. ca.* 725/1325), and

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in a treatise on the quadrant by Ibn Ṭaybughā (*fl.* Aleppo, *ca.* 751/1350).

Exact solutions

Four exact solutions to the *ḳibla* problem are outlined below. The first and second illustrate the application and mathematical elegance of the analemma construction, and the way in which it can be used to derive complicated formulae of spherical trigonometry from a plane figure. The third and fourth illustrate the application and mathematical elegance of the Theorem of Menelaos and its corollaries. Al-Khalīlī's *ḳibla* table, which is perhaps the most sophisticated trigonometric table compiled in the mediaeval period, illustrates the competence of an 8th/14th century scholar in the algebra of functions and computational techniques.

A geometric *ḳibla* construction proposed by Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib (*fl.* Baghdād and Damascus, *ca.* 235/850) involves an analemma in which the working plane is considered consecutively as the meridian, equatorial, meridian, and horizon planes. Ḥabash's method may be summarised as follows (see Fig. 4). On a circle centre O and radius R mark the cardinal directione NWSE, and then draw arc WQ = φ, arc QB = φ_M, and arc QT = ΔL. Draw the diameter QOR and the parallel chord BC with midpoint G. Mark the point M_2 on OT such that OM_2 = GC and draw the perpendicular M_2M_1 onto BC. Next draw M_1L parallel to WE and M_1IJ parallel to SN to cut WE in I and the circle in J. Finally, construct the point M_3 on M_1L such that OM_3 = IJ and produce OM_3 to cut the circle at K. Then OK defines the *ḳibla*.

This construction may be explained as follows. Firstly, QOR and BGC represent the projections of the celestial equator and the day circle of the zenith of Mecca in the meridian plane. Secondly, M_2 represents the projection of the zenith of Mecca in the equatorial plane. If we then imagine the equatorial plane to be folded into the meridian plane, M_2 moves to M_1, which is thus the projection of the zenith of Mecca in the meridian plane. Furthermore, M_1IJ is the projection in this plane of the almucantar through the zenith of Mecca, whose radius is thus IJ. Also M_1I and IJ measure the distances from the zenith of Mecca to the prime vertical and to the line joining the local zenith to O, respectively. Finally, we consider the horizon plane the working plane; by virtue of the construction, M_3 is the projection of the zenith of the Mecca in this plane. Thus OK defines the *ḳibla*.

From such a geometric construction a trigonometric solution for the *ḳibla* problem can be derived with facility. Indeed, from the analemma construction for the *ḳibla* proposed by Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Cairo, d. 430/1039: a single formula for q (φ, φ_M, L) equivalent to the modern one can be derived directly. Ibn Yūnus [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Cairo and Fusṭāṭ, d. 399/1009) proposed the following trigonometric solution to the *ḳibla* problem. Firstly from the quantity

$$h = \mathrm{Sin}^{-1}\left\{\frac{\left\langle\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}\right\rangle}{R}\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M + \mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi\right\},$$

and then the *ḳibla* is defined by

$$q = \mathrm{Sin}^{-1}\left\{\frac{\langle\mathrm{Sin}\,\Delta L\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M\rangle}{\mathrm{Cos}\,h}\right\}.$$

Ibn Yūnus offered no justification for this procedure, but his formulae can be derived from an analemma construction such as the one proposed by Ḥabash.

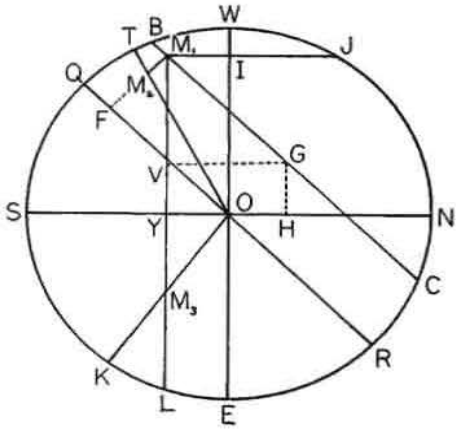

Fig. 4

If in Fig. 4 we draw the perpendiculars GH and GV from G to SN and M_1Y, then we have

$$M_1V = \left\{\frac{\langle\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M\rangle}{R^2}\right\},$$

since

$$M_1V = M_1G\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi}{R}$$

and

$$M_1G = OF = OM_2\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R} = GC\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}.$$

Also

$$GH = OG\,\frac{\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi}{R}\,\frac{\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Sin}\,\varphi}{R}.$$

Furthermore, since the arc JN measures h, we have $M_1Y = \mathrm{Sin}\,h$. But $M_1Y = MV + VY = MV + GH$. Ibn Yūnus' first formula follows immediately.

Next we observe that M_3Y and M_2F both measure the distance of the zenith of Mecca to the meridian and are hence equal. Thus

$$M_3Y = M_2F = OM_2\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}\,\frac{\mathrm{Cos}\,\varphi_M\,\mathrm{Cos}\,\Delta L}{R}.$$

Also, since the arc JN measures h, and OMf is by construction equal to IJ, we have OMf = IJ = Cos h. Ibn Yūnus' second formula follows immediately, since q measures the arc SK.

Ibn Yūnus also compiled a table displaying the solar altitude in Cairo when the sun is in the azimuth of Mecca. His table gives values for each degree of solar longitude, corresponding roughly to each day of the year. Tables of this kind were contained in the main corpora of tables for timekeeping that were used in such centres as Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Istanbul, and an isolated table of this kind was compiled for the observatory at Marāgha in north-western Persia. The solar altitude in the azimuth of Mecca is occasionally displayed graphically on the backs of astrolabes.

Al-Nayrīzī (*fl.* Baghdād, *ca.* 287/900) solved the *ḳibla* problem by four successive applications of the Theorem of Menelaos. His solution involves finding

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successively the arcs TR, SR, MK and KS in Fig. 2, as follows. Firstly, find TR using

$$\frac{\text{Sin PS}}{\text{Sin SQ}} = \frac{\text{Sin PR}}{\text{Sin RT}}\frac{\text{Sin TE}}{\text{Sin EQ}},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\text{Sin } (180^\circ - \varphi)}{\text{Sin } \varphi} = \frac{\text{Sin } (90^\circ + \text{TR})}{\text{Sin TR}}\frac{\text{Sin } (90^\circ - \Delta L)}{\text{Sin } 90^\circ}.$$

Secondly, find SR using

$$\frac{\text{Sin PQ}}{\text{Sin QS}} = \frac{\text{Sin PT}}{\text{Sin TR}}\frac{\text{Sin ER}}{\text{Sin ES}},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\text{Sin } 90^\circ}{\text{Sin } (90^\circ - \varphi)} = \frac{\text{Sin } 90^\circ}{\text{Sin TR}}\frac{\text{Sin ER}}{\text{Sin } 90^\circ},$$

whence ER and SR ($= \overline{\text{ER}} = 90^\circ - \text{ER}$). Thirdly, find MK ($= h$) using

$$\frac{\text{Sin SP}}{\text{Sin SZ}} = \frac{\text{Sin PR}}{\text{Sin RM}}\frac{\text{Sin MK}}{\text{Sin KZ}},$$

that is,

$$\frac{\text{Sin } (180^\circ - \varphi)}{\text{Sin } 90^\circ} = \frac{\text{Sin } (90^\circ + \text{TR})}{\text{Sin } (\text{TR} + \varphi_m)}\frac{\text{Sin MK}}{\text{Sin } 90^\circ}.$$

Finally, find KS ($= q$) using

$$\frac{\text{Sin KS}}{\text{Sin SR}} = \frac{\text{Sin KZ}}{\text{Sin ZM}}\frac{\text{Sin MP}}{\text{Sin PR}},$$

that is

$$\frac{\text{Sin } q}{\text{Sin SR}} = \frac{\text{Sin } 90^\circ}{\text{Sin } (90^\circ - h)}\frac{\text{Sin } (90^\circ - \varphi_M)}{\text{Sin } (90^\circ + \text{TR})}.$$

Al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Kh*arazm and Ghazna, d. after 442/1050) proposed several different methods for finding the *ḳibla*, based on a variety of different procedures. In his work on mathematical geography, the *Taḥdīd nihāyāt al-amākin*, al-Bīrūnī derived the longitude difference between Mecca and Ghazna mathematically using the distances between staging posts on the major caravan routes, and then derived the *ḳibla* at Ghazna using four different methods, including spherical trigonometry (using Menelaos' Theorem), solid geometry (using procedures equivalent to those standard in solving timekeeping problems), and the analemma. Al-Bīrūnī's solution to the *ḳibla* problem in his major astronomical work *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, compiled after the *Taḥdīd*, is more elegant than his solution by spherical trigonometry in the earlier work. It was also proposed about thirty years previously as an alternative solution by Ibn Yūnus. Al-Bīrūnī proved its correctness by spherical trigonometry. Ibn Yūnus presented it algebraically with no justification, but he appears to have derived most of his formulae for spherical astronomy by projection methods rather than by spherical trigonometry. Al-Bīrūnī's treatment of the problem illustrates the progress made by Muslim scholars in spherical trigonometry during the tenth century. Whereas his predecessor al-Nayrīzī had laboriously used Menelaos' Theorem, al-Bīrūnī used its simpler corollaries, the spherical Sine Rule and the "Rule of Four Quantities".

Al-Bīrūnī first outlined an algebraic procedure for finding q using four auxiliary arcs which we call θ_1, θ_2, θ_3, and θ_4. Since he used $R = 1$ rather than 60 his trigonometric functions are the same as the modern ones. First find θ_1, "the distance on the day circle", thus $\sin \theta_1 = \sin \Delta L \cos \theta_M$. Then find θ_2, "the local latitude adjusted for the horizon (of Mecca)", using $\sin \theta_2 \frac{\sin \theta_M}{\cos \theta_1}$, and θ_3, "the correction to the latitude", using $\theta_3 = \varphi - \theta_2$. Then find θ_4, "the distance between the two localities", using $\cos \theta_4 = \cos \theta_3 \cos \theta_1$. Finally, q is given by

$$\sin q = \frac{\sin \theta_3 \cos \theta_1}{\sin \theta_4}.$$

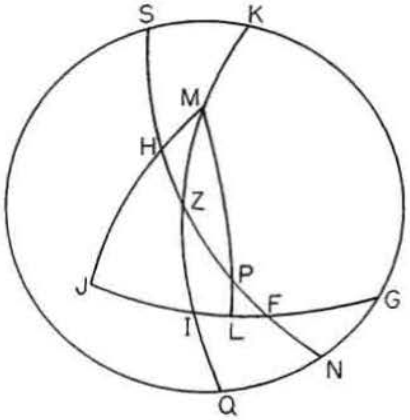

Fig. 5

Al-Bīrūnī's justification of this procedure is equivalent to the following. In Fig. 5, which is essentially the same as the diagrams in the manuscripts of the original text, the base circle represents the horizon, with N and S the north- and south-points. The local meridian is SZPN where Z is the local zenith and P is the celestial pole. M is the zenith of Mecca and GLJ and MPL are respectively the horizon and meridian at Mecca. ZMK is the altitude circle of M and MHJ is a great circle with F as pole. Thus PN $= \varphi$, PL $= \varphi_M$, and MPZ $= \Delta L$, and it is required to find SK ($= q$). Al-Bīrūnī observed that (by the spherical Sine Rule).

$$\frac{\sin \text{MP}}{\sin \text{MH}} = \frac{\sin \angle \text{MHP}}{\sin \angle \text{MPH}}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\cos \varphi_M \sin 90^\circ}{\cos \angle \text{F} \sin \Delta L},$$

whence $\angle$ F ($= \angle$ PFL) is known. Thus θ_1 is the complement of $\angle$ F. Similarly

$$\frac{\sin \angle \text{F}}{\sin \angle \text{PLF}} = \frac{\sin \text{PL}}{\sin \text{PF}}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\cos \theta_1 \sin \varphi_M}{\sin 90 \sin \text{PF}},$$

whence PF is known.

Thus θ_2 is PF. Thirdly, since FN $=$ PN $-$ PF $= \varphi - \theta_2$, θ_3 measures FN. Fourthly, al-Bīrūnī states that by the "Rule of Four Quantities"

$$\frac{\sin \text{FZ}}{\cos \angle \text{G}} = \frac{\sin \text{FH}}{\sin \text{HJ}}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\cos \theta_4}{\cos \angle \text{G}} = \frac{\sin 90^\circ}{\cos \theta_1},$$

(note that $\cos \angle$ G $= \cos \angle$ FGN $= \cos$ IQ $= \sin$ ZI) so that θ_4 measures $\angle$ G.

Finally, he points out that (by the spherical Sine Rule)

$$\frac{\sin \angle \text{G}}{\sin \angle \text{F}} = \frac{\sin \text{FN}}{\sin \text{GN}}, \text{ i.e., } \frac{\sin \theta_4}{\cos \theta_1} = \frac{\sin \theta_3}{\sin \text{GN}},$$

whence $q =$ SK $= 90^\circ -$ GN.

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Al-Khalīlī (*fl.* Damascus, *ca.* 766/1365) compiled a *ḳibla* table based on an accurate formula and displaying q (φ, ΔL) for each degree of φ from 10° to 56° and each degree of ΔL from 1° to 60°. Al-Khalīlī's table thus contains a total of almost 3,000 entries, and the *ḳibla* is computed to degrees and minutes. The vast majority of the entries are either correct or in error by ± 1 or ± 2 minutes, a remarkable achievement. Table 1 shows a section of al-Khalīlī's table.

$$f\varphi(\theta) = \frac{R \operatorname{Sin} \theta}{\operatorname{Cos} \varphi}, \quad g\varphi(\theta) = \frac{\operatorname{Sin} \theta \operatorname{Tan} \varphi}{R},$$

$$\text{and } G(x, y) = \operatorname{arc\,Cos} \left\{ \frac{Rx}{\operatorname{Cos} y} \right\}.$$

The procedure for finding q (φ, ΔL) would be to first find h (φ, ΔL) using the simple formula of al-Marrākushī and then to use the auxiliary tables to apply the formula

Table 1

Sample Entries from al-Khalīlī's *Kibla* Table
(The errors in the minutes are shown after each entry)

ΔL *ij*	34°	35	36°	37°
25°	66°55′ + 1	64°59′	63° 9′ + 1	61°20′ — 1
24	65 39 + 1	63 39 − 1	61 45 — 2	59 56 — 2
23	64 17	62 16 − 1	60 19 — 2	58 29 — 1
22	62 52	60 50	58 50 — 2	56 58 — 1
21	61 25 + 2	59 18	57 18	55 24
20	59 50 + 1	57 42 + 1	55 41 + 1	53 46 + 2
19	58 10	56 2 + 2	53 59 + 3	52 2 + 2
18	56 25 + 1	54 14 + 2	52 10 + 2	50 12 + 2
17	54 33	52 19	50 14 + 1	48 17 + 2
16	52 34	50 20 + 1	48 13	46 14 — 1
15	50 30 + 2	48 15 + 3	46 8 + 2	44 9 + 1
14	48 16 + 2	46 0 + 2	43 54 + 2	41 56
13	45 52	43 38 + 2	41 33 + 2	39 38 + 1
12	43 23 + 3	41 8 + 2	39 6 + 3	37 12 + 1
11	40 42 + 4	38 26 − 1	36 29 + 2	34 40 + 2
10	37 46	35 38	33 43	31 59
9	34 42 — 1	32 40 − 1	30 50 — 1	29 12
8	31 28 — 1	29 34	27 51	26 18 — 1
7	28 7 + 2	26 19 + 1	24 44 + 1	23 20 + 1
6	24 31 + 2	22 54 + 2	21 30 + 2	20 14 + 1
5	20 44 + 1	19 20 + 1	18 7 + 2	17 2 + 2
4	16 49 + 2	15 38 + 1	14 36	13 44 + 1
3	12 43	11 48 − 1	11 1 — 1	10 21
2	8 33	7 56	7 24	6 57 + 1
1	4 19 + 1	4 1 + 2	3 45 + 2	3 33 + 4

Al-Khalīlī does not describe the way in which he compiled his *ḳibla* table. However, in his introduction to the table he expresses his approval of the *ḳibla* method of al-Marrākushī (*fl.* Cairo, *ca.* 679/1280). This involved first finding h using

$$\operatorname{Sin} h = \operatorname{Sin} (\overset{\perp}{\varphi} + \varphi_M) - \operatorname{Vers} \Delta L \frac{\operatorname{Cos} \varphi_M \operatorname{Cos} \varphi}{R^2},$$

and then applying the standard Islamic formula for finding the azimuth from the celestial altitude, namely

$$q = \operatorname{arc\,Cos} \left\{ \frac{R \left[\frac{\operatorname{Sin} h \operatorname{Tan} \varphi}{R} - \frac{R \operatorname{Sin} \delta}{\operatorname{Cos} \varphi} \right]}{\operatorname{Cos} h} \right\}.$$

Both of these formulae can be derived from Fig. 4. If al-Khalīlī did use precisely this method to compile his *ḳibla* table, it may be that he also used his universal auxiliary tables (*al-ǧadwal al-āfāḳī*) to facilitate the computation. These tables which were specifically designed for solving all of the standard problems of spherical astronomy for any latitude, display the three functions

$$q(\varphi, \Delta L) = G \{ x(\varphi, \Delta L), h \}$$

where

$$x(\varphi, \Delta L) = g\varphi(h) - f\varphi(\varphi_M).$$

This latter procedure is easily shown to be equivalent to the standard azimuth formula.

Al-Khalīlī also computed the *ḳibla* for 44 localities in Palestine, Syria, and Iraq. These are likewise very carefully computed. Sample entries from this list are shown in Table 2. Several other *ḳibla* lists were compiled by mediaeval Muslim astronomers, and the geographical tables in late Islamic *zīǧ*s often display the *ḳibla* alongside the latitudes and longitudes of important localities.

Alignment of Mosques

Now even though the mediaeval astronomer might have been aware of an exact formula for computing the *ḳibla*, the accuracy of his *ḳibla* determinations depended on the geographical data that he had at his disposal. Mediaeval longitude determinations, based either on simultaneous observations of lunar eclipses in different localities or on measuring distances between the localities, were generally not very accurate. Mediaeval latitude determinations,

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Table 2

Sample Entries from al-Khalīlī's *Ḳibla* List
(The errors are derived using the mathematically correct formula and al-Khalīlī's coordinates)

Locality	Longitude	Latitude	*Ḳibla*	Error
Gaza	57°0′	32°0′	42°46′	+ 1′
Hebron	56 30	31 35	45 21	— 6
Jerusalem	56 50	32 0	43 14	— 2
Damascus	60 0	33 30	29 4	+ 1
Beirut	59 15	33 20	31 59	— 4
Baʿlabakk	60 0	33 50	28 25	+ 1
Hamā	61 45	34 45	20 32	— 2
Aleppo	62 10	35 50	17 42	0
Mārdīn	64 0	37 55	9 48	0
Baghdād	70 0	33 25	13 19	0
Kūfa	69 30	31 30	13 12	+ 1
Mecca	67 0	21 30	-	-

on the other hand, based on observations of the solar meridian altitude, were generally more accurate. Even so, the most popular values used by Muslim astronomers for the latitude of Mecca were 21°, 21° 20′, 21° 30′, and 21° 40′, whereas the accurate value is 21° 26′. This explains why mediaeval mosques may be incorrectly oriented even though their *miḥrāb*s [*q.v.*] were erected in a *ḳibla* direction computed by competent mathematicians.

Another reason why mosques may be incorrectly aligned is that their *ḳibla*s were not computed from geographical data at all but were inspired by tradition. Thus, for example, mosques in the Maghrib and the Indian subcontinent generally face due east or due west, respectively. Likewise, in early Muslim Egypt, the *ḳibla* adopted was the azimuth of the rising sun at the winter solstice. Several mosques in Cairo face this direction, which was favoured as the *ḳiblat al-ṣaḥāba* but which is about 10° off the *ḳibla* computed mathematically using mediaeval geographical coordinates and about 20° off the true *ḳibla* for Cairo. No survey has yet been made of the orientation of mediaeval mosques. Such a survey would be of considerable interest for the history of Islamic architecture as well as the history of science.

Bibliography: Several of the following secondary sources contain descriptions and analyses of mediaeval *ḳibla* methods. There exist numerous Islamic astronomical works containing *ḳibla* methods that have not been investigated in modern times. On the *ḳibla* method of Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] (*fl.* Samarḳand, d. 853/1449), which is none other than the method of Ibn Yūnus and al-Bīrūnī, see L. A. Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oloug-Beg: traduction et commentaire*, (Paris 1853), 116-21. On the approximate methods of al-Battānī and al-Djaghmīnī, see C. A. Nallino, *al-Battānī sive Albatenii Opus Astronomicum* (Milan and Rome 1899-1907), i, 318-9, and ii, p. xxvii; and G. Rudloff and A. Hochheim, *Die Astronomie des Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿOmar al-Ǧagmīnī*, in *ZDMG*, xlvii (1893), 213-75 (esp. 271-2).

The first serious investigations of Islamic *ḳibla* methods were conducted by C. Schoy (see his article ḲIBLA in *EI*¹). The methods of Ibn al-Haytham and al-Nayrīzī were discussed in his *Abhandlung des al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haitam (Alhazen) über die Bestimmung der Richtung der Qibla*, in *ZDMG*, lxxv (1921), 242-53; and in his *Abhandlung von al-Faḍl b. Ḥātim al-Nairīzī über die Richtung der Qibla*, in *SB Bayr. Akad.*, Math.-phys. Kl. (Munich 1922), 55-68 (also contains a list of *ḳibla* values for various cities, taken from an 8th/14th century Syrian source). Schoy's other studies on the *ḳibla* include *Die arabische Sonnenuhr im Dienste der islamischen Religionsübung*, in *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift*, N.F., xi (1912), 625-9; *Mittagslinie und Qibla*, in *Zeitschr. der Gesell. für Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1915), 551-76; *Die Mekka- oder Qiblakarte (Gegenazimuthale mittabstandstreue Projektion mit Mekka als Kartenmitte)*, in *Kartographische und schulgeographische Zeitschr.* (Vienna 1916), 184-5; and *Gnomonik der Araber*, in E. von Bassermann-Jordan, ed., *Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren*, Band 1F (Berlin-Leipzig 1923) (esp. 33-43 and 84-6 on the methods of al-Battānī, Ibn Yūnus, and Abu 'l-Wafāʾ).

On al-Bīrūnī's *ḳibla* methods, see his *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, ed. M. Krause, Hyderabad 1955, ii, 522-8; Schoy, *Die trigonometrischen Lehren des ... al-Biruni ...*, Hanover 1927, 70-1; and E. S. Kennedy, *A commentary upon Bīrūnī's Kitāb Taḥdīd al-Amākin*, Beirut 1973, esp. 198-215. Ḥabash's construction is discussed in E. S. Kennedy and Y. Id, *A letter of al-Bīrūnī: Ḥabash al-Ḥāsib's analemma for the Qibla*, in *Historia Mathematica*, i (1974), 3-11.

Al-Khalīlī's *ḳibla* table is analysed in D. A. King, *Al-Khalīlī's* Qibla *Table*, in *JNES* (1975), (which also contains references to other mediaeval *ḳibla* tables and a discussion of the determination of the *ḳibla* using a quadrant). Ibn Yūnus's table displaying the solar altitude in the azimuth of the *ḳibla* is discussed in idem, *Ibn Yūnus' Very useful tables for reckoning time by the sun*, in *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, x (1973), 342-94 (esp. 368). Considerable additional information on *ḳibla* determinations is contained in the forthcoming publication by idem, *Studies in astronomical timekeeping in mediaeval Islam. ii. A survey of mediaeval Islamic tables for regulating the times of prayer*.

Several lists of geographical coordinates of cities and the corresponding *ḳibla* values, taken from Islamic astrolabes, are given in R. T. Gunther, *The astrolabes of the world*, i, Oxford 1932, see esp. 24-6. On mediaeval Islamic longitude determinations, see Schoy, *Längenbestimmung und Zentral-meridian bei den älteren Völkern*, in *Mitt. der kaiserlich-königlichen Geographischen Gesell.*, xii (1915), 27-62; Kennedy's commentary on al-Bīrūnī's *Taḥdīd* (mentioned above); and F. Haddad and E. S. Kennedy, *Geographical tables of mediaeval Islam*, in *al-Abḥāth*, xxiv (1971), 87-102.

On the analemma in mediaeval Islamic astronomy, see the reference cited in the study by E. S. Kennedy and Y. Id (mentioned above). On the development of spherical trigonometry and computational techniques in mediaeval Islam, see P. Luckey, *Zur Entstehung der Kugeldreieckrechnung*, in *Deutsche Mathematik*, v (1940), 405-46; Kennedy, *Al-Bīrūnī's Maqālid ʿIlm al-Hayʾa*, in *JNES*, xxx (1971), 308-14, and the references there cited; and King, *Al-Khalīlī's auxiliary tables for solving problems of spherical astronomy*, in *Jnal. for the Hist. of Astronomy*, iv (1973), 99-110.

(D. A. KING)

AL-KIBRĪT, sulphur. The Arabic term is derived from Akkadian *kuprītu* through Aramaic *kufebhrīthā*.

The Arabs knew both sedimentary and volcanic brimstone. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, *K. al-Murshid*, Ms. Paris 2870, f. 20a, mentions a place where "white" brimstone was to be found on the

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shore of the Dead Sea and in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (see also Muḳaddasī, 184), in fact the deposits of brimstone to be found in clay, mixed with gypsum and calcium carbide, on the right bank of the river Jordan at a mile from the Dead Sea (see C. Hintze, *Handbuch der Mineralogie*, i/1, Leipzig 1904, 68 ff.). Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī (*al-Risāla al-thāniya*, ed. V. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, 22, tr. 54-5, ed. P. Bulgakov, Moscow 1960, 34) mentions already a sulphur spring on Mount Damāwand [*q.v.*] around which brimstone had crystalised, and this volcano showed immense deposits of brimstone. The same author (*ibid.*, 43 = Yāḳūt, ii, 619) knows also the sulphur springs of Dawraḳ [*q.v.*] in Khūzistān.

In general, four sorts of brimstone are distinguished: yellow, white, black and red (see *WKAS*, i, 536). Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī, *K. al-Asrār* (ed. M. T. Dānish-Pazhūh, Tehran 1964, 3), however, differentiates these even further into 1. pure, massive, yellow brimstone; 2. pure, granular, yellow brimstone; 3. white, ivory-coloured brimstone; 4. white brimstone mixed with soil; 5. black brimstone, adulterated with stones; and 6. red brimstone. Descriptions like *kibrīt ḳānī*' "bright red brimstone", *kibrīt dhahabī* "golden brimstone", *kibrīt dhakar* "male brimstone", *kibrīt baḥrī* "brimstone of the sea", *kibrīt nahrī* "brimstone of the river", etc. are also found. These descriptions indicate the various modifications and qualities: brimstone deposited by springs is mostly fine-grained and yellow-white; elementary brimstone is often contaminated with bitumen, selenium and arsenic. These various descriptions, however, were of course not used by the Arabs to indicate a strict classification.

A special case was the "red brimstone" (*al-kibrīt al-aḥmar*). According to Aristotles' *Stone-book* (ed. J. Ruska, Heidelberg 1912, no. 26, p. 161 = Ibn al-Bayṭar, *K. al-Djāmi*', iv, 49) it shines by night over a distance of many parasangs, as long as it is left in its place of occurence. Others maintained that red brimstone was a mineral to be found in the valley of the ants, marched through by Solomon (Ibn Samadjūn, in Ibn al-Bayṭar *loc. cit.*). These are fairy-tales. Al-Rāzī (*K. al-Asrār*, *loc. cit.*) knew already that "red brimstone" does not exist as a mineral, and this scepticism was wide-spread. Al-Djāḥiz (*Risāla fī 'l-Djidd wa 'l-hazl*, ed. P. Kraus, Cairo 1943, 93; ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1964, i, 271) remarks that "red brimstone" is easier to be found than a trustworthy friend, and the caliph al-Mu'taḍid bi-llāh (279-89/892-902) said that two things exist only in name: the phoenix (*'anḳā' mughrib*) and *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* (Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 154). In this sense is also to be understood al-Maydānī's proverb "more costly than red brimstone" (see Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, i, 18, 220, ii, 149) and Bilawhar's saying (ed. D. Gimaret, Beirut 1971, 33) that his merchandise is better than red brimstone. The solution to this enigma is that *al-kibrīt al-aḥmar* is a pseudonym for the elixir, by means of which silver can be changed into gold (Bīrūnī, *Djamāhir*, 103, *WKAS*, i, 536 a25-b2).

The position of brimstone in the mineral system has been determined more than once: in Aristotles' *Stone-book*, compounds of brimstone and arsenic form one group together with salts and boraxes, without a fixed classification. The authors of the *Corpus Gabirianum* (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries) counted red, yellow, black and white brimstone, together with orpiment, realgar, quicksilver, camphor and ammonia among the "spirits" (*al-arwāḥ*, τὰ πνεύματα), as opposed by the "metallic bodies" (*al-adjsām*) and the "mineral bodies" (*al-adjsād*). Ibn Sīnā (*K. al-Shifā'*, *al-Ṭabī'iyyāt*, v, ed. Madkūr, Cairo 1965, 20-2) divides all minerals into four classes: the stones (*al-aḥdjār*), the salts (*al-amlāḥ*), the fusible bodies (*al-dhā'ibāt*) and the brimstone-like ones (*al-kabārīt*). Brimstone has become here a general notion indicating those substances in which wateriness has been combined with earthiness and airiness and which have then been consolidated by cold. According to al-Ḳazwīnī, *'Adjā'ib*, 203-45, brimstone, together with quicksilver, pitch, naphtha etc. belongs to the viscous substances (*al-adjsām al-duhniyya*).

Already in the Middle Ages brimstone was an important mineral raw material. It was for instance used in bleaching. Thus the "brimstone of the river" (*al-kibrīt al-nahrī*) was also called *kibrīt al-ḥaṣṣārīn*, the "brimstone of the bleachers" (Galen, *K. al-Awdiya al-mawdjūda bi-kull makān*, in Ibn al-Bayṭar, iv, 49, below). Together with bitumen, fats, oil, etc., brimstone was a component part of Greek fire [see NAFṬ], and from the 7th/13th century onwards it was used with salpetre and charcoal, to make gunpowder.

Brimstone was also widely used in medicine. According to Dioscurides (*Mat. med.*, v, 107; Arabic tr. ed. C. E. Dubler, Tetuán-Barcelona 1952-7, 423) brimstone avails against a cough, against pus that is stuck in the chest, and against asthma. If a woman is fumigated with brimstone, she will have a miscarriage. Leprosy, cutaneous eruptions and other skin diseases are treated with brimstone, which, if mixed with natron, dissipates itching. Finally, brimstone avails against the stings of poisonous animals, against jaundice, cold, sweat, podagra, ear-ache and deafness. The same indications are found in Galen, *De simpl. med. temp. ac fac.*, ix, 3, 9 (Vol. xii, 217, Kühn; Arabic tr. in Ibn al-Bayṭar, iv, 50); 'Alī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *K. Firdaws al-ḥikma*, 122, 224, 271, 322, 324, 407 (cf. W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 380-2), Ya'ḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (cf. *The medical formulary of al-Kindī*, ed. M. Levey, Milwaukee 1966, ff. 95b, 101b, 133b), al-Rāzī, *K. al-Ḥāwī*, xvii, 55, and Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, Rome 1593, i, 191. The *dawā' al-kibrīt* is one of the important electuaries. It equals theriae and avails against fever, cough, asthma, tetanus, dropsy, against stings of poisonous animals etc. ('Alī b. Rabbān 445; al-Madjūsī, *K. al-Malakī*, ii, 536; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, ii, 191).

The curative properly of sulphurous water is often praised: Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī (*op. cit.*, ed. Minorsky, 12, tr. 43, ed. Bulgakov, 21, Yāḳūt, ii, 317) mentions the sulphurous springs in the neighbourhood of Ḥulwān [*q.v.*] in 'Irāḳ, which avail against manifold diseases. According to Aristotles' *Stone-book* (no. 26, pp. 113, 162) bathing in sulphurous springs is good for open wounds, tumours, itching, scabies and fever. Baths in sulphurous water avail also against trembling (*irti'āsh*) (Philagrises, in Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, i, 44, see Galen, *De tremore et palpitatione*, vii, 600, Kühn). Finally, sulphurous water is curative of articular pains (Rufus, in Rāzī, *Ḥāwī*, xi, 199), hemiplegia (*fālidj*, 'Alī b. Rabbān, *Firdaws*, 197) and elephantiasis (*djudhām*, ibid.).

To the many palliatives which were recommended for expelling vermin from houses there are always included fumigations with sulphur (Rāzī, Ḥāwī, xix, 320-33), which was also used in magic as an ingredient of talismans (Pseudo-Madjrīṭī, *Ghāyāt al-ḥakīm*, 243-6, German tr. by Ritter and Plessner, London 1962, 254-8).

Sulphur played a prominent part in alchemy (see AL-KĪMIYĀ'). Distillation of sulphur and the action

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of sulphurous vapour on metals gave occasion to many observations and conjectures. Since sulphur is liberated in the distillation of most materials, it was believed to be a fundamental part of all minerals. In particular, it was assumed that the metals consisted of quicksilver and brimstone. If the parts of both materials are in an ideal ratio to each other, gold originates (see Dimashḳī, *Nukẖba*, 50 ff.). Sulphur is therefore also called "the mother of gold" (*umm al-dhahab*, see *K. al-Kanz*, ms. Berlin 4191, f. 51a).

The alchemists invented many pseudonyms for sulphur, like "the yellow, red or white bride") (*al-ʿarūs al-ṣafrāʾ*, etc.), "the red soil" (*al-turba al-ḥamrāʾ*), "the colouring spirit" (*al-rūḥ al-ṣābigh*), "the saffron" (*al-zaʿfaran*), "the divine secret" (*al-sirr al-ilāhī*). The breath-taking smell of burning brimstone gave it the name "the suffocater" (*al-ḵẖannāḳ*). Because brimstone combines quicksilver, it was also called "the fetter of the volatile" (*ḳayd al-ʿābiḳ*). Conversely, the term *kibrīt* was also used in various combinations as pseudonym of other substances, e.g. *kibrīta lā taḥtariḳ* "incombustible sulphur" (see *WZKM*, lxiii-lxiv (1972), 168) designates the elixir of gold. (For the problem of the pseudonyms, see J. Ruska and E. Wiedemann, *Alchemistische Decknamen*. Beiträge LXVII, in *SPMSE*, lvi-lvii (1924-5), 20-33 = E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, ii, 599-612; A. Siggel, *Decknamen in der arab. alchem. Literatur*, Berlin 1951).

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ḲIBṬ, the Arabic term for the Copts or native Christians of Egypt. The term is a derivative of the Greek *Aigyptos*, a phonetic corruption of the Ancient Egyptian *Ha-Ka-Ptah*, i.e. the house or temple of the god Ptah, signifying Memphis. The Greeks used the word for Egypt and the Nile, hence the word "Coptic" is originally the equivalent of Egyptian. Curtailment of both prefix and suffix from the Greek term gives us *Gypt* > Arabic rendering *Ḳibṭ*. According to Semitic sources, however, this term is derived from Kuftaim, son of Mizraim, a grandchild of Noah who first settled in the Nile valley and imparted his name to the city of Ḳuft or Guft near Thebes or modern Luxor [see ḳift]. This latter theory is commoner among Arab writers who call Egypt *Dār al-Ḳibṭ*, sc. the home of the Copts who were the Christianised descendants of the ancient Egyptians at the time of the Arab Conquest of 20-1/640-2.

Apparently the Copts were not unknown to the pre-Islamic Arab traders whose caravans penetrated the fringes of the Fertile Crescent and to some extent touched Egypt. More directly, the Copts came into the life of the Prophet Muḥammad through Maryam the Copt who was a gift from al-Muḳawḳas [*q.v.*] and who bore him his short-lived and only son Ibrāhīm. The Prophet is said explicitly to have told ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that "Allāh will open Egypt to you after my death. So take good care of the Copts in that country, for they are your kinsmen and under your protection". This is said to have appeared in the first *ḵẖuṭba* by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ after the conquest, and in it he subsequently admonishes his Muslim audience to "Cast down your eyes therefore and keep your hands off them".

Though the caliph ʿUmar was hesitant to grant ʿAmr approval for the conquest of Egypt, certain factors in the Egyptian situation favoured the invaders. The Copts were restive under Byzantine rule. In pursuance to the policies established by Justinian (527-65), the Emperor Heraclius (610-41) in 631 appointed Cyrus (al-Muḳawḳas in Arabic sources) as prefect, army commander and patriarch of the whole of Egypt in order to facilitate the securing of both political and religious uniformity in that crucial part of the Empire. Byzantine taxation was also felt as oppressive. Cyrus forced the Copts to abjure their Monophysitism in favour of the Byzantine Chalcedonian profession and his legionaries pursued their native Patriarch-elect Benjamin I (623-62), who fled to the desert monasteries and remained in hiding until the removal of the Melkite Greeks from Egypt.

It was in these circumstances that ʿAmr crossed the eastern frontiers of Egypt [see miṣr] and entered the country. Cyrus realised by then that he was fighting a lost battle, because the Copts wanted a change of masters at any cost. While the servitude of the latter was complete in civic, financial and religious matters, the Arabs cared more for the revenues from the province than for interference with the religion of the Copts. They did not distinguish between Melkites and Monophysites, and the Copts as Christians were regarded as a protected people (*Ahl al-Dhimma*), in return for payment of the *djizya* [*q.v.*].

When the Byzantine régime finally ended with the fall of Alexandria in 641, the Greek Melkite population was granted safe-conduct to depart with Cyrus, and the native Patriarch Benjamin I was summoned to emerge from hiding. His appearance in Alexandria was honoured by ʿAmr, and the Copts at last regained their religious liberty and even appropriated most of the Melkite churches and foundations then rendered vacant. Thus the new era augured well, and perhaps Muslim monotheism might have been interpreted as bordering on Coptic monophysitism, thus creating a temporary bridge between the two religions in the eyes of those who were unaware of their philosophies in details of doctrine and future developments.

From this moment, the relationship between the Copts and the Arabs was based pre-eminently on revenue and taxation. The Arabs recognised the elaborate system of government in Egypt, and left the administration unchanged in the hands of the Copts. In the first year, ʿAmr was able to raise 12 million *dīnār*s in revenue, but the caliph ʿUmar was dissatisfied and removed ʿAmr, nominating ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. al-Sarḥ [*q.v.*] to succeed him. The new governor was then able to raise 14 million *dīnār*s in the second year.

From 21/642 to 254/868, Egypt was directly under Caliphal control through a viceroy, and ninety-eight governors were appointed by the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. The average tenure of each governor was about two years, too brief a period for any constructive work. But caliphal policy aimed at removing governors before they had sufficient time for

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trying to break away from the central government. In the circumstances, a governor's sole concern was simply to squeeze the maximum taxation from the subjects, not only to pay the necessary dues to the central government, but also for his personal enrichment. The depletion of the resources of the country was also often aggravated by low Nile floods and the spread of disease and plague.

The worsening of the economy meant heavier pressure and exactions for the Copts. The results of this situation were three-fold: many Copts fled to the desert monasteries to escape the poll-tax from which clerics were exempted, although this privilege proved to be ephemeral; some turned to Islam for the same reason, although wholesale conversions did not take place because the caliphs usually discouraged them in order to safeguard their revenue; and some rose in revolt, not infrequently reinforced in their insurrection by Muslim settlers.

Perhaps the Bashmuric Rebellion of 214-15/829-30 in the marshlands of the lower Delta was the most serious of those local insurrections. The caliph al-Maʾmūn had to come in person to Egypt to fight the Bashmuric rebels and to pacify the Copts. The outcome of a steadily deteriorating situation was a neglect of the irrigation system, the blocking of canals with sand and silt, and the ruination of the Nile dykes. In addition to a decline in the number of Coptic farmers, the steady shrinkage in the arable soil led to the fall of the revenue to 3 million *dīnārs* by the 3rd/9th century until the last of the ʿAbbāsid governors, Aḥmad b. al-Mudabbir [*q.v.*], assumed power in 254/868 and doubled the *kharādj* and the *djizya*; now even the clergy and the desert monks lost their customary exemption from payment. In the same year Ibn al-Mudabbir was imprisoned by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn. The latter soon introduced numerous financial reforms which earned for him the loyalty of the inhabitants. The leniency and understanding towards the Coptic subjects of the Ṭūlūnids (254-92/868-905) and the Ikhshidids (323-58/935-69) [*qq.v.*] stood in contrast to the rule of Ibn al-Mudabbir, from whose imposts the Coptic clergy were once again exempted.

It would be wrong to judge Ibn Ṭūlūn by his harsh treatment and incarceration of the Coptic Patriarchs Shenouda I (859-80) or his successor Khāʾīl III (880-90), caused by internal dissensions amidst the Coptic clergy themselves. An undeserving deacon and monk who wanted a bishopric hatched conspiracies against the Patriarchs, together with the bishop of Sakha, who had been excommunicated for misdemeanour. They went to the governor with false reports about the Patriarchs, including the worst of accusations in the eyes of a Muslim ruler, that is, trying to bring Muslims into apostasy and sending them to the desert monasteries to become monks. As usual, this was coupled with accusations that the Patriarchs were avaricious and possessed masses of gold. The truth was revealed in the end, and the Patriarchs regained their liberty after signing a warrant for debt, which they tried to repay through money raised from charity and from simoniacal practices.

The state revenue had declined to 3 million *dīnārs* at the advent of Ibn al-Mudabbir, and he aimed at doubling it without mending the cause of its decline. Realising that the cause of this deficit was the decline of agriculture, Ibn Ṭūlūn introduced land and irrigation reforms which ultimately improved the revenue. Even with exemptions, the revenue rose to 4 million *dīnārs* before Ibn Ṭūlūn's death, in addition to accumulated savings of 10 millions in the treasury and the execution of an extensive building program. With the help of Ibn Kātib al-Firghānī, an accomplished Coptic architect, he constructed the Nilometer at the southern end of Rawḍa (Rōḍa) Island [see MIḲYĀS] and his famous mosque with its external spiral minaret. Muslims commonly destroyed churches in order to use their materials and pillars in building mosques. To save the churches, Ibn Kātib promised the governor to construct the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn without having to utilise pillars from churches. Thus the new pillars were built of massive masonry supporting pointed arches long before their use in Gothic art in Europe, and only two small marble pillars were placed on the flanks of the *ḳibla*. The mosque still stands as a testimony to the architectural genius of the builder and the return of the country to affluence.

During the years of stability in the rule of both these dynasties of governors, the Copts enjoyed a great degree of tolerance and prosperity. It is recorded that Ibn Ṭūlūn cultivated the habit of retiring to the al-Ḳuṣayr monastery south of Fusṭāṭ for rest and recuperation, and the first Ikhshīdid, Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj (323-34/935-46) used to participate in the celebrations of the Coptic Epiphany, according to the contemporary 4th/10th century historian al-Masʿūdī. Both dynasties entrusted the Copts with key positions in government.

The really favourable position of the Copts, however, was still to come, viz. under the Shīʿī Fāṭimid dynasty (358-567/969-1171), if we except the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (386-411/996-1021 [*q.v.*]), who ended by persecuting Copts, Jews and even Muslims. Hence the Copts, whose religious freedom had been undisturbed and who had occupied the highest positions in the administration during the reigns of al-Muʿizz (358-65/969-75) and al-ʿAzīz (365-86/975-96) now faced forced apostasy or persecution by the unbalanced monarch, and many of their churches were levelled to the ground. However, towards the end of his reign, al-Ḥākim apparently fell under the spell of a priest named Anba Salomon during his visits to the monastery of al-Ḳuṣayr on the Ḥelwān road south of Cairo, and eventually began to wear a monks' garment, while his atrocities ceased.

During the caliphate of al-Ẓāhir (411-27/1020-36), the re-building of churches was again authorised, and Christians who had been forced to apostasise were permitted to return to their faith. Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*], who visited Egypt in the reign of his successor, al-Mustanṣir, remarked that nowhere in the world of Islam had he seen Christians enjoy as much peace and prosperity as did the Copts. The strongest Fāṭimid vizier, Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*], and his son al-Afḍal, both Armenian converts to Islam, favoured the Copts and relied on their service. Ultimately, the sixty-sixth Patriarch Christodoulos (1046-77) decided to move his seat from Alexandria to Cairo in order to be within easier access to the central government.

Only towards the end of Fāṭimid rule, when internal disorder grew, did Copts and Muslims alike suffer in the ensuing broils and confusion, and the fate of the Copts was further aggravated by the outbreak of the Crusades. It would therefore seem that the Copts reached the height of power and prosperity, but also latterly some of their worst tribulations, during the Fāṭimid era.

The advent of the Sunnī Ayyūbid dynasty (564-648/1169-1250) re-established internal stability and

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eliminated the confusion of the age of the last Fāṭimid caliphs, but these times proved rather a mixed blessing for the Copts. In the course of his fighting the Crusaders in the Holy Land and the Christian kings of Nubia in the south, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's suspicions led him to dismiss the Copts from government service. It was probably on this occasion that Zakariyyā' b. Abi 'l-Malīḥ b. Mammātī (a corruption of the Coptic *Mahometi*) of Asyūṭ, a Copt who held the joint secretaryship of the War Office and the Treasury, decided to apostasise with his family and become a Muslim, in order to retain his high office for himself and his descendants. His son al-Asa'd inherited his father's office, and compiled one of the few cadastres of mediaeval Egypt (*al-Rawk al-Ṣalāḥī*), leaving a record thereof in his *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother, Shams al-Dawla, who led the Nubian campaign, destroyed in the years 567-8/1172-3 the monastic settlement of Bawīṭ in Middle Egypt, the Coptic city of Ḳuft, which sank into insignificance thereafter [see ḲIFṬ], and the important Convent of St. Simeon (*Anba Hidra*) across the Nile from Aswān. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn further decided to remove the imposing building of the Cathedral of St. Mark in Alexandria for fear that it might serve Crusader inroads with a fortified site, and the Copts tried in vain to ransom this church.

It would however be erroneous to accuse the Ayyūbid sultans of continuous intolerance and persecution of the Copts. One of their first deeds was to suppress Ibn al-Mudabbir's substitution of the lunar for the solar calendar in order to shorten the year and thus get more taxes. They left most of the Coptic churches standing, and generally refrained from interference with religious freedom. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself granted the Copts an imposing monastery adjacent to the Holy Sepulchre, which they own to the present day as *Dayr al-Sulṭān*. The sultan's successes against the Crusaders and the recapture of Jerusalem in 583/1187 seem to have terminated his early apprehensions about the Copts. The Copt Ṣafī al-Dīn b. Abi 'l-Ma'ālī, surnamed Ibn Sharāfī, became his private secretary. Two Coptic architects, Abū Manṣūr and Abū Mashkūr, were employed to repair and extend the fortified walls of Cairo and to build the Cairo Citadel on the Muḳaṭṭam hills overlooking the capital, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's most enduring monument which became the fortified seat of successive governments and dynasties.

In the reign of Sultan al-'Ādil Sayf al-Dīn (596-615/1200-18 [*q.v.*]), the Saphadin of western chronicles, a Copt by the name of Ibn al-Mīḳāt assumed the administration of the War Office. In the Crusade of Damietta of 1218, the Coptic inhabitants participated in the defence of the city and with their clergy suffered greatly at the hands of the Latins. Again in the Crusade of St. Louis in 1249-50, notable Copts were to be found in the Sultan's camp. A number of Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid sources show that numerous Copts earned some of the highest titles of honour in the state such as *al-Ra'īs*, *Hibat Allāh*, *al-Amdjad*, *al-As'ad*, *al-Shaykh*, *Nadjīb al-Dawla*, *Tādj al-Dawla*, and *Fakhr al-Dawla*. The Church historian Ya'ḳūb Nakhla Rufayla collected as a sample some 30 Coptic names bearing these titles.

Two important processes were in progress since the Arab conquest, the Islamisation of Egypt and the Arabisation of Egypt, and these two processes should not be confused. That there should be a measure of conversion to Islam under early Arab rule was inevitable. The apparent kinship between Coptic monophysitism and Islamic monotheism might have played a role in a still amorphous body of doctrine, but the vexatious *djizya* or poll tax, increasing at a steady rate, left the impecunious Coptic taxpayer only one way to escape, sc. that of Islam. It is known that most caliphs discouraged wholesale conversion, in defence of a depleted inflow of revenue to the treasury. How can we explain, therefore, the eventual numerical superiority of Muslims as against the shrinkage of the Copts in Egypt? E. L. Butcher implausibly ascribed it to the popularity of the monastic life and called it "suicide of a nation". The Muslim social historian, Aly Mazahéri describes this phenomenon as "ethnic exhaustion", and discards the assumption of wholesale conversion. It does not seem that a single, facile answer can be given here.

The Arabisation of Egypt, on the other hand, is a more transparent process. A study of the papyri indicates that at first the Copts conducted the administrative records in Coptic, and that the Arabs, who did not know the native language, accepted their procedures thus. Then the year 86/705 witnessed the issuance of an edict by the governor 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Malik imposing for the first time the use of Arabic in state records. At this point, bilingual papyri begin to appear in an intermediary stage. Meanwhile, the Copts hastened to master the language of the new rulers, but the clerks persisted in the use of bilingual protocols in the papyri. As to the use of Arabic in public life, this must have been a slower process, although we may note the compilation of Coptic grammars and Coptic dictionaries in the 13th century, which is probably to be regarded as an indication to national Coptic efforts to keep the torch of the Coptic language burning amongst those who were fast losing it. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to assume that Coptic was becoming extinct at that early date. The same century produced eminent Coptic writers such as Ibn al-'Assāl [*q.v.*] and other members of his family, who were perfectly conversant with Coptic, Greek and Arabic. As late as 1673, the traveller Vansleb reported that he met the last Copt who really spoke Coptic; and Benoît de Maillet, an 18th century French consul in Egypt, stated that he found whole villages in Upper Egypt whose residents spoke Coptic. In the present century, Werner Vycichl is quoted by the Coptologist William Worrell to have discovered Coptic-speaking communities at Zēniya and other isolated villages in Upper Egypt. Of course, the liturgy is still celebrated today in Bohairic Coptic, together with Arabic, in Coptic churches. The Arabisation of Egypt is an undisputed reality, but the total extinction of the Coptic language is still a debatable problem.

The later Middle Ages brought difficulties for the Coptic communities. The Mamlūks (648-922/1250-1517) who were originally slave soldiers bought by the Ayyūbid sultans, ended by seizing power from them, and they then continued to reinforce their army by more slave purchases. They were therefore men of varied ethnic and religious origins and had nothing in common with the Egyptians except the bond of Islam; and it is doubtful whether any of them was fully aware of the doctrines of their faith or the language of the Coptic people. Internal insecurity and increasing poverty and isolation now began to drive the Coptic populace into desperation. Skilled Copts continued to work in the Muslim administration, but as soon as they rose to wealth and power, the Muslim mob tended to clamour for their dismissal from office and to start a wave of

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church destruction. As mob fury became overpowering, the Mamlūk sultans had often to yield to public pressure and unseat the Copts and condone the assaults on their religious foundations. Yet after a short period, confusion usually supervened in the government machinery, and the sultans were constrained to reinstate the Copts in office once more.

On one occasion, a group of exasperated Copts decided to retaliate against Muslim oppression. In 720/1320, a number of Coptic monks from Dayr al-Baghl ("The Monastery of the Mule") south of Cairo, formed a secret pact to use arson against mosques and Muslim quarters in the capital. Once while the city was ablaze, four of these monks were seized carrying naphtha and other incendiary substances. The Sultan ordered them to be burnt and the Copts were again dismissed from office. The infuriated mob continued their destruction of more churches. From 678/1279 to 851/1447, forty-four churches are reported to have been levelled to the ground in Cairo alone. The Patriarch Yohannes X (1363-9) was summoned by the Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (764-78/1363-76), and he and the archons or elders of the Coptic community were subjected to abject humiliation and confiscation of property, partly to appease the populace and partly to raise funds for waging war against the Cypriots in retaliation for their sack of Alexandria in 766/1365.

Occasional spells of relief for the oppressed Copts came only as a result of foreign intervention from three main sources. The first was from Constantinople, where the Byzantine emperor, himself harassed by the Ottoman Turks, pleaded at the Sultan's court on behalf of the remaining Melkite minority. The second was from Aragon, whose kings were for commercial reasons, usually on good terms with the Mamlūk monarchs, though their intercession was essentially on behalf of the churches in the Holy Land and only incidentally for the Copts. The third and perhaps the most important source of mediation came from Abyssinia, whose Negus had a strong bargaining power on behalf of the Copts in the counter-threat of ill-treatment of the Muslims under his dominion, and in the imaginary menace of deflecting the course of the Nile to the detriment of Egypt.

The harassed Coptic patriarchs also hoped tentatively for an undefined form of assistance from the western world, without jeopardising their delicate position with the sultans. One such glimmer of hope appeared at the time of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-9), which aimed at the union of the Churches of East and West, separated since the Chalcedonian schism in 451. We know that a certain Yuhannes, Abbot of the Coptic Monastery of St. Anthony on the Red Sea, was a signatory to the *Decretum pro Jacobitis* declaring the formal union of the Churches. But the agreement long remained in abeyance until 1586, when Rome sent a delegation to Patriarch Yuhannes XIV (1571-86) in order to discuss the practical application of the union. The Patriarch and a few bishops were agreeable, though the majority of the community remained apprehensive; the sudden death of the Patriarch ended this abortive mission.

By then the Ottoman Turks had been established in Egypt since its conquest by Selīm I in 922/1517. Egypt became a dependent province with a vast empire, and the sultans derived their revenue from a governor, an Ottoman Pasha, whom they invested with the provincial government for brief periods. There was a Turkish garrison headed by a general independent of the governor, while the local administration was left in the hands of the surviving Mamlūk *amīrs*. Tax farming (*iltizām* [*q.v.*]) became the practice and the tax farmers and village headmen were subjected to all sorts of pressures for the payment of excessive dues, not only for the sultan in distant Istanbul, but also for the enrichment of a whole hierarchy of the administration. Within this framework, the Copts worked as clerks and tax collectors mainly in local Mamlūk households. Though they suffered occasional, temporary dismissals from service, they were not goaded by the outbreaks of mob fury as in Mamlūk times. In fact, they suffered, together with the Muslim inhabitants, from the depredations of the Arab nomads who used to descend on villages in the countryside for looting. The land became isolated and its inhabitants sank into lethargy and ignorance until the French Expedition of 1798-1801 arrived under Napoleon and opened Egypt to western influences.

Perhaps the most significant Coptic document after the rout of the Mamlūks and the settlement of the French was a petition submitted to Napoleon by a notable Copt, Girgis al-Djawharī, imploring him to lift Coptic disabilities, in keeping with the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity proclaimed by the French Revolution. However, the French, whose leaders feigned conversion to Islam in order to court favour with the Muslim majority, decided to overlook his plea and thus avoided the semblance of partisanship. Nevertheless, they did not hesitate to select the best candidates for the administration irrespective of religious considerations. Hence the same Girgis al-Djawharī became the head of the taxation department. They also nominated a commission of twelve to administer local justice. Six of these were Copts and the chairmanship fell to Muʿallim Malaṭī, a Copt about whom we possess no documentary evidence. But the real hero in Coptic annals emerged in the personality of Muʿallim Yaʿḳūb Ḥanna (1745-1801), whose meteoric career began in the predominantly Coptic city of Asyūṭ, in Upper Egypt.

Originally a humble civil servant under Sulaymān Bey, a Mamlūk *amīr* in charge of Asyūṭ province, he learned the equestrian art and the rudiments of Mamlūk warfare from his master and even participated in Mamlūk hostilities against the Turks. Later, when the French attempted to conquer Upper Egypt under Desaix, he played a prominent role in saving the French expedition from collapse. Then after the disastrous naval battle of Abūḳīr, which gave Nelson and the British command of the sea, Napoleon left and Kléber succeeded him with an empty treasury, while Turkish infiltrators played upon religious sentiment and incited the Muslim population of Cairo to rebellion. It was in these precarious circumstances that Yaʿḳūb, with the approval of the French authorities, recruited a Coptic legion of 2,000 Coptic youths to be trained by professional officers under his own command, first as Colonel, then in 1801 as General.

Still more spectacular in Yaʿḳūb's career was his dream of Egyptian independence from both the Turks and the Mamlūks. The documents pertaining to this chapter in his biography were discovered and brought to light by an eminent Muslim historian, the late Professor Shafīḳ Ghurbāl. The departing French made the stipulation that any native desirous to leave with them should be permitted to do so. Thus the General, together with a few companions, left Egypt with the French on the British ship *Pallas*, in the hope of convincing the rulers of Europe

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that the only solution of the Egyptian question was the independence of Egypt. Yaʿḳūb died on the high seas on 16 August 1801 leaving the fulfilment of his mission to his accompanying delegation. Apart from his secret deliberations with the captain of the *Pallas* Joseph Edmonds, preserved in the memoirs of his interpreter Lascaris, a Knight of the Order of Malta, his correspondence was communicated or signed by proxy and addressed to Bonaparte and his foreign secretary Talleyrand (23 September 1801) as well as to the British Lord of the Admiralty, Earl St. Vincent (4 October 1801).

Curiously, the man destined to realise Yaʿḳūb's vision was Muḥammad ʿAlī (1805-49), the Macedonian soldier who came to Egypt as the head of a Turkish force and succeeded in founding the dynasty in Egypt which did not end till 1953. Under the new régime, the enfranchisement of the Copts went a long way. With increasing security and acceptance, it became less necessary for them to congregate in fortified quarters for self-defence, and they began to scatter all over the big cities side-by-side with their Muslim compatriots. They even took courage to fight for the removal of a few remaining disabilities in the Coptic Congress at Asyūṭ in 1911, clashing with a countermovement in the Muslim Congress in Alexandria. Both, however, were confined to a war of words and were discouraged by the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī (1892-1914); eight years later both sides were engaged within the Wafd Party in the struggle against the British protectorate over their common homeland. The only cases of violence in contemporary history have consisted of localised incidents of arson against churches by the Muslim Brotherhood [see AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN], whose organization was eventually suppressed by Djamal (Gamāl) ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1966.

In recapitulating the story of the status of the liberated Coptic community in modern times, we should not forget two 19th century movements. The first was an educational and cultural one sponsored by the Patriarch Cyril IV (1854-61), known as the Father of Coptic Reform. He founded public schools including the first girls' school in Egypt, and imported a printing press, the second in the country after the Būlāḳ press. On the international scene, he carried out with success a conciliatory embassy in 1856-8 with the Emperor of Ethiopia on behalf of the Khedive Saʿīd (1854-63). But he did not live to realise his grand dream of an oecumenical union with the Greek Church, the Russian Church and the Anglican Church; it is said that this enterprise disturbed the Muslim authorities and hastened the visionary Patriarch to his grave. The second movement was a natural corollary to the first, for western education created a Coptic élite who strove in the pursuit of establishing a more democratic system of government in community affairs and in the management of church property. This met with staunch resistance in the clerical conservatism of the age of Cyril V (1874-1927), and the project of a Community Council (*Madjlis Millī*) has been in abeyance ever since.

Within the framework of the Islamic legal structure, the Copts made several gains of capital importance. The abolition of the *djizya* came to pass in 1855 during Saʿīd's reign, and this was coupled with the acceptance of the Copts into military service. At his accession, the Khedive Tawfīḳ Pasha (1879-92) publicly proclaimed the principle of equality of all Egyptians in every way, irrespective of their ethnic origin or religion; this was later formalised in a decree of 21 July 1913 and again in the Constitution of 1922.

In a period of more than thirteen centuries of Islamic rule, it seems that the density of population of Egypt has varied from time to time. At the Arab conquest, judging from the papyrus tax returns, the Copts must have been at least 12 millions. Owing to many hardships, occasional failure of Nile floods and diminution of cultivable soil, recurrent plagues, conversions to Islam and flight to the desert monasteries, we must assume the existence of a downward trend in the number of Copts throughout the Middle Ages and Ottoman Turkish times. We note that their number sank to approximately one million souls. However, the latest three official itemised censuses of the population reveal the following figures:

Year	*Total population*	*Muslims*	*Copts*	*Jews*	*Other religions*
1947	18,966,767	17,397,946	1,501,635	65,639	1,547
1960	25,984,101	24,068,252	1,905,182	8,561	2,106
1966	29,943,810	27,919,528	2,018,305	2,484	3,493

It is difficult to accept the above figures unhesitatingly. This is largely due to the fact that Coptic villagers have always shown a reticence in divulging the real size of their families. The newly-founded Census Department in the Institute of Coptic Studies in Cairo has been working with the local country priests in assessing the Coptic population; suggestions of a Coptic population from four to six millions in the year 1974 have been put forward.

The basic causes of the survival of the Copts are both internal and external. Internally, the Copts clung to their Church as a cementing element in their private life. Coptic ethnicity and faith became a profound faith, a way of life, and an intangible doctrine of ethnic consciousness. Externally, it is fair to admit that Islam shares in the credit of this survival. Under the aegis of Islamic dynasties, there came dark times when the violence of the majority could well have exterminated minority groups with the concurrence of the rulers; yet this did not happen, despite such difficult periods as the reign of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim in the 5th/11th century.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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(A. S. Atiya)

ḲIBṬĪ [see ČINGANE].

ḲIDAM (A.) in the technical vocabulary of philosophy and theology denotes eternity. It must be distinguished from *azal* and from *abad* [*q.v.*]. Al-Tāhānawī writes: "*Azal* is the constant duration of existence in the past, as *abad* is its constant duration in the future." As opposed to temporal origin (*ḥudūth*), it is the fact of having been preceded by nothing else (*al-lā masbūḳiyya bi 'l-ġhayr*): *azal* implies the negation of a first beginning (*nafy al-awwaliyya*); it is therefore a case of eternity *a parte ante*, and *abad* is eternity *a parte post*. *Azal* and *abad* are essentially identical in God (*inna abaduhu ʿayn azalihi*), for they mean that the two relative extremities which are the beginning and the end are both "cut off" from God (*inḳiṭāʿ al-ṭarafayn al-iḍāfiyyayn ʿanhu*). For Him they are negative attributes (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, commentary on the Most Beautiful Names of God, sūra VII, 180; *azalī* and *ḳadīm* are classed among the real and negative attributes. First, *awwal* is regarded as real, accompanied by relationship and negation (*ṣifa ḥaḳīḳiyya maʿa 'l-iḍāfa wa 'l-salb*). He is eternal, in the sense of *azalī*, that which is not preceded by nothingness, that which is in existence before any rational conception of a first beginning (*ḳabla taʿaḳḳul al-awwaliyya*), and in the sense of *abadī*, that which persists beyond any rational conception of an ultimate term (*baʿda taʿaḳḳul al-āḵhiriyya*). Through these various definitions there come to light two conceptions of pre-eternity and post-eternity. The first is that of endless duration (*lā nihāyata lahu*) which extends either towards the past, or towards the future (in which case it is also known as *al-la-yāzāl*, that which does not cease to be). This scheme (cf. below) raises many difficulties in the solution of the problem of the creation of the world, since it introduces the concept of an infinite time before the moment of this creation. The second is more philosophical: the two eternities are nothing more than negative conceptions, to which contemplative thought has recourse in order to grasp the idea of eternity in relation to time, but which do not correspond to the reality of an infinite time in the two senses: they are relative to the mode of thought belonging to the human spirit, which as al-Rāzī points out (cf. below), cannot conceive of itself outside time. The reality which is hidden behind these imaginary concepts is that of God and of His subsistence through His essence (*baḳāʾuhu bi-dhātihi*), that is, of a being totally unaffected by time and temporality.

So what does *ḳidam* denote? Etymologically, the term should be associated with *azal* since it is a root expressing the idea of anteriority. The *LA* says of it exactly the same as al-Tāhānawī says of *azal*: "It is the contrary of temporal origin (*naḳīḍ al-ḥudūth*)". Ibn Manẓūr also explains it through the roots *ʿataḳa* and *sabaḳa* ("to precede in a race"). It should in fact be noted that the idea of anteriorness in time or space is linked to that of superior worth, as would appear from the substantive *ḳadam* and from its Ḳurʿānic use: *ḳadam ṣidḳ* (X, 2) which al-Zamaḵhsharī interprets as *sabīḳa wa-faḍl wa-manzila rafīʿa*, a priority, a higher abode that God is preparing for the Believers. Another explanation is that in advance a gift has been prepared for them on the part of God (*ḳad sabaḳa lahum ʿind Allāh ḵhayr*) which unites the two ideas of anteriorness and of the excellence of the divine gifts. It may be noted further, with regard to *ḳadam* ("step", whence the fact of being a step ahead of the others, of precedence) that the *LA*, as well as al-Ḳurṭubī in his commentary, quotes verses of Dhu 'l-Rumma [*q.v.*] where the expression of Bedouin mentality may be seen: *ḳadam* is associated there with high nobility and acts of splendour (*mafāḵhir*). Since the qualities of Bedouin ethic were in general transferred by Islam to God, it may reasonably be supposed that the root *Ḳ-D-M* served not only to connote the anteriorness of God, but also His ontological pre-eminence over all things, while it must be made clear that this is not an anteriority and a pre-eminence relative to others, as in the case of *mufāḵhara* which implies rivalry, but qualities that are transcendental and absolute. It is in this sense that the *LA* says that God is *al-Muḳaddim*, because he precedes all things (*yuḳaddim al-ashyāʾ*) and He puts them in their place (*yaḍaʿuhā fī mawāḍiʿihā*). But the terms *ḳidam* and *ḳadīm* in the sense of eternity and the

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eternal, are technical creations (*iṣṭilāḥāt*); they are not Ḳur'ānic. The *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, in the *Sharḥ*, writes that according to the principles of the language *ḳadīm* is that which has existed for a longer time than something else (*mā taḳādama wudjūdhuhu*) and he quotes the verse (XXXVI, 39) where God compares the moon to an old palm (*ka 'l-ʿurdjūn al-ḳadīm*). As for the word *ḳidam*, it does not occur in the Ḳur'ān. The revealed Book conveys the idea of divine eternity through that of transcendence. God is al-Mutaʿālī (XIII, 9), and this name, according to al-Rāzī, belongs to him on the grounds that he is utterly removed (*munazzah*) in His essence, in His attributes and His actions from all that may not be asserted of Him. In consequence, He is outside time, Eternal, and it is thus that the term *ḳadīm*, taken absolutely (*al-Ḳadīm*) denotes God Himself.

Al-Tāhānawī also makes *ḳidam* the opposite of *ḥudūṯ* [*q.v.*]. These two terms denote attributes of existence and are studied together. Essence (*māhiyya*) is qualified only in regard to the qualification of the corresponding existence. They may be applied to nothingness, according to whether it is preceded by existence or not; thus one may speak of an eternal nothingness or nothingness resulting from obliteration. *Ḳidam* and *ḥudūṯ* may be taken according to reality (*ḥaḳīḳiyyan*) or according to relation (*iḍāfiyyan*).

1. Real eternity consists in the fact of not being preceded by another thing according to an anteriority which is essential and not temporal. This is what is known as essential eternity (*ḳidam dhātī*), which consists in the fact of needing absolutely nothing other than the self in order to exist. This implies the necessity of the being. The Eternal in this sense is the necessary Being. On the contrary, origin (*ḥudūṯ*) is the fact of having been preceded by something in existence according to an essential anteriority, which in this case may or may not also be a temporal anteriority (for example, the world is essentially the result of an origin, it is *muḥdaṯ*, but nothing precedes its time; man is also essentially engendered, but his parents existed in the time previous to his birth). In a certain sense, time is the result of an origin (*ḥādiṯ*), because if it has been preceded by nothing which could have existed before it in a temporal way, an absurd hypothesis, it does not have the absolute existence of necessary Being and at every instant it renews itself. It is possible to understand in particular by eternity the fact of not being preceded by the non-existence of a temporal anteriority: this will then be called temporal eternity (*ḳidam zamānī*), and the eternal in terms of time is therefore "that of which the time of existence has no first beginning". Similarly, one may talk of a temporal origin (*ḥudūṯ zamānī*) where the existence of a being is preceded by non-existence in time. Thus we define that which is the fruit of a temporal origin (*al-ḥādiṯ al-zamānī*) as that which is preceded in time by its non-existence, according to the well-known formula: *lam yakun, thumma kāna* ("it was not, then it happened"). In this sense, time is not *ḥādiṯ* because nothing can pre-exist itself.

2. As for relative *ḳidam*, it implies that the past time of the existence of a being is greater than that of the existence of another. But this sense cannot be conveyed by the word eternity. It concerns the antiquity of a being compared to the novelty of another, and *ḳadīm* means ancient, old, like *ʿatīḳ*. Conversely, *ḥudūṯ* will be novelty, *ḥādiṯ*, that which is new.

Al-Tāhānawī adds that essential eternity is more particular (*aḵaṣṣ*) than temporal eternity, which in its turn is more particular than relative eternity or antiquity. Thus necessary Being, which is *ḳadīm dhātī*, is also eternal according to a temporal point of view, since it is preceded neither by nothingness nor by that which is other than itself. But the converse is not true: thus the attributes of eternal Being, which are not preceded by nothingness since they are concomitants of its eternal essence, are not eternal in themselves and so do not have *ḳidam dhātī*. The same could be said of the world which is *ḳadīm zamānī* according to the *falāsifa*, but which is not however *ḳadīm dhātī*, because it depends on its cause, which is other than itself. As for *ḳidam iḍāfī*, it is not co-extensive with *ḳidam zamānī*. In fact, the past time of an existence may be greater compared with that which subsequently occurs for the first time. This applies to the father who is *ḳadīm* in relation to his son, but who is not thereby *ḳadīm zamānī*, because he is born of parents. So if we compare the world to a man, both of these have a history made up of successive events. In relation to one of these events, the past of the world and of this man extend over a time greater than that of the new happening. Each of them will therefore be called *ḳadīm* in relation to it. They are both *ḳadīm iḍāfī*. But the world is not only *ḳadīm* in this context: it is so in itself, because there has never been a time where it did not exist. Man is only *ḳadīm* in relation, for example, to the event of his paternity: doubtless he preceded it, but precisely according to an antecedence which is only relative to it. On the contrary, in the context of origins, it is *ḥudūṯ iḍāfī* which is the most particular; then comes *ḥudūṯ zamānī* and finally *ḥudūṯ dhātī*. This is because everything whose existence in the past covers a lesser time-span (*aḳall*: that is to say *ḥādiṯ iḍāfī*) is preceded by nothingness, and is therefore *ḥādiṯ zamānī*. *A fortiori*, it is *ḥādiṯ dhātī*. This analysis has clearly been influenced by the thought of philosophers who tend to associate eternity with the ontological necessity of the *wādjib al-wudjūd* and *ḥudūṯ* with continuity. Theologians simply understand by *ḳadīm* that which is not preceded by nothingness, or in the vocabulary of al-Tāhānawī, *ḳadīm zamānī*.

To what does the notion of eternity apply? *Ḳidam* relates first to the essence of God. On this point all the philosophers and religious scholars are in agreement. On the question of the eternity of the attributes of God, there are differences of opinion among the *mutakallimūn*. God is eternal because He is not subject to an origin, and being, cannot be other than *muḥdaṯ* or *ḳadīm*. So if God were subject to origin, in order to exist He would need another being to create him, a *muḥdiṯ*. But the question would apply to the latter too and so on to infinity. So one must affirm the existence of God as eternal Creator, as it is expressed by ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*al-Ṣāniʿ al-ḳadīm*). This argument, which bears a philosophical mark, is not the exclusive property of the Muʿtazilīs. It is found in the same or similar terms in the *Kitāb al-Tamhīd* of al-Bāḳillānī, in the chapter where he shows that the agent which produces beings subject to origin (*fāʿil al-muḥdaṯāt*) cannot itself be the fruit of an origin. It is found in the *Kitāb al-Irshād* of al-Djuwaynī, where he proves that the existence of the Eternal "does not inaugurate itself" (*wudjūd al-ḳadīm ghayr muftatiḥ*); in the same place he gives an interesting and precise observation on the concept of an existence that has no beginning: does this not imply an infinite succession of moments? He replies

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that the moment of a thing is defined by the fact that it is contemporary with other things. Now God is not contemporary with any other thing. So the eternity of God is implied by his uniqueness.

The Aš<u>h</u>ʿarī school admits the eternity of the divine attributes. On the contrary, the Muʿtazilīs express the major principle that "God has no co-eternal", according to the formula of ʿAbd al-<u>D</u>jabbār in the *<u>Sh</u>arḥ* (*lā ḳadīma maʿ Allāh*). Nevertheless, they recognise as eternal four attributes: existence, life, knowledge and power. In fact, according to al-<u>D</u>jubbāʾī and the majority of the learned men of the school, these four attributes necessarily belong to God through his essence, therefore they are also eternal. His knowledge is His being in acts of knowledge (*kawnuhu ʿālimᵃⁿ*) and the same applies to the other *ṣifāt*. Or furthermore, He knows through a knowledge which is Himself (Abu 'l-Hu<u>dh</u>ayl), etc. They do not say that He possesses eternal knowledge, but that he has not ceased to be in acts of knowledge (*lam yazal ʿālimᵃⁿ*), etc. ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān refused to say that God possesses knowledge, any more than He possesses eternity (*ḳidam*); but it may be said that He is eternal (*ḳadīm*). Contrariwise, Ibn Kullāb thought that God is in acts of knowledge through a knowledge belonging to Him, and so on. To say that He is eternal, is to assert that He has not ceased to be in His Names and Attributes (*lam yazal bi-asmāʾihi wa-ṣifātihi*; *Maḳālāt*). The essence of God alone is eternal, not in the sense that it is stripped of all attributes, but on the contrary, clad in all that belong to God. Some of his disciples claimed that God is eternal through an eternity (*ḳadīm bi-ḳidam*), others that He is eternal, but not through an eternity (*ḳadīm lā bi-ḳidam*). We begin to deal here with pure subtleties of language, as in the distinction between the two expressions "God has not ceased to be" and "God has not ceased to be through the eternal attribute of eternity." A passage from the *Maḳālāt* deserves notice, however; "The supporters of the theory of attributes (*aṣḥāb al-ṣifāt*) differ in opinion concerning the attributes of the Creator: are they eternal or have they had an origin? Some say that they are eternal. Others declare: "If we say that the Creator is eternal in His attributes, we do not need to say that His attributes are eternal; so we say neither that they are eternal, nor that they have had an origin." According to al-Tāhānawī, Abū Hāšhīm added a fifth eternal attribute to the four above-mentioned; holiness (*al-ilāhiyya*), which is distinct from essence. This is reminiscent of the *divinitas* of the 12th century theologian of Chartres, Gilbert de la Porrée. It is no doubt to this thesis that ʿAbd al-<u>D</u>jabbār alludes when he writes that, according to Abū Hāšhīm, the attributes belong to God necessarily, and by virtue of that to which he confirms in his essence (*li-mā Huwa ʿalayhi fī <u>dh</u>ātihi*). So it is through divinity that these attributes are eternal. For Sulaymān b. <u>D</u>jarīr and other Ṣifātiyya, the attributes belong to God necessarily through "notions (*li-maʿānī*) which can be qualified neither by existence nor non-existence, nor by origin nor eternity" (*<u>Sh</u>arḥ*). It is the concept of notional attribute (*ṣifa maʿnawiyya*), a term that has been translated variously as "essential", "qualitative", or even "entitative". It is nothing other than the qualification made necessary by the notion that one has of God. *Maʿnā* is always a notion signifying *cum fundamento in re*. The attribute *maʿnawī* therefore is not essence; neither is it a "thing" in God. It is that which the reality of God demands that one says of God. But, here too, that which is eternal is God and his essence, and the *ṣifa maʿnawiyya* escapes all ontological alternatives. Nevertheless, according to ʿAbd al-<u>D</u>jabbār, certain disciples of Ibn Kullāb reified the *maʿānī* and considered them to be eternal; for them the four aforementioned attributes are fitting to God by means of the *maʿānī azaliyya*, which may be translated by "eternal entities". (We may note with ʿAbd al-<u>D</u>jabbār that here *azalī* has the sense of *ḳadīm*, as often happens.) The *Ḳāḍī* points out however that these Kullābiyya did not dare employ this formula in its absolute sense, so as not to run counter to the unanimity of the Muslims over the denial of co-eternal attributes.

From the same root as *ḳidam* is the 5th form *maṣdar*, *taḳaddum*, which occurs in a very interesting commentary by Rāzī on Ḳurʾān, LVII, 3: "He is First and Last". The word *taḳaddum* (antecedence) has several meanings: (1) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-taʾ<u>th</u>īr* where the antecedent exercises an influence over the consequent, for example, the movement of the finger entails that of the ring; (2) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-ḥā<u>dj</u>a*, based on the need which the consequent has of the antecedent; thus the number one is anterior to the number two without being its cause; (3) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-<u>sh</u>araf*, according to worth; thus Abū Bakr has precedence over ʿUmar; (4) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-martaba*, according to a hierarchical order, either sensible, such as the place of the *imām* in prayers before the faithful who pray; or rational, such as the place of the genus in relation to the species; (5) *al-taḳaddum bi 'l-zamān*, temporal anteriority or *ḳabliyya*; to which al-Rāzī adds (6) "But I think that there is a sixth division which is *like* the anteriority of certain parts of time in relation to others; this anteriority is not temporal, otherwise it would be necessary for time to develop another time, to the point of infinity. Thus the present would be within another present which would be within a third present... and all these presents would be present at the present moment (*ḳulluhā ḥāḍira fī hā<u>dh</u>ā 'l-ān*). But the ensemble of these moments would be posterior to the ensemble of past moments, to the extent that there would be another time for the ensemble of times (*ma<u>dj</u>mūʿ al-azmina*), which is absurd, for, being a time, it would have to enter into the ensemble of times. Consequently, it would be both within and outside this ensemble, which is impossible. "Furthermore, this anteriority of parts of time in relation to one another is not an anteriority according to causality, nor according to need, otherwise they would co-exist; evidently it is not according to worth, nor according to space. It is therefore a sixth kind of *taḳaddum*. Now the Ḳurʾān shows that God is First (Primus, not prior) for all that is not Him, and al-Rāzī shows here that this qualification only fits the necessary, first and unique Being, for all that is not Him is possible (*mumkin*) and the possible exists only through origin: it is *muḥda<u>th</u>*. But what is the nature of this divine anteriority? It is not owed to an act of influence, for the agent and the patient are relative one to another and co-existent. It is not a priority founded on need, since the precedence here is absolute. It is not a precedence owed to worth, for it cannot be said that God is more worthy or more noble (*a<u>sh</u>raf*) than possible, since He is incomparable (although in one sense, necessary existence implies a fulness of being besides which the existence of the possible is deficient). As for anteriorities according to time or space, they have no meaning for God, because time and space are possibles which depend on an origin.

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God, being anterior to the totality of times, is not anterior according to time, otherwise the divine anteriority would have to enter into the ensemble of times, since it would be a time; but it would have to be exterior to it, because it would contain them all and that which contains is other than what is contained. This would be an absurdity. Apparently al-Rāzī is proposing, in so far as concerns God, a sixth kind of anteriority which is not without analogies to the anteriorities of parts of time in relation to one another. However, these are not identical and that is why al-Rāzī, when introducing his sixth division, does not say it is, but only that it is *like* ... In conclusion, we know that God is First in a universal manner (*ʿalā sabīl al-iḏjmāl*), not in a detailed manner (*ʿalā sabīl al-tafṣīl*). As for grasping the reality of this priority (*awwaliyya*), human intelligences have not the means, since they cannot escape temporal forms. We may note that a similar division of *taḳaddum* is to be found in the *Maḳāṣid al-falāsifa* of al-Ghazālī, except that the *taḳaddum bi 'l-ḥāḏja* is called *taḳaddum bi 'l-ṭabʿ*, in a case where the antecedent is not suppressed by the suppression of the consequent, but the consequent is suppressed by the suppression of the antecedent (as with a series of numbers), and except that *taḳaddum bi 'l-taʾṯhīr* bears the name *taḳaddum bi 'l-ḏhāt* (in the relation of cause to effect).

The doctrine of the eternity of the world [see ABAD] was upheld in Islam only by the *falāsifa*, directly following the systems of thought of the Greek philosophers: Plato, Aristotle, Philo of Alexandria, Proclus, and John Philoponos the Grammarian. The two *Tahāfut* of al-Ghazālī and of Ibn Rushd deal with it in a detailed fashion. The fundamental argument is that it is impossible to conceive a temporal beginning to the world, a moment of time in which it was created, in such a way that an empty time preceded the creation. In fact, if, as Aristotle maintains, time is the numerical measurement of movement (a theory taken up by the *falāsifa*, see ḤARAKA), movement demanding a mobile thing, moving bodies, the physical world and in particular the stars, then it is impossible for time to have existed before the existence of the world. Furthermore, if it existed, it would be eternal or created. But eternity does not conform with time that is changing and elapsing (*sayalān*): each of its parts is new in relation to the preceding part, and time renews itself (*yataḏjaddad*) in every one of its instants. If time is *ḥādiṯ* in each of its parts, it has all the more reason for being so in its totality. So it is created: but then the problem arises: is it created in time and did a time exist before time? That is absurd. This is the argument as taken on the part of the world. On the part of God, given a temporal creation, what did the Creator do before creating. Was He inactive? That is not his nature and it is written (II, 255) that "Neither weariness nor sleep take hold of Him". Besides, if He was first inactive, then active, a change would have taken place in Him, which is inadmissible. What would have induced Him to create at the moment when He undertook His creation? A *muraḏjiḥ*, something which could have turned the scales in the sense of the act of creation? But this *muraḏjiḥ* is eternal or created. If it is eternal, the world must also be eternal, unless some other thing could prevent this *muraḏjiḥ* from acting; this is known as *tark al-muraḏjiḥ*. This *tark* in its turn will be created or uncreated. If it is eternal, there must have been, for creation to have taken place, the intervention of a *tark tark al-muraḏjiḥ*, and so on. If now the *muraḏjiḥ* is created, the question applies to it as to the world.

For their part, the theologians who believe in the creation of the world in time object on the grounds that if the world is eternal, it has no beginning, it has never ceased to exist and consequently it has existed for an infinite period of time. Now, according to an Aristotelian principle, it is impossible to traverse an infinite time. If there is an infinity of instants to traverse in order to arrive at the present instant that exists, it is impossible to arrive there and it does not exist. This is a contradiction. The same reasoning is made in considering the infinite chain of causes: the effect that exists at present could not possibly exist. The difficulty arises from the assimilation of eternity to an infinite time. But to say that the world is eternal is to affirm that while remaining in the interior of the world and of the time which is linked to the world, one will never find a moment which could be its first beginning. One will need to go back indefinitely, but not to infinity: in other words, we are dealing here with an indefinite, or in the language of Aristotle, with an infinity in power, not an infinity in action. In short, the objection supposes that the expression "not having a beginning in time" means "having a beginning in infinite time." Besides, an infinity may be traversed if it is contained; between two points on a line, an infinite number of points is traversed. Ibn Sīnā seems to have held this view with regard to the problem of the first cause, analogous to the problem of the first beginning. If one considers the ensemble (*ḏjumla*) of causes within this world, it is clear that each one of them is at once cause and effect. Therefore, one cannot insert into this ensemble a first cause which would be without cause. "Every ensemble of which each unit is an effect caused demands a cause exterior to these units." In such a hypothesis of a causal chain "every series composed of causes and effects, whether finite or infinite, shows itself, if it contains within itself only caused effects, to need a cause that is exterior to it, but is definitely in continuity with it, as with a limit (*tattaṣilu bihā ṭarafᵃⁿ*)". If the components of this ensemble are infinite, we are then dealing with a limited infinite ensemble. That is to say, that in the search for the first cause, it will be seen to stand out as a limit to the infinite which thought can never reach and towards which it strives. But its action does not need to traverse the infinite discontinuity of causes and effects in order to act *hic et nunc*, for, as Ibn Sīnā points out "every cause of an ensemble which is not one of the units of that ensemble is in the first place cause of these units and in consequence cause of the ensemble." Such is one of Ibn Sīnā's points of view on this question, according to the *Iṯhārāt*. Another objection to the theory of the eternity of the world is based on astronomy. We have an example of it in the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm. Having declared that to an infinite time one can add nothing, and having thus shown that the infinity of centuries to come adds nothing to the infinity of centuries passed, Ibn Ḥazm writes: "In its circular orbit, Saturn makes one revolution in thirty years, and it has never ceased to turn. The greatest sphere, in these thirty years, makes approximately 11,000 revolutions, and it has never ceased to turn. Now beyond any doubt, 11,000 revolutions is greater than one alone. Consequently, that which is infinite will be approximately 11,000 times greater than that which is infinite, which is absurd." This is a

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crucial variation on the same theme: the assimilation of eternity to an infinite time. The reasoning of Ibn Ḥazm is ingenious, but it ignores the powers of the infinite.

And what of the end of the world? Plato apart, the philosophers held the view that that which has a beginning has an end, and correspondingly that which has no beginning has no end. From a creationist perspective, one could, however, admit that God will not destroy that which He has created, in such a way that the world could have been created, but eternal *a parte post*. For the philosophers, the universe cannot perish, but a part of it may disappear. For the theologians who believe in the end of the world, there remain Paradise and Hell which are eternal in the sense of *abadī*; in fact, it is written that the Chosen and the Damned shall dwell there eternally (*ḫum fihā ḫālidūn*, as the Ḳurʾān says in a number of places). But on the basis of the verse where God describes Himself as the Last, Djahm b. Ṣafwān supposed that Paradise and Hell shall also have an end, and he found a confirmation of his theory in verses 107 and 108 of Sūra XI, "To dwell there eternally as long as the heavens and the earth remain". Thus God will find Himself as absolutely alone in post-eternity as he was in pre-eternity.

Bibliography: See the bibl. to ABAD. Texts which should be especially consulted: Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*; Bāḳillānī, *K. al-Tamhīd*; Djuwaynī, *K. al-Irshād*; ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-ḫamsa*; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, ch. on those who say that the world is eternal; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *K. Uṣūl al-dīn*, 4th principle, 1st question: explanation of the number of the eternal (*azaliyya*) attributes. Studies and articles: M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins*, Beirut 1965; R. Arnaldez, *La pensée religieuse d'Averroès*, in *SI*, vii (1957); idem, *Introd. to the De aeternitate mundi of Philo of Alexandria*, with Fr. tr. of J. Pouilloux, Paris 1969; E. Behler, *Die Ewigkeit der Welt*, Munich-Paderborn-Vienna 1965.

(R. ARNALDEZ)

ḲIFṬ, Ḳuft, Ḳaft, ancient Coptos, a small town of Upper Egypt situated where the Nile approaches its closest to the Red Sea (some 40 km. north of the ruins of Thebes, and about 2 km. to the east of the river). In Pharaonic times it was connected with the exploitation of the minerals in the hills between the Nile and Red Sea and with trade through the eastern part of Egypt, and enjoyed its greatest florescence in the Greek and Roman periods. Strabo describes the organisation of traffic up the Nile to Coptos, then by caravan across the desert to the Red Sea, and calls it a "town inhabited by the Egyptians and the Arabs together". In fact, it was a centre of attraction for the peoples of the eastern desert coming to trade there, above all, for the Bedja [*q.v.*], who doubtless received from there their Christianity; a bishop of the Bedja resided at Coptos-Ḳift. It formed the centre of a pagarchy, then of a *kūra*, but then the position of Ḳift as a starting-point for tracks to the Red Sea (in 132/750 some members of the Umayyad family fled there temporarily, probably with the intention of escaping) lost importance when the mainstream of oriental trade started using the Persian Gulf instead.

The tribes of the Nile-Red Sea deserts started attacking the Nile valley; Ḳift was plundered with impunity in 204/819 by the Bedja, who were still Christian, and not till 212/828 was a rampart constructed to protect the settlement. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, al-Masʿūdī wrote that Ḳūṣ was more important than Ḳift, whose lapse into disfavour he connects with the distance of the Nile channel from the town. In fact, the skilful traders of Ḳūṣ had been able to benefit by the river, the only commercial axis still flourishing, because of the commerce with Nubia, whilst the tracks were all deserted; when they were utilised once more, with the revival of oriental trade under the Fāṭimids in the 5th/11th century, Ḳift revived, but by then Ḳūṣ had assumed the first place, by now a provincial capital. Ḳift nevertheless acquired a numerous, mixed population, especially as relations with the Ḥidjāz had over a long period led to the settlement there of ʿAlid families. It was no doubt their influence which explains the considerable expansion there of Shīʿism and its fidelity to the Fāṭimids after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's assumption of power; a conspiracy, leading to a revolt in 572/1177, was savagely repressed. Consequently, Ḳift left to Ḳūṣ the task of imposing the Sunnī counterrevolution on the Ṣaʿīd. The departure of certain families from the town (e.g. that of Ibn al-Ḳifṭī) is probably to be connected with these events; Ḳift does not seem to have had a *madrasa* like the other small towns of Upper Egypt, and it soon lost its *ḳāḍī* (it passed under the jurisdiction of the representative of the *ḳāḍī* of Ḳūṣ). Its territory remained a *waḳf* whose revenue went to support the *sharīf*s of Mecca. In the Mamlūk period, Ḳift was nothing more than a small agricultural centre in a countryside where the cultivation of sugar cane provided the main means of livelihood, and it has remained thus to the present day.

Bibliography: Strabo, *Geography*, ed. Muller, ii, 664-5, 692; Kindī, *Wulāt*, ed. Guest, 98; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 50; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 51-2, tr. 49-50; Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, 48; *Synaxaire arabe jacobite*, in *Patrol. Orient.*, iii, 499-504; Yāḳūt, iv, 152; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv, 106-11; Ibn al-Diīʿān, *al-Tuḥfa al-saniyya*, Cairo 1899, 195; *Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités, descriptions*, ii, 63; ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xiv, 104; Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux*, 148. (J.-C. GARCIN)

AL-ḲIFṬĪ [see IBN AL-ḲIFṬĪ].

KIHĀNA (A.) means divination in general. *Lā kihāna baʿd al-nubuwwa* "there is no divination after the prophetic mission"; if it were necessary to be content with this dictum, frequently repeated in the Tradition, such an article as this would be out of place in an *Encyclopaedia of Islām*. But once the precise sense of this term has been established and the range of concepts which it covers outlined, the reader will agree that it is, on the contrary, far from superfluous.

The word itself, both in terms of the conceptual aspect (*kihāna*) and the pragmatic aspect (*kahāna*) is a legacy, through its root at least, from the earliest Semitic antiquity [see KĀHIN]. Because of this fact, it covers all the concepts and all the practices which are connected, closely or distantly, to the general concept of divination or the art of knowing that which cannot be spontaneously known. The current division of divinatory methods into inductive and intuitive is also to be found in the immense Arab-Islamic corpus of Arab-Islamic mantic literature, without always taking on the nature of a rigid classification, in that the two types of method may overlap or be used concurrently.

It is fruitless to search for a theoretical definition of divination in the impressive mass of divinatory documents contained in the literatures of the Semitic languages, throughout the ancient period. At the most, there are to be found descriptive definitions,

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consisting of a list of the techniques which it comprised, according to places and periods. It is such a pragmatic definition which may be drawn from the Arabic documentation reckoned to preserve pre-Islamic traditions.

But in the mediaeval era, with the impact of Greek and Hellenistic philosophical thought, there was born, among the Arabs and the Islamised Iranians, a taste for theoretical definitions and methodical classifications. Already, in the works of a polygraph like al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/956) there are recorded a number of attempts at theoretical definitions which have been summarised, by T. Fahd in *La divination arabe*, 43-5; cf. *Murūdj*, iii, 347 ff. = §§ 1233 ff. Some philosophers, such as Ibn Sīnā, al-Ghazālī, Ibn Rushd and Maimonides, have tackled this problem and attempted to elucidate it (cf. *La divination arabe*, 51-63). Then came Ibn Khaldūn who put together all these speculations (*ibid*; 45-51). He emphasises that as a branch of prophetic practice, divination constitutes the lowest echelon. Like prophecy, it is a divine gift entrusted to a privileged group, men and women. In fact, according to al-Ḳazwīnī, there exist illuminated and celestial souls which possess the faculty of knowing the names of the spirits. These are the souls of prophets and saints; they are also the souls of physiognomists, of soothsaying genealogists and of those who see the future by means of past and present events. "As for the souls of the soothsayers", he continues, "they receive spiritual knowledge and see through it the contingencies of beings which appear in dreams and in other manifestations" (i, 317-22; *La divination arabe*, 50-51).

So, divination is seen to be theoretically legitimised by inclusion in the mainstream of prophecy (on divination and prophecy see *La divination arabe*, 63-90). But, for practical purposes, it was necessary to strip it of all that was obsolete and too closely linked to paganism. From that point was born, in Islamic literature, a detailed inventory of divinatory practices, with precise definitions of the techniques listed. In their taste for the classification of knowledge, encyclopaedists and bibliographers finished by conferring upon the concept of divination an epistemological quality. We shall begin with the most detailed classification, that of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (i, 34-5), who draws the data of his inventory from his predecessors, from Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*) to Ṭāshköprüzāde (*Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*).

Islamic divination, a legacy both of ancient Semitic divination and of Hellenistic divination, is divided into three categories:

I. *Firāsa* [*q.v.*], or physiognomancy, and its ramifications. Under this heading, eleven "sciences" are listed:

1. *ʿilm al-shāmāt wa 'l-khīlān* "beauty-spots and birthmarks" (see SHĀMĀT and *La divination arabe*, 390-3).
2. *ʿilm al-asārīr*, "chiromancy" (see AL-KAFF and *La divination arabe*, 393-5).
3. *ʿilm al-aktāf*, "omoplatoscopy" (see AL-KATIF and *La divination arabe*, 395-7).
4. *ʿilm ʿiyāfat* (read *ḳiyāfat*) *al-athar* "observation of footprints (on the ground)" (see ḲIYĀFA and *La divination arabe*, 370-3).
5. *ʿilm ḳiyāfat al-bashar*, "divination by morphoscopic and genealogical lines" (see FIRĀSA and ḲIYĀFA and also *La divination arabe*, 370-90).

6-7-8. *ʿilm al-ihtidāʾ fi 'l-barārī wa 'l-ḳifār*, "the sense of orientation in deserts"; *ʿilm istinbāṭ al-maʿādin* "the detection of minerals"; *ʿilm al-riyāfa*, "the detection of wells". These three categories may be put together under the heading of "divinatory observation of the ground" (see MĀʾ and *La divination arabe*, 403-6).

9. *ʿilm nuzūl al-ghayth* "the knowledge of (signs foretelling) rainfall". This consists in meteorological divination with its various techniques: neromancy, capnomancy, anemoscopy, phyllomancy, brelomancy, etc. (see ANWĀʾ, MALḤAMA and *La divination arabe*, 407-17).

10. *ʿilm al-ʿirāfa*, "knowledge of the future by means of past events". This definition suggest that it is a case *strictu sensu* of inductive divination, although initially *ʿirāfa* implied a certain intuitive, and consequently gnostic and esoteric, awareness (see KĀHIN and *La divination arabe* 113-19).

11. *ʿilm al-ikhtilādj*, "palmomancy" (see IKHTILĀDJ and *La divination arabe*, 397-402).

II. *Siḥr* [*q.v.*] or magic, and its ramifications.

12. *ʿilm al-kihāna*, "divination" (astrological divination, involving incantations and invocations to the stars). Thus the influence of Hellenistic ideas led to the division of divination into two types, traditional divination or *ʿirāfa* and astrological divination, which underwent a great expansion in the Hellenistic period and which the Arabs came to know through the many translations of Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi and Hindu astrological writings (see NUDJŪM and *La divination arabe*, 478-97).

13. *ʿilm al-nīrandjāt*, "white magic" (see NĪRANDJ and T. Fahd, *Le monde du sorcier en Islam*, in *Sources orientales*, vii (1966), 184 ff.).

14. *ʿilm al-khawāṣṣ* "knowledge of the properties of divine names (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*), of prayers (*daʿāwī*), of numbers (see DJAFR and ḤURŪF) and various other special things" (see KHAWĀṢṢ AL-KURʾĀN; *La divination arabe*, 214-45; *Le monde du sorcier*, 175-6).

15. *ʿilm al-ruḳyā*, "sympathetic actions or sorcery" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du sorcier*, *loc. cit.*).

16. *ʿilm al-ʿazāʾim*, "conjurations of demons or incantations" (see SIḤR and *Le monde du sorcier*, 164-5).

17. *ʿilm al-istiḥḍār*, "the evocation of spirits in physical form" (see ISTINZĀL and *Le monde du sorcier*, 170 ff.).

18. *ʿilm daʿwat al-kawākib* "the invocation of (the spirits of) the planets" (see NUDJŪM and *Le monde du sorcier*, 169 ff.).

19. *ʿilm al-filaḳṭirāt* (φυλαχτήρια), "the art of making phylacteries" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du sorcier*, 172 ff.).

20. *ʿilm al-khafāʾ*, "the art of making oneself instantly invisible" (see NĪRANDJ and *Le monde du sorcier*, 184 ff.).

21. *ʿilm al-ḥiyal al-sāsāniyya*, "the art of trickery and forgery" (see *ibid.*).

22. *ʿilm al-kashf ad-dakk*, "the art of disclosing frauds" (see *ibid.*).

23. *ʿilm al-shaʿbaḍha*, "conjury" (see *ibid.*).

24. *ʿilm taʿalluḳ al-ḳalb*, "charms" (see RUḲYA and *Le monde du sorcier*, 172 ff.).

25. *ʿilm al-istiʿāna bi-khawāṣṣ al-adwiya*, "the art of employing the properties of drugs" (see ADWIYA).

III. Judicial astrology (see NUDJŪM) and its ramifications.

26. *ʿilm al-ikhtiyārāt*, "hemerologies and menelogies (see IKHTIYĀRĀT and *La divination arabe*, 483-8).

27. *ʿilm al-raml*, "geomancy" (see KHAṬṬ and *La divination arabe*, 195-204).

28. *ʿilm al-faʾl*, "omens" (see FAʾL, ʿIYĀFA; *La divination arabe*, 431-519).

29. *ʿilm al-ḳurʿa*, "rhapsodomancy" (see KURʿA; *La divination arabe*, 214-19).

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30. *ʿilm al-ṭīra*, "ornithomancy" (see FAʾL, ʿIYĀFA; *La divination arabe*, 431 ff., 498-519).

As can be seen, in this inventory, Islamic divination avails itself of methods belonging to magic and astrology. A single term embraces all these arts: *ʿilm al-ghayb*, "the art of apprehending the invisible". Any method permitting the acquisition of supernatural knowledge or assumed to do so is considered as relevant to divination.

IV. The disciplines omitted in this inventory.

31. Divination by dreams (see TAʿBĪR AL-RUʾYĀ; *La divination arabe*, 247-367; Fahd, *Les songes et leur interprétation selon d'Islam*, in *Sources orientales*, ii (1959), 127-58. The absence of oneiromancy among the divinatory techniques is justified by the fact that it occupies in Islam a higher place than that of divination in the sphere of religious inspiration. It is closer to prophecy, of which it constitutes one of the forty (or forty-six) parts (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 343), while divination is the lowest echelon.

32-4. Among cleromantic practices, only rhapsodomancy and geomancy are mentioned. (32) Belomancy (see ISTIḲSĀM; *La divination arabe*, 181-8), (33) litholoby (see RAMY AL-DJIMĀR; *La divination arabe*, 188-95), (34) *maysir* (see AL-MAYSIR; *La divination arabe*, 204-14).

The absence of these practices in the above inventory is due to the fact that they were associated with pagan culture and they were for this reason prohibited in the Ḳurʾān.

35-41. The use of the oracle (in its various forms: *sadj*ʿ, *radjaz*, *hātif* [*q.vv.*], ventriloquism, and necromancy; see, *La divination arabe*, 148-9), which was still popular in pre-Islamic Arabia, (36) extispiscíny, (37) hepatoscopy, (38) teratomancy, (39) medical diagnoses, (40) lecanomancy, (41) ordeal, mantic disciplines much used in ancient Mesopotamia, are present only as vague survivals in Islamic divinatory literature (cf. the index of techniques and ideas in *La divination arabe*, 591-3, and J. Nougayrol, *La divination babylonienne*, in *La divination*, studies collected by A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, i, 28-81).

If the diviner ceased officially to exist in Islam, divination survived, but considerably changed, adapted progressively to the taste of the period and enriched by new Hellenistic, Iranian and Hindu practices, to which were added the local practices of the conquered territories. At the end of this period of adaptation and enrichment, Islamic divination progressively lost its primitive oracular nature to become a τέχνη, an art or a science (*ʿilm*). It is thus, for example, that to belomancy, condemned by the Ḳurʾān because of the its connections with paganism, there succeeded *ʿilm al-ḳurʿa* or rhapsodomancy, *ʿilm al-djafr* and *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* or onomatomancy, *ʿilm ḫawāṣṣ al-Ḳurʾān*, a combination of rhapsodomancy and iatromancy, *ʿilm al-raml* or geomancy and *ʿilm al-zāʾirdja*, a sort of machine for producing omens. To oneiromancy, in the sense of dream-messages received directly from the divinity by a man or by his substitute and often expressed in explicit language, there succeeded *ʿilm al-taʿbīr* or oneirocriticism. To *ḳiyāfa* or physiognomancy, there succeeded *ʿilm al-firāsa* or physiognomony and the ramifications indicated above. The sphere of *faʾl* or omens was enriched by the transition of the Arabs from a nomadic to a sedentary culture, while preserving nevertheless, its original structure, especially where ornithomancy was concerned (cf. *La divination arabe*, 525-6).

Islamic divination resembles a crucible in which the divinatory practices of Semitic and Hellenistic antiquity were fused. The rich divinatory literature written in Arabic, Persian and Turkish conveys an imposing heritage the study of which will contribute to a better understanding of ancient and mediaeval *Weltanschauungen*.

Bibliography: It is impossible to give here all the relative bibliographical items, but see for these T. Fahd, *La divination arabe, études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'Islam*, Leiden 1966, cf. esp. 529-65. Amongst more general works, there are A. Guillaume, *Prophecy and divination among the Hebrews and other Semites*, London 1938, French tr. Paris 1941; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; A. Haldar, *Associations of cult prophets among the ancient Semites*, Uppsala 1945; J. Maxwell, *La divination*, Paris 1927; J. Nougayrol and contributors, *La divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les regions voisines*, Paris 1966; A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, *La divination*, i-ii, Paris 1968. See also the bibls. of the various articles quoted within the present article.

(T. FAHD)

ḲIḲĀN / KĪKĀN [see KILĀT].

KILĀB B. RABĪʿA, an Arab tribe belonging to the group of tribes called ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*]. The territories and pre-Islamic history of the tribe are described in that article. Kilāb was considered to have ten main divisions, of which the chief for a time was Djaʿfar b. Kilāb, from which came leaders of the whole of ʿĀmir. The most serious war of the Fidjār [*q.v.*] resulted from the killing of ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl of Kilāb by al-Barrāḍ b. Ḳays al-Kinānī. Divisions within the tribe are reflected in hostility to the Muslims and friendship with them. Two men of Kilāb joined in attacking the Muslims at Biʾr Maʿūna [*q.v.*]; but al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Sufyān became a Muslim and both called on his tribe to accept Islam and raided a recalcitrant section (al-Ḳurṭāʾ).

Bibliography: Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, index; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 340; al-Wāḳidī, ed. J. M. Jones, 349, 534, 805, 886-8, 973, 982; *Naḳāʾid Djarīr wa 'l-Farazdaḳ*, ed. A. A. Bevan, esp. 662 ff.

(W. M. WATT)

KILĀT, KALĀT, KELĀT, the name of a town and of an extensive region, formerly a Khānate, of Balūčistān, now a District of Pakistan.

(1) The town (often called Kalāt-i Balūč to distinguish it from the Afghān Kalāt-i Ghilzay) lies in lat. 28° 53′ N. and long. 66° 28′ E. at an altitude of 6,800 feet, and has in recent centuries been the centre of the Khānate of Kalāt; until the rise of Quetta as a military base of British India [see KWATṬA] it was the most important town of Balūčistān. The name Kalāt or Kilāt represents Arabic *ḳalʿa* and Persian *ḳala/ḳalāt*, often pronounced *kilā/kilāt* in Indo-Muslim usage; in Balūčī we have *ḫilāt* "fortress, citadel", cf. Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, 480, s.v. *khelāt*, this last being the form of the name usually found in Anglo-Indian sources of the period. On locally-minted coins we find the name of the town both as *K.lāt* and as *Ḳ.lāt* (W. H. Valentine, *The copper coins of India*, London 1914, ii, 223).

In earlier times, the town was known as Kalāt-i Sēwa, from a legendary Hindu king, or as Kalāt-i Ničārī, after the local Brahūī tribe of Ničāris. The name is not found in any of the early Islamic histo-

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rians and geographers, but it is very probable that Kalāt marks the site of mediaeval Kīzkānān or Ḳīḳān, judging by the latter's position in the itineraries; it seems to be the Ki-kiangna of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiuentsang (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 275-6). Ḳīḳān and Būḳān were raided by the Arab commander Sinān b. Salama al-Hudhalī and then by al-Mundhir b. al-Djārūd al-ʿAbdī as early as Muʿāwiya's caliphate (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433-4). In the 4th/10th century, Kīzkānān is named as the residence of the local ruler of the region of Ṭūrān (on which see Minorsky in *EI*[1] s.v.), whom Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 324, tr. Kramers-Wiet 317-8, calls Muʿtazz b. Aḥmad, adding that he recognised the ʿAbbāsids in his *ḵẖuṭba* (a point probably made by Ibn Ḥawḳal because the adjacent province of Sind at this time acknowledged the Fāṭimids and the Ismāʿīlī imāmate). However, the capital of the region was located not long afterwards at Ḳuṣdār, modern Khuzdār, 80 miles to the south of Kīzkānān/Kalāt [see ḲUṢDĀR]. In the early Ghaznawid period, it is recorded that Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd went lion-hunting in the district of Kīkānān (Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīḵẖ-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 126).

Since approximately the 9th/15th century, Kalāt has been in the hands of Brahūīs of the Kambarānī tribe, from whome the later Aḥmadzay Khāns of Kalāt were descended. In the 18th century, the Khāns recognised the suzerainty of Nādir Shāh Afshār and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*qq.v.*] during their Indian campaigns, and their power in Balūčistān grew. The greatest of the chiefs of this period, Naṣīr Khān b. ʿAbd Allāh, tried to shake off Afghān control, and though Aḥmad Shāh defeated him in battle, the latter was unable to take Kalāt town from Naṣīr Khān, despite three attempts (1172/1758). It was Naṣīr Khān who built the citadel of Kalāt, known as the Mīrī, which became the Khān's palace. We possess descriptions of Kalāt during the first half of the 19th century by travellers such as H. Pottinger (1810), who mentions the mud-brick defensive walls pierced with gun-holes and the ample water supply from a spring, which also turned several mills (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 40-51), and C. Masson (1830s), who describes the colony in Kalāt of Bābī Afghāns, expelled thither by Aḥmad Shāh from Ḳandahār, and who numbers the houses there at *ca.* 800, giving a population of say 3-4,000 (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 50-6, 96-8, 177-8).

In 1250/1834 the Afghān ruler Shāh Shudjāʿ al-Mulk took refuge in Kalāt with Miḥrāb Khān b. Maḥmūd b. Nāṣir after his failure to recover Ḳandahār from Kūhandil Khān, governor there for his brother Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. During the First Afghān War (1839-42) Miḥrāb Khān was drawn into conflict with the British force which advanced on Ḳandahār in 1254/1838 through the Bōlān Pass in order to reinstate Shāh Shudjāʿ. Kalāt was stormed in 1255/1839 and the Khān killed in the fighting; the districts of Kačchī, Shāl and Mustang in the northern part of the Khānate were taken from Kalāt and ceded to Shāh Shudjāʿ, temporarily placed on the throne of Kābul, and British Agent installed in Kalāt. This last was killed by Brahūī tribesmen soon afterwards, leading to a second British occupation in 1257/1841. The ceded territories were now returned to the Khān, and with the annexation of Sind in 1843 and the Panjab in 1849, British influence was brought right up to the frontiers of the Khanāte. The Khāns themselves suffered several decades of disputed authority and tribal turmoil, till in 1876 the Government of India was compelled to intervene, and Capt. (later Sir Robert) Sandeman negotiated an agreement between the Khān and rival chiefs, making Kalāt a protected native state, with a British Political Agent to be henceforth stationed at Quetta. The northern *taḥṣīls* of the Khānate, Quetta, Nushkī and Naṣīrābād were leased to Britain in perpetuity, to form British Balūčistān, and the right to levy transit dues at the Bōlān Pass commuted for an annual subsidy (see T. H. Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: his life and work on our Indian frontier*, London 1895, 39-87, 117-82, etc.). Even so, further intervention was necessary in 1893, when the tyrannical Mīr Khudādād b. Miḥrāb was deposed from his Khānate by the Government of India.

The earthquake of 1935 affected Kalāt badly, as well as Quetta and Mustang, demolishing most of the old town and causing widespread economic damage through destruction of the irrigation *kārīzs* [see ḲANĀT]. In 1940 strained relations and clashes between the Khān of Kalāt and the chief of Khārān [*q.v.*] to the northwest of Kalāt led to the recognition of Khārān as a separate native state under the control of the British Political Agent. Early in 1948 the Khān of Kalāt acreded to Pakistan and his Khānate became part of the Balūčistān States Union, with the Khān no longer an independent ruler but enjoying a privy purse from the central government.

(2) The province. This included by the 18th century the districts of Sarawān, Djahlawān, Kačchī and Makrān, and the tributary states of Las Bēla and Khārān. In 1955 all the provinces of West Pakistan were merged into one unit, and Kalāt became a separate District under a Deputy Commissioner, whilst Khārān, Makrān and Las Bēla formed separate Districts. Kalāt District is today the biggest in area of all Pakistan, covering 30,931 sq. miles in area and with a population, made up of Brahūīs, Balūč, Jhāts, etc., of 341,420 (1961 census).

Bibliography: (in addition to sources mentioned in the text): Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 332-3; P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Irán*, London 1902, 235-7; *Imperial gazeteer of India*, xiv, 299-306; R. Hughes-Buller, *Baluchistan District gazeteer series*, 1907; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 306; *Population census of Pakistan 1961. District census reports, Kalat, passim*; Baighar Beg Khan of Kalat, *Inside Baluchistan*, 1975; *EI*[1] art. *Balōčistān* (M. Longworth Dames), for the detailed political history of the Khānate under British suzerainty.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KILĀT (KALĀT)-I NĀDIRĪ, "the most famous fort of Central Asia", located some 70 miles north of Mashhad near the Irano-Soviet border, on a spur of the Ḳarādja-Dāgh Mts. Kalāt-i Nādirī consists of a high valley (altitude 2,500-3,000 feet), some twenty miles long and running west-east, which is converted into a natural fortress by walls of virtually unscalable rock to the north and south. The height of the southern rampart is 700-800 ft; the northern rampart is even higher. These walls are breached at only five points: Darband-i Arghūn on the south-west; Nafta on the north; Kushtanī Darband on the south-east; Čūbast on the west; and Dihča on the north-west.

In 683/1284, the rebellious Mongol prince Arghūn took refuge there after his defeat at the hands of

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the Ilkhān Teküder. In 782/1380-1, Timūr launched numerous assaults on Kalāt-i Nādirī without success; the fortress eventually fell as a result of pestilence. In 1153/1741, Nādir Shāh, who had previously used Kalāt-i Nādirī as the headquarters from which he set out to free Iran from the Afghāns, chose it as the site for the treasure-house in which he deposited the loot from his Indian campaign; the treasure-house was built by Indian craftsmen from massive blocks of Marāgha marble. After Nādir's death, his son Riḍā Ḳulī and fifteen members of his family were executed at Kalāt-i Nādirī by the future ʿĀdil Shāh.

Today, Kalāt-i Nādirī has reverted to its earlier name of Kalāt, and constitutes one of the five *bakhsh*s of the *shahristān* of Darragaz.

Bibliography: L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, index s.v.; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, repr. London 1966, i, 126-40; P. M. Sykes, *A fifth journey in Persia*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, xxviii (July-Dec. 1906) 568-77; ʿAlī Razmārā, ed., *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā'i-yi Īrān*, ix, Tehran 1329/1950, 325.

(R. M. SAVORY)

ḲILBURUN (Ḳlnburun), a sharp cape or headland at the mouth of Dnieper (Özi) river on the Black Sea coast of South Russia; this Turkish name was given to it by the Turks because it looked as slender as a single hair (*ḳıl*). It lies at 2 sea miles's distance from the fortress of Özi or Oczakof, and at the tip of the cape was a fortress built by the Ottomans. Within the Ḳılburun promontory is an inner estuary 40 km. long and 8-10 km. wide (P. Minas Bijişkyan, *Karadeniz tarih ve coğrafyasi*, tr. H. D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1969, 100). The salt obtained from the lakes in the vicinity of Ḳılburun increased its importance economically.

Ḳılburun came into prominence at the beginning of the 11th/17th century as a result of the Cossack invasions towards the Black Sea coastlands (Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 72, 103), hence fortresses were built in various places, including Ḳılburun, against Cossack raids (Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 152). The one constructed at Ḳılburun had a staff of 193 persons (Başbakanlık arşiv genel müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 4891). It became of especial strategic importance to the Ottomans when the Russians started descending the rivers to the Black Sea, and major reconstructions were accordingly undertaken in 1709 and 1733-4 (Muzaffar Erdoğan, *Lale devri Mimarı Kayserili Mehmed Ağa*, Istanbul 1962, 58-9, 81). In time of war, the Ḳılburun garrison worked in collaboration with the garrison of Özi (Oczakof) opposite to it, in defence of the mouth of the Dniepr. The Russians succeeded in capturing Ḳılburun for a while during the 1736-8 Ottoman-Russian war, but were later obliged to return it after demolishing it. The fort was again captured in 1772 during the 1768-74 Ottoman-Russian war, and this fact was accepted by Turkey at the settlement of Küčük Kaynardja. Ottoman forces which tried to recapture it during the 1787-91 war failed decisively to do so (Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1309, iii, 32). Ḳılburun fort was occupied by a French force on 17th January 1855 during the Crimean War, but finally demolished by Russia in 1860. Ḳılburun, on which there is a small fishing village, is now within the Ukrainian SSR.

Bibliography: In addition to the references already mentioned in the text, see Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1314, v, 3804; M. N. Bouillet, *Dictionnaire universel d'histoire et de géographie*, Paris 1880, 980; N. Itzkowitz and M. Mote, *Mubadele—an Ottoman-Russian exchange of ambassadors*, Chicago 1970, 38, 45; Baron de Tott, *Memoires*, repr. New York 1973, ii, 64; İ. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/1, Ankara 1956, 257, 417, 422-3, 445, 501, 504, 565; Sir Edward Hamley, *The war in the Crimea*, London 1891, 291, 293; H. D. Seymour, *Russia on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azof*, London 1888, p. 6, 27, 28; Abdulgaffar Ḳırımī, *ʿUmdet al-tewārīkh*, Istanbul 1926, 174, 179; *Sowjetunion, Daten Bilder Karten*, Mannheim 1969, 172; *Russell's despatches from the Crimea*, ed. N. Bentley, London 1970, 265, 268, 270.

(C. ORHONLU)

KILĪD AL-BAḤR [see ČANAḲ-ḲALE BOGHAZĪ].

ḲILĪDJ ALAYI [see TAḲLĪD-I SAYF].

ḲILĪDJ ʿALĪ PASHA [see ʿULŪDJ ʿALĪ].

ḲILĪDJ ARSLAN I, also known to the Crusaders, like his father, under the name Sulaymān/Soliman, son of Sulaymān b. Ḳutlumush [*q.v.*], second Saldjūḳ prince of Asia Minor. At an early age, he was in Antioch when his father was killed in battle fighting Tutush [*q.v.*], and he was handed over as a hostage to Malik-Shāh [*q.v.*] who conquered Syria in 1086. On the death of the latter (1092) he managed to escape, and arrived in Nicaea, his father's former residence, where he seems without much difficulty to have had himself accepted as sovereign by the semi-autonomous Turcoman chieftains who were waging against Byzantium a policy of entente with the Basileus, who for his part, threatened on all his frontiers, sought to use against his other opponents those of the Turks whom he hoped gradually to assimilate or to neutralise. Ḳılıdj Arslan was especially anxious to maintain relations with the Turkish East, which other Turks, in particular the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] were threatening to cut off. In summoning his father to Nicaea, Alexis Comnenus had in effect brought his Turks far in advance of what then was still the principal zone of Turcoman population.

It was in these circumstances that the Crusades intervened, enabling Alexis temporarily to abandon the task of dealing with the Turks. Ḳılıdj Arslan crushed the Peasant Crusade of Peter the Hermit, but was subsequently forced to give up Nicaea, along with his harem, to the Barons' Crusade, and was later beaten by the Christians again on the edge of the Anatolian plateau at Dorylaeum. These victories of the Christians enabled Alexis Comnenus to regain control of the entire Aegean coast of Asia Minor; but the Crusaders did not stay in Asia Minor, and the Turkish forces, who being still semi-nomadic in character had been repelled but not destroyed, returned behind the backs of the Crusaders. The danger had furthermore led to a temporary reconciliation between Ḳılıdj Arslan and Dānishmend, which led to the annihilation, in 1100-1, of the rearguard troops of the Crusaders, an operation in which Dānishmend, it is true, played the more significant role; the latter, at the head of his troops, deprived the Franco-Armenians of the strategic centre of Malatya, vital to Ḳılıdj Arslan's links with the East. Also, when Dānishmend died in 1104, Ḳılıdj Arslan, who had become reconciled with the Greeks to the point of sending them contingents to fight other enemies (1106), came and occupied the place.

From there he was able to control Upper Mesopotamia, where the lieutenants of his Eastern Saldjūḳ cousins were in conflict with one another. When the enemies of Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh [*q.v.*]

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appealed to him for help, he confronted the army of the latter on the Khābūr, and was killed (1107). This was for a long time the last intervention by the Saldjūḳs of Rūm in the East, and the roughly-constituted Turkish state was definitively enclosed within Asia Minor proper.

Bibliography: The sources include Anna Comnena, Matthew of Edessa, Michael the Syrian and the Latin historians of the First Crusade; the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr and the chroniclers of Syria (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, Ibn Abī Ṭayyi' in the unedited part of Ibn al-Furāt and Ibn al-'Adīm, ed. S. Dahan) and of al-Djazīra (Ibn al-Azraḳ, unedited).

The modern bibliography is given in Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, and O. Turan, *Selçuklular zamanında Türkiye*, Ankara 1971). (Cl. Cahen)

KĪLĪDJ ARSLAN II, son and successor of Mas'ūd I, and one of the most important sultans of Rūm (1155-92).

Mas'ūd had, in dealing with the Greeks, succeeded in restoring the position of the Saldjūḳs in relation to the Dānishmendids who were divided by quarrels over the succession. Ḳīlīdj Arslan at first maintained this policy, and carried it to the extent of offering the Basileus Manuel Comnenus at Constantinople in 1162 a form of allegiance which, in concrete terms, cost him nothing. He was then able to make himself master of a portion of the Dānishmendid possessions, and he would have taken them all had he not been confronted by the powerful ruler of Muslim Syria, Nūr al-Dīn. The latter, champion of the Holy War against the Christians, pretended indignation at Ḳīlīdj Arslan's relations with the Greeks. The two princes in fact were alternately allied and at odds, Ḳīlīdj Arslan helping Nūr al-Dīn to deprive the Franks of their possessions on the Syro-Anatolian frontiers with the object of sharing them with his rival, and Nūr al-Dīn extending his power over this territory as soon as the Saldjūḳ sultan withdrew. The conquest of Egypt by Nūr al-Dīn's lieutenants Shīrkūh and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn crowned his glory, and Ḳīlīdj Arslan's enemies persuaded Nūr al-Dīn to undertake an expedition into Asia Minor which forced Ḳīlīdj Arslan to recognise what remained of Dānishmendid territories. On the death of Nūr al-Dīn, he annexed them (Malatya in 1177) thus accomplishing, from the Byzantine territories in the West almost to the furthest limits of the East, the political unity of Asia Minor.

He no longer needed to deal with the Greeks, and on his side, Manuel Comnenus, though strengthened by the general success of his foreign policy, was uneasy at the growing power of the sultan, and decided that he must put an end to it. In 1176, at the head of a powerful army, he advanced on to the Anatolian plateau, but was crushed at Myriokephalon. This was, after an interval of a century, a replica of Mantzikert, which showed that henceforward there existed a Turkey which could never be further assimilated. If Ḳīlīdj Arslan showed moderation in his official policy, the pressure of Turcomans on the frontiers led him to reach out to the upper valleys of the Aegean coast and, in spite of opposition from Rhodes, to the sea itself.

This expansion could not take place without risk. Trouble with the Turcomans, breaking out to the east of the Saldjūḳ State, grew more intense, with these Turcomans supplying troops ready to serve any ambitious chief. Whether for this reason or not, Ḳīlīdj Arslan divided the territories under his suzerainty between his nine sons, a brother and a nephew. Needless to say, the latter quarrelled among themselves and one of them, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, with support from some Turcomans, forced his aged father to accept his protection at Konya. These events were interrupted by the Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa; the latter, an enemy of the Byzantines, had established diplomatic relations with Ḳīlīdj Arslan who, indifferent to Syro-Palestinian affairs, was inclined to promise him free passage. But Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's Turcomans attacked the Germans, who converged on Konya (1190). Shortly after, the old sultan succeeded in escaping from the semi-captivity in which his son was holding him, and took refuge with another of his sons, the son of a Greek mother, who was established on the western borders. It was there that he died, at the age of seventy-seven.

Bibliography: Sources include the Byzantine writers Cinnamos and Nicetas Choniatus, the Armenians Matthew of Edessa and Gregory the Priest, Michael the Syrian, and the Arab authors cited in the preceding Bibliography. References to modern works are given in the works of Cahen and Turan cited in *ibid.* and in N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-dīn*, Damascus 1968. (Cl. Cahen)

KĪLĪDJ ARSLAN III, the young son of the sultan of Rūm Rukn al-Dīn, who reigned only a few months (1204-5), after which the majority of the *amīrs*, worried at the general dangers inherent in the rule of a minor, deposed him in favour of Kay Khusraw I [*q.v.*].

KĪLĪDJ ARSLAN IV, better known by his *laḳab* of Rukn al-Dīn, one of the sons and successors of Khusraw II (1246). It was at the beginning of the period of the Mongol protectorate that, the three sons of the late sovereign all being minors, the senior *amīrs*, in order to safeguard the unity of the state, sought to install, under their own executive power, a sultanate shared jointly between the three young princes; Ḳīlīdj Arslan was sent on a mission to the Mongol chief Batu to persuade him to accept this solution. This very mission alone established a special relationship between Ḳīlīdj Arslan and the Mongols, and for many years two opposing parties were in conflict; the one, taking him as its figurehead, believing that the only possible course of action was to submit to the Mongols, the other, rallying behind his brother 'Izz al-Dīn, seeking to organise resistance with the aid of the Turcomans of the West and in alliance with the Byzantines. Successive schisms resulted, leading on each occasion to a division, temporary at first, between the territories in the east, favouring the Mongols who were close by, awarded to Ḳīlīdj Arslan, and those of the west, left to 'Izz al-Dīn. United for the last time in 1260, the two brothers participated in a campaign against Syria under the orders of the Mongol chief Hülegü. Eventually, 'Izz al-Dīn fled to Constantinople, and Ḳīlīdj Arslan remained sole sultan. This did not mean that he exercised power; power in fact belonged to the *perwāne* Mu'īn al-Dīn Sulaymān, the favourite of the Mongols. When Ḳīlīdj Arslan came of age and showed resentment towards him, the *perwāne* had him strangled (1265).

Bibliography: Sources include the Muslim historians of Anatolia Ibn Bībī, Aḳsarāyī and the anonymous author from Konya of the *Saldjūḳ-nāma*; the Arabic historians Baybars al-Manṣūrī (unedited) and Yūnīnī; and the Syriac one Bar Hebraeus. General references to modern works are given in the works of Cahen and Turan cited in the previous Bibliographies. (Cl. Cahen)

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KILIFI, headquarters of Kilifi District in the Coast Province of Kenya, in lat. 4° S, is a small port which was an independent sultanate until 1592, including the present Kioni, Kitoka and Mnarani. The large Friday mosque, the wealthy *décor* of the adjacent tombs, and the walls and gatehouse, show that Mnarani was the chief amongst these settlements in medieval times. The cemetery is noteworthy for eleven inscriptions in 15th century *nasḵhī* script. Excavations by J. S. Kirkman in 1954 showed that the site was occupied from the end of the 14th century until some time in the 17th century when, as Capt. W. F. W. Owen recorded in 1833, it was destroyed by Galla tribesmen. The Sultan of Kilifi sent an ambassador to greet the Turkish commander Amīr ʿAlī Bey at Mombasa in 1586, and in 1589 joined him against the Portuguese in Mombasa. Following a long feud with Malindi, Kilifi was razed by the Portuguese with local allies in 1592, but recovered. It was to Kilifi that Sultan al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad of Mombasa withdrew in protest against the Portuguese Captain of Mombasa's exactions in 1612.

Bibliography: J. Strandes, *The Portuguese period in East Africa* (1899), ed. J. S. Kirkman, 2nd edn., Nairobi 1968; E. Axelson, *The Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1488-1600*, Cape Town 1973; J. S. Kirkman, *Mnarani of Kilifi*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1959); P. S. Garlake, *Early Islamic architecture of the East African coast*; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville and B. G. Martin, *A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the Eastern African coast*, in *JRAS* (1973); Capt. W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of voyages*, New York 1833.

(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

ḴILLAWRIYA, Calabria (in Yāḳut is found Ḳillawriya, and in Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, Kalawriya, both of these close to the Byzantine Καλαβρία, Kalavría, in Italian Calabria).

It is very likely that the Arabs, coming probably from Spain, launched attacks across the sea against certain coastlands of Calabria even before Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] landed in Sicily in 212/827, thus providing the Muslims with a base for military operations against the Italian mainland.

According to Ibn al-Athīr (M. Amari, *BAS*, Leipzig 1857, text 228), followed by Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid.*, 469), the first serious operation against Calabria took place in 225/839-40. With the capture of Messina in 228/842-3, it became easier for the Muslims of Sicily to undertake devastating raids and lengthy sieges, by means of which they were able to keep the Calabrian territory under continual threat from their incursions. This state of affairs lasted until the time when Constantinople decided to take the offensive and operations for the recovery of this region were entrusted to Nicephorus Phocas, who in 272/885-6 inflicted severe losses on the enemy. The Saracens, however, speedily counter-attacked. Possibly encouraged by the traditional hostility in southern Italy between the Lombard princes and the Byzantine imperial governors, they managed in the course of the following three years to assemble in Sicily a fleet meant for attacking Calabria. Operations began in 275/888, and ended in the waters of Milazzo by the rout of the Byzantine army, the sack of the town of Reggio and the resumption of the raids, henceforth continuous, into the interior of Calabria.

However, it was at the beginning of the 4th/10th century that the Muslim offensive grew more violent, under the stimulus of the savage Aghlabid prince Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm, who had been compelled, as a result of his unbridled despotism, to abdicate in favour of his son ʿAbd Allāh [see AGHLABIDS]; in order to expiate his misdeeds, he undertook a "holy war" in Sicily and Calabria, where he wrought, without any scruples, enormous devastations, attacking persistently Cosenza, before whose walls he died in 289/902.

The first Kalbid [*q.v.*] ruler to resume military operations in Calabria with both regular land and naval forces was al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, who captured Reggio in 339/950 and built there a mosque, which was however diverted from this usage after only four years; two years later, the same ruler gained a great victory over the Byzantine forces beneath Gerace.

The sequence of raids, sieges and movements of resistance on the part of the Christians continued until the point when, in 372/982, the Emperor Otto II decided to end this situation by simultaneously attacking both the Muslims and the Byzantines, whose troops, in this state of affairs, helped each other against the Frankish ruler. The latter's troops gained an initial success, but had to flee when his army was defeated before Stilo. In the period between this defeat and the occupation of Calabria by the Normans towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Calabrian region was once again the scene of clashes (in the course of the naval battle before Reggio in 395/1005, the Pisans inflicted a defeat on the Muslims), of unusual ententes between Christians and Muslims, and of exhausting trials for the local population, which suffered violent raidings and incursions and was never able to benefit from a stable Muslim régime which, in other places and in more favourable circumstances, was often the mediating force for the transmission of the genuine values intrinsic in its culture.

Bibliography: The texts of the greater part of the Arab geographers (above all, al-Idrīsī), chroniclers and historians, which involve Calabria, may be found in M. Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, 1st Appendix, Leipzig 1875, 2nd Appendix, Leipzig 1887, and *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², ed. C. A. Nallino, Catania 1933-9 (cf. the index s.v. Calabria, Reggio, Bruzzano, Gerace, Stilo, Tiriolo and Cosenza).

(U. RIZZITANO)

KILLIZ, a town of northern Syria, situated to the north of Aleppo between the two rivers ʿAfrīn and Ḳuwayḳ, north of Aʿzāz and on the road from Aleppo to ʿAyntāb. It was apparently known to the Assyrians, since a letter in cuneiform script (Harper, no. 1037, Brit. Mus. K 13073, obv. 3) mentions a town Ki-li-zi. In Roman times, Killiz was called *Ciliza sive Urmagiganti* (*Itin. Ant.*, ed. Pinder-Parthey, 84). In the mediaeval period it seems to have been of no importance. It is mentioned by Ps. Denys of Tell-Mahré at the time of the revolt against the Patriarch Dionysius in 817. One should read Killiz instead of Kalaz or Shalaz in Bar Hebraeus, *Hist. eccl.*, ed. Abbeloos-Lamy, i, 339, 342, and Killiz instead of Ḥalīf in Michael the Syrian, *Chron. syr.*, ed. Chabot, iii, 23.

The Arab geographers do not seem to mention Killiz. Yāḳūt is somewhat confused. His Ḳilliz (iv, 158, cf. 168) refers to somewhere which he places near Sumaysāṭ or Samosata, but his Killiz (iv, 299) really does mean our Killiz, a town in the *nāḥiya* of ʿAzāz (Aʿzāz) between Aleppo and Antich, and he believes that it should be written Ḳilliz. The place in the region of Samosata is probably not Killiz but al-Kalīs or al-Kalis, which Ḳudāma lists among the frontier settlements of Diyār Bakr and which Ibn Ḥawḳal², 196 (1st edn., 131) places on the May-

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yāfāriḳīn-Malaṭya route, and which is consequently not near to Samosata/Sumaysāṭ but to Shimshāṭ (on this al-Kalīs, see Markwart, *Südarmenien*, 249-50).

Killiz and Mardj Killiz are mentioned in verses of Abū Firās (in regard to Sayf al-Dawla's campaigns), which Yāḳūt also cites (*Dīwān*, ed. S. Dahhān, 115, v. 128, 150, v. 137). Since his successor Abu 'l-Maʿālī Saʿd al-Dawla neglected to pay tribute owed to Byzantium according to the treaty of 359/969, the Domesticus Bardas Phocas led an expedition into Ḥamdānid territory, stormed Killiz and carried off its inhabitants into captivity. At the time of the Crusades, Killiz fell within the Frankish territories, no doubt after the capture of Aʿzāz by Roger of Antioch in 1118-19, for in 1124 the Turcoman *amīr* Balaḳ, who had become master of Aleppo, attacked Aʿzāz and his troops laid waste the region of Killiz. Killiz presumably fell into the hands of Nūr al-Dīn at the same time as did Aʿzāz, sc. in 1150.

Although Killiz is some distance away from the important meeting-place of routes near Aʿzāz, it has nowadays eclipsed Aʿzāz in importance. The present town is in Turkey (see *Guide bleu* under Killis), and *ca.* 1948 had 24,000 inhabitants; Cuinet had given 20,000 in 1891, 15,000 of which were Muslims. The town was in the 10th/16th century the residence of the Druze Jumblatt family [see DJĀNBULĀT]. According to Hartmann, ancient Killiz was the modern Tanzimé Khān, where can still be found enormous pieces of stone, whilst the little garden Ilezī Baghčesi, 20 minutes' journey to the east of Killiz, is traditionally pointed out as being the ancient site of the town or at least of part of it, since it is assumed that Ilezī contains the name Killiz, and there are at that site traces of an ancient settlement.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, iv, 158, 299; Sayf al-Dīn, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. Juynboll, ii, 440, 508; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, ed. Rosen (Rozen), in *Imperator Vasiliy Bolgaroboyca, Izvlečeniya iz letopisi Yaḥkii Antiokhiyskago*, 19, 166, 171-2 (repr. London 1972), Ar. text, 17; Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, in *Patr. Or.*, 415 (207), ed. Cheikho, 165; Canard, *Sayf al-daula, recueil de textes*, 127, 145, 384; *idem*, *H'amdanides*, 224-5, 232, 851; R. Grousset, *Hist. des Croisades*, i, 392, 513, 574, ii, 101, 147, 567; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord au temps des Croisades*, 139, 298; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 486; M. Hartmann, in *Zeitschr. der Gesell. für Erdkunde*, xxix, 485; idem, in *Mitteil. der vorderasiat.-aegypt. Gesellschaft* (1896), 106; Barthélemy, *Rec. de trav. relatifs à la philol. et à l'archeol. égypt. et assyr.*, 1897, 34 (erroneous identification of Killiz with Kurus-Cyrrhos); Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 185 ff.; R. Hartmann, *Geogr. Nachr. über Palästina und Syrien in Ḥalīl aṣ-Ẓāhirīs Zubda ...*, diss. Tübingen 1907, 63; Meissner, in *ZA*, xxvii (1912), 266; Cumont, *Etudes syriennes*, 1917, 257 ff.; Dussaud, *Topographie hist. de la Syrie*, viii, 229, 503, 507; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byz. Reiches*, 95, 104. (M. CANARD)

KILWA, the name of various localities and islands of the east coast of Africa, amongst which should be mentioned KILWA KIVINYE, on the mainland (8° 45′ S.) about 140 miles south of Dār al-Salām (Dar es Salam), and in particular, the QUILOA of the Portuguese (Kulwa in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 191 ff., tr. Gibb, ii, 379 ff., and in the ms. B.M. Or. 2666, but Kilwa in Yāḳūt s.v.). This last is today called KILWA KISAWĀNI, and is situated on an island near to the Tanzanian coast, 150 miles south of Dār al-Salām (8° 58′ S., 39° 34′ E.). It is the site, covering about one km.², of the capital of a region which stretched from the Rufiji River to Sofala in mediaeval times and was the greatest of the Islamic trading states in East Africa.

Barros, *Da Àsia*, 1552, preserves an anonymous abbreviated *Chrónica dos Reyes de Quiloa*, composed perhaps before 1507; an independent 16th century *Kitāb al-Sulwa fī akhbar Kulwa*, by an anonymous Shīʿī author, survives only in B.M.ms.Or. 2666, dated 1862. Neither is complete. A 19th century Swahili *History* is of little value. Coins of at least seven rulers are certain, and with them, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and Muḥammad al-Fāsī sustain the historicity of the documents. After 1500, numerous accounts occur in Portuguese and French sources. In 1960-5 H. N. Chittick excavated the chief buildings.

The chronology is controversial. Chittick's deletion from the text of Barros of some fifteen rulers must be regarded as unacceptable. He dates the earliest occupation to *ca.* 800. The finds agree well with the documentary sources as they stand. They describe a dynasty of "Shīrāzī" settlers from the Gulf established *ca.* 957. The founder, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, bought the island from the preceding pagan ruler, marrying his daughter. For two centuries the expanding trading centre was often at war with neighbouring islands. In the 12th century it acquired the monopoly of Sofala's gold trade with its hinterland; its former governor, Dāwūd b. Sulaymān, was Sultan of Kilwa *ca.* 1131-70, and "master of the trade" of Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia and the mainland. Essentially, it was an entrepôt trade serving Arab Indian Ocean routes, in gold, ivory and some slaves, against imported textiles, beads, and Near and Far Eastern ceramics. Under Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan, *ca.* 1170-89, many important buildings were erected in a new style. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, otherwise unrecorded, issued the first coinage in the late 12th century. About 1294 Mahdalī *sayyids* succeeded the original dynasty, possibly by female descent. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Kilwa in 1331: the people were black, orthodox Shāfiʿīs, and devoted to *djihād* against mainland unbelievers.

Vasco da Gama sailed past Kilwa in 1498. In 1500 Pedro Alvarez Cabral was the first Portuguese to levy tribute. Francisco d'Almeida took it by storm in 1505. Contemporary accounts attest its wealth. A Portuguese fort controlled it until 1512: its economy was ruined by the Portuguese seizure of the Sofala trade in 1505. A population of perhaps 10,000 in 1500 had already dwindled to about 4,000 by 1587, when marauding Zimba massacred 3,000 inhabitants. Kilwa never recovered. After the ʿUmānī capture of Mombasa from the Portuguese in 1698, Kilwa also was made tributary to ʿUmān. In the 18th century the slave trade developed greatly, but Zanzibar was the main entrepôt. Zanzibar finally absorbed Kilwa in 1843, deporting the last sulṭān. When Germany acquired the mainland in 1886, some surviving royalties threw their records in the sea, lest they fall into infidel hands.

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AL-ḴILY, also AL-ḴILĀ, according to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Liḥyānī also *al-ḳilw* (see al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, 170, § 643); the word is derived from aramaic *ḳelyā*), potash, potassium carbonate [K_2CO_3], but also soda, sodium carbonate [Na_2CO_3] (both materials were not clearly distinguished, therefore the Arabic term is kept in what follows.) *Al-Ḳily* thus indicates the salt which is won from the ashes of alkaline plants, but is also confusingly used for the ashes themselves and the lye. As synonyms are given *shabb al-ᶜuṣfur* and *shabb al-asākifa* (Ibn Maymūn, *Sharḥ asmā' al-ᶜuḳḳār*, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 345). The plants or families of plants *rimṯ* (Haloxylon articulatum Cav.) and *ḥamḍ* (Chenopodiaceae) serve as the standard plants employed. According to Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (*op. cit.* 104, § 411 = *LA*, s.v. *ḳ-l-y* = Ibn al-Baytār, *Djāmiᶜ*, IV, 31) the best potash is won from *al-ḥuruḍ* (Arthroenemum c.q. Seidlitzia), the so-called "potash of the dyers" (*ḳily al-ṣabbāghīn*). The other sorts sufficed for the fabrication of glass. The extraction of *ḳily* is concisely but accurately described by al-Layṯ, the editor of the *K. al-ᶜAyn* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. *ca.* 170/786): the plants *al-ghaḍā* (Arthroenemum c.q. Salicornia) and *al-rimṯ* are burnt while green; the ashes are slaked with water which then consolidates into *ḳily* (see *LA*, s.v.).

Ḳily is used for various purposes: in the absence of soap (*ṣābūn*), clothes are washed with it (see *LA*: Yāḳūt, iii, 465). Chemists used it to manufacture pungent lyes (Muḥammad b. Zaḳariyyā' al-Rāzī, *K. al-Asrār*, ed. M. T. Dānish-Pazhūh, Tehran 1964, 76, 108 f.; J. Ruska and K. Garbers, *Vorschriften zur Herstellung von scharfen Wassern bei Ǧābir und Rāzī*, in *Isl.* xxv (1939), 1-34).

A prominent part is played by *al-ḳily* in the manufacture of glass. It is melted together with sand and magnesia and thus produces the "substance of glass" (*djawhar al-zudjādj*, Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 407). Above all, it happens that the glass easily absorbs the various colorations (see Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 80; J. Ruska, *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze. Ein Grundwerk der spätlateinischen Alchemie*, Berlin 1935).

Because of its biting, burning and purifying effect *al-ḳily* is used in medecine to treat skin diseases like vitiligo (*bahaḳ*), leprosy (*baraṣ*), scabies (*djarab*) and also wounds and sores (*djirāḥ*, *ḳurūḥ*). Morbid growths are also etched with it (Masīḥ al-Dimashḳī, who lived in the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in Ibn al-Bayṭār, iv, 31; ᶜAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, Berlin 1928, 322; Pseudo-Thābit b. Ḳurra, *K. al-Dhakhīra*, ed. G. Sobhy, Cairo 1928, 114; Ibn Sīna, *Ḳānūn*, Rome 1593, i, 248; *The medical formulary of al-Samarqandī*, ed. M. Levey and N. al-Khaledy, Philadelphia 1967, 148; Ḳazwīnī, *Ādjā'ib*, 233). Many people apply *al-ḳily* and vinegar on scorpion stings (Ibn Ḳutayba, *ᶜUyūn*, ii, 102).

Bibliography: E. Wiedemann, *EI*¹, s.v. *al-Ḳily*; idem, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, index, 825; E. Seidel, in *Isl.*, i (1910), 258; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, Vienna-Leipzig 1928, i, 635-50; A. Steiger and J. J. Hess, *Soda*, in *Vox Romanica*, ii (1937), 53-76; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 358 f. (no. 594); D. Goltz, *Studien zur Geschichte der Mineralnamen in Pharmazie, Chemie und Medizin von den Anfängen bis Paracelsus*, Wiesbaden 1972, 234-8, and index; M. Ullmann, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library*, ii (forthcoming), s.v. *qily*. (M. ULLMANN)

KIMĀK (in the texts usually Kīmāk, often wrongly vocalised Kaymāk), an early Turkish people living in western Siberia on the lower course of the Irtish River and on its tributaries the Ishim and Tobol, possibly as far north as the confluence of the Irtish and Ob and as far west as the Ural Mts.; they are mentioned in Islamic sources from the 3rd/9th century onwards.

The most detailed accounts of the Kimāk and their territories are in the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ᶜālam* (begun 372/982-3), tr. Minorsky, 99-100, 304-10, and in Gardīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 257-9. There is considerable confusion in these and other sources on the localisation of the Kimāk, possibly reflecting a major historical displacement of the tribe or else a confusion between their winter and summer pastures; but there must certainly have been confusion from the fact that the two major sources above believed that the Irtish flowed westwards through the Urals, becoming the Kama and joining the Volga in Bulghār. The *Ḥudūd* places the Kimāk to the west of the Kīrghīz and to the east of the Ḳīpcaḳ [*qq.v.*], but all the sources agree that to the north of them lay the forest lands inhabited by savage peoples who exchanged their goods by dumb barter. The fur-trapping Kīrghīz tribe of the K.s.y.m (* Kishtim?) mentioned by the *Ḥudūd* as living near the Kimāk may have been Samoyedes or a Yenisei Palaeoasiatic people (see Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Dīn Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, 107-8). The Kimāk also had connections with the Oghuz to the south of them, and are said to have visited the Oghuz pasture-grounds in summer, possibly explaining why Muḳaddasī, 274, says that Sawrān on the middle Sīr Daryā is a frontier post against the Ghuzz and Kimāk.

A legendary account of Kimāk origins given by Gardīzī mentions seven component groups, such as the Īmī, Īmāk, Tatār, Bayāndur, Khīfcāḳ, etc., and in his section on the Yaghmā tribe (ed. Ḥabībī, 260), he gives to the chief of the Kimāk the titles *shad* and *tutugh*/*tutuḳ*. The *Ḥudūd*, however, mentions that the ruler of the Kimāk is called the Khāḳān and has under him eleven subordinate chiefs. Two routes northwards to the Kimāk country from the northern fringes of Transoxania are mentioned: one from Ṭarāz or Talas, taking 80 days by swift horse (Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ḳudāma, the *Ḥudūd*), and another more westerly route from Yängi-kant or Dih-i Naw near the Sir Daryā mouth (Gardīzī). The country of the Kimāk was excessively cold, so that the Kimāk lived in subterranean dwellings in winter and hunted on skis. They were in part pastoralist nomads, but were also trappers of sable and marten furs, which were exported to the Islamic lands; also mentioned is the *khalandj* hardwood of the forest zone, brought from the Kimāk lands and used for making bowls and such-like table ware (see Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalā'*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 54, tr. Pellat, 77: *khalandjiyya kimākiyya*). The only town, or rather encampment, of any signifi-

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cance, was the Khāḳān's summer residence, Namakiyya (*Yimakiyya?). The Kimāk worshipped fire and water and venerated the Irtish; according to Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī in Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 448, the Turks' "magnetic rainstone" belonged to the Kimāk.

The main significance of this remote people, who can never as such have been Muslim and who impinge little on Islamic history, is that the much more important people of the Ḳīpčaḳ [*q.v.*], the later Comans or Polovtsi, apparently sprang from them and eventually overshadowed them. By the late 5th/11th century, the Kimāk, whom Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, iii, 22, tr. Atalay, iii, 29, names as the Yamak (*Yimāk), were reckoned as a group of Ḳīpčaḳ, but different in origin; it is clear that the remnants of the earlier Kimāk were now being absorbed into the rising tribal confederation of the Ḳīpčaḳ. In the ensuing period, the name "Kimāk" fades into oblivion, although we belatedly hear of the Yimāk in association with the Ḳīpčaḳ and Ḳanghlī [*q.v.*] at the time of the appearance of the Mongols; thus Nasawī, *Sīrat Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn*, tr. Houdas, 44, 72, says that the Khʷārazm-Shāh's mother Terken Khātūn was of the Baya'ut branch of the Yimāk.

Bibliography (in addition to the references given in the article): J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.F., xiii (1914), 89-113 and *passim*; idem, *Skizzen zur geschichtlichen Völkerkunde von Mittelasien und Siberien. 2. Die Iki Imāk*, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, viii (1919-20) [= *Festschrift F. Hirth*], 293-6.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲIMĀR, the name given in Islamic geographical and travel literature to Khmer or Cambodia. The geography and political organisation of South-East Asia early became of interest to Islamic scholars because of trade links with Further India and China, and information was brought back by, *inter alios*, Arab and Persian merchants and navigators. Some of this information relates to the Khmer kingdom on the lower Mekong River, an outpost of Indian cultural and religious life, which lasted from the beginning of the 9th century to the middle of the 13th century (see R. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris 1929, 559-68, 587-8; G. Coedès, *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*³, Paris 1964, ch. vii, § 1, viii, § 1, ix, § 1, x, § 1, xi, § 1, Eng. tr. *The Indianized states of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu 1968).

Thus Ibn Khurradādhbih (mid-3rd/9th century), 66, 68, mentions Ḳimār as a place on the route to the Far East. Some decades later, Ibn Rusta, 132-3, tr. Wiet, 148-50, devotes considerable space to the customs of the kings of Ḳimār, their justice, their severity against fornication, adultery and wine-drinking, and he remarks on the flourishing state of the ascetic and eremitical life there; Muslim merchants were welcomed and not molested, and one Islamic funerary inscription has in fact been found in Cambodia [see KITĀBĀT. 8. South-East Asia]. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 169 ff., = §§ 178 ff., has a lengthy anecdote on the relations of the king of Ḳimār and the ruler named as *al-Maharādj*, the usual designation in the Islamic sources for the ruler of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya (Zābadj, Zābidj), centred on Palembang in Sumatra but also controlling the Malayan peninsula. Ibn Rusta names as his source one Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ who had resided for two years in Ḳimār, probably early in the 3rd/9th century under the great king Jayavarman II Parameśvara of Angkor (802-50); information from this authority came first to Ibn Khurradādhbih, who referred to Ḳimār only cursorily, and was eventually utilised even by al-Idrīsī, see S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the* Kitāb Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ fī 'khtirāḳ al-'āfāḳ *of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, 29, 142.

The *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* (372/982), tr. Minorsky, 86-7, mentions three great kingdoms of South-East Asia, sc. Ḳāmarūn (Kāmarūpa, Assam [see ASSAM and KĀMRŪP], Ṣanf (Čampa, southern Annam or South Vietnam) and Ḳimār, and it states that two of the most precious products of Ḳimār were elephants' tusks and aloes wood. The aloes wood of Ḳimār (*'ūd ḳimārī*) is much-mentioned in Islamic sources, as is that of Čampa (*'ūd ṣanfī*), but there is considerable confusion in the sources about the origins of the different kinds of aloes wood stemming from eastern India and South-East Asia, with a particular uncertainty over the wood of Ḳimār and that of Kāmarūpa. Moreover, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 240-1, 241-2, when speaking of Djāwa (possibly Sumatra, since Sumatra and Java were frequently confused or even regarded as one island by the Muslims) mentions Ḳ.māra as part of that land (*min baʿḍ bilādihā*) and the Ḳ.mārī variety of aloes wood as being particularly fine. See, in regard to these problems, the discussions about the various varieties in Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 367-8, tr. Wiet, 238-9; and also Maqbul Ahmad, *op. cit.*, commentary, 128-9, and J. D. Latham, *Arabic into mediaeval Latin: Letter C, M.L.D.*, in *JSS*, xxi (1976), 135-7 (on the linguistic problems involved).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, commentary, 240-1; Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, text 39, tr. 51-2, commentary, 152-4; G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1913-14, i, 229-30 (= Abū Dulaf al-Khazradjī's information on Ḳimār), and index s.v. "Khmèr".

(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲIMĀR is the most common Islamic term for gambling, which is strictly forbidden according to Muslim law. The prohibition goes back to the references to *maysir* [*q.v.*] in Ḳur'ān, II, 219/216, and V, 90 f./92 f. *Maysir* was expressly equated with *ḳimār* in general, supposedly already by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar (cf. al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, Cairo 1375, 325). Voices querying this assumption, and the assumption that the Ḳur'ān had the legal classification of "forbidden" in mind, were rarely raised, and then only for the sake of argument. For all we know, the Muslim ban on all gambling has existed since the time of the Prophet in the same form as later on, and has remained in force throughout. Gambling was conceived as a transaction in which property changed hands arbitrarily and unproductively, something falling also under the injunction of Ḳur'ān, IV, 29/33, against frivolous and worthless (*bāṭil*) business transactions. Economic theory, and economic realities, tended to favour a strict view of what constituted gambling.

According to Muslim sources, universal and reckless gambling was endemic in pre-Islamic Arabia. Although the Muslim attitude toward the *Djāhiliyya* no doubt contributed to this view, gambling was probably widely practised, and in a variety of ways, among which the drawing of arrows and the stake racing of horses and camels were the most prominent. The actual *maysir* game, as painstakingly reconstructed from stray verses of poetry by later scholars, principal among them Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maysir wa-'l-ḳidāḥ* (Cairo 1342), is presented to us as a kind of ceremonial lottery organised for charity.

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Several gambling stories lead into the time of the Prophet. Thus, wagering with unbelievers by Abū Bakr "before gambling was forbidden" is mentioned in the Ḳur'ān commentaries in connection with Ḳur'ān, XXX, 1-4/1-3; it appears to be a rather old story, though hardly historical. Another, no less famous story, reported in connection with the battle of Badr, that of Abū Lahab gambling with al-ʿĀṣ b. Hi<u>sh</u>ām, may also be old, but its connection with gambling can be shown to be mostly a later elaboration. The Ḳur'ān clearly indicates the social and religious undesirability of gambling: it is something causing quarrels, and it interferes with the performance of worship and prayer. However, the commentators were at a loss to cite any particular occasion for the prohibition. While there is much room for speculation, no convincing historical explanation can be offered, unless there is some significance in the fact that the *awā'il* literature credits a contemporary of the Prophet, al-Aḳraʿ b. Ḥābis [*q.v.*], with being the first to forbid gambling.

In spite of its being prohibited, gambling, or what was considered as such, seems to have always flourished everywhere in the Muslim world and at all levels of Muslim society. Lotteries proper appear to have been unknown in Islamic times, and wagering on unstaged events is not much attested (cf. for instance, al-Rāgh<u>i</u>b al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā'*, Būlāḳ 1286-7/1869-70, i, 127, 141). Favourite outlets for the gambling instinct were, among board games, backgammon (*nard* [*q.v.*]), played with six-sided dice, and, among sports, horse racing [see FURŪSIYYA]. Other board-games, such as merels (*ḳirḳ*) and "fourteen" (*<u>sh</u>iddjahārdah/arbaʿata ʿa<u>sh</u>ara*), could involve stakes; chess (*<u>sh</u>aṭrand<u>j</u>* [*q.v.*]) and draughts [see ḴHARBGA], when played for stakes, fell into the category of gambling. Important sports suspected of being devices for gambling were archery (*ramy al-nu<u>sh</u>ḳ<u>sh</u>āb* [*q.v.*]) and pigeon flying [see ḤAMĀM], as well as competitions such as footracing, swimming (*sibāḥa*), or, more significant as an organised activity, wrestling (*muṣāraʿa*). Fighting games of animals, looked upon with disapproval on the basis of the Prophetic warning against inciting animals against each other (*taḥrī<u>sh</u>*, *Concordance*, i, 446b, 64-66) and humanitarian principles, included cock [see DīK] and dog [see KALB] fights. Playing cards (*ḳand<u>j</u>īfa* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) are attested since Mamlūk times (cf. L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk playing cards*, ed. R. Ettinghausen and O. Kurz, Leiden 1971). All these activities, of course, could be, and were, undertaken and enjoyed for their own sake without any accompanying gambling, and the gambling habits connected with them differed considerably. According to Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwī* (Cairo n.d. [1384-6]), iv, 308, *nard* was mostly played for stakes, while chess usually was not. The gambling that did take place was commonly in the form of stakes put up by the participating players themselves or, in the case of sports competitions involving animals, by the owners of the animals. However, although our information on this point is most deficient, it is clear that spectators, too, engaged in gambling on the outcome of the games and sports they watched.

While gambling by outsiders was clearly and indubitably illegal, the main problem for jurists was the determination of what constituted gambling by virtue of the manner in which the stakes were put up. The *ḥadī<u>th</u>* expressly permitted competitions with camels (*<u>kh</u>uff*), horses (*ḥāfir*), and arrows (*naṣl*) (*Concordance*, i, 480a, 16-18), and there are stories establishing precedents set by the Prophet. Later jurists were inclined to deny the legality of stakes in connection with any other kind of sports contests and, in particular, board-games (of which *nard* was often declared illegal, even when played without stakes, because of its dependence upon dice). However, the permissibility of the legal sports was rationalised on the ground of their usefulness for military preparedness, an argument which, in practice, could be extended to other sports, even though jurists were usually hesitant to do so. The crucial question of how stakes, where they were at all admissible, could be legally established, was considered under three basic aspects: the establishment of stakes by a non-participant such as, for instance, the government, by one of the participants, and by both (or all) participants. The first two cases were legal (with some doubts in the second case as to what is to be done with the stake if the donor himself is the winner). The third constituted illegal gambling. In order to make it legal, the presence of a "legaliser" (*muḥallil* [*q.v.*]) was required, i.e. the participation of someone who did not contribute to the stakes. There exists a *ḥadī<u>th</u>* to this effect (*Concordance*, ii, 402a, 15-17, etc.). However, the legality of this procedure was debated. Mālik personally did not admit the device of the *muḥallil*, with the consequence that later Mālikīs differed in their attitudes. The Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya and his followers rejected it forcefully. Legal attitudes towards potential gambling games in general can be said to cut across school lines. Sh<u>a</u>fiʿism, whose basic text on games was *Kitāb al-Umm* (Būlāḳ 1324), vi, 213, was sometimes attacked, with little justification, for its alleged somewhat more lenient attitude. It should also be noted that by and large the legal literature paid comparatively scant attention to gambling, the reason being not so much the scarcity of gambling activities as the clearcut stand of the law as to its illegality. Occasionally we come across interesting statements, such as the one by the Ḥanafī Ḳāḍīḵẖān, *Fatāwī* (Calcutta 1835), iv, 587, suggesting that a Muslim could legally gamble with non-Muslims in non-Muslim territory.

The official handling of gambling offenders was determined by the peculiar nature of the circumstances under which gambling took place. Sporting events were mostly held in the open, but much other gambling went on in private. In the larger cities, there were gambling casinos (*dār al-ḳimār*, *ḳimār-ḵẖāne*, and other terms), where gambling was encouraged even to the extent of tempting losing gamblers with offers of loans (cf. Ibn Saʿīd, *Mu<u>gh</u>rib*, ed. and tr. K. L. Tallqvist, Leiden 1899, 30/63). Ordinary taverns, as later on the coffee houses [see ḴAHWA], also had the reputation of allowing gambling (in connection with board-games) on their premises. These could be raided, if local authorities saw fit to do so. However, unless public annoyance resulted, or complaints were lodged, the legal authorities, presumably represented primarily by the office of the *muḥtasib*, had little power or incentive to interfere with voluntary activities undertaken by mutual consent in the privacy of the home. If brought before the authorities, gamblers were liable to discretional (*taʿzīr* [*q.v.*]) punishment. Jurists considered habitual gamblers as having forfeited their *ʿadāla* and their capacity to function as witnesses, thus decisively downgrading their social and legal standing. Social degradation was commonly associated with gambling, at least in literature and theory. In real life, this probably affected only those who were unable to afford the losses incident to their gambling.

Excessive gambling, though evidently not un-

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common, is not frequently attested. We hear about the gambler in moderate circumstances who brought ruin upon himself and who neglected his family (cf. Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, al-Nadjaf 1381/1961, 210), or the poet al-Tallaʿfarī [*q.v.*] whose compulsive gambling made him a liability in court circles and kept him from advancement, or the—fictitious—Ṣūfī who intentionally freed himself from all worldly possessions by gambling them away (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 202). Most gambling probably involved the minor losses that the losers were somehow able to absorb. It lies in the nature of gambling activities, especially where they are illegal, that reliable statistics with respect to them are unobtainable, and we have, of course, nothing to go on in the way of statistical information for the Muslim Middle Ages. We can only guess that gambling as such, common as it was, was nevertheless in no way a major economic factor or disruptive social force.

In addition to the legal injunction against it, the social stigma it carried, and its unsuitability for the economic environment created by Islam, gambling also presented a challenge to the metaphysical presuppositions of monotheism. Gambling was felt to be a manifestation of trust in blind fate and of an attempt at interference with, and thus disrespect for, the divine government of the world. A clever story, circulating since at least the 3rd/9th century (cf. in particular, Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, *Risālat ḥikmat waḍʿ al-nard wa ʾl-shaṭrandj*), praised *nard*, with its reliance upon chance, as representative of the orthodox view of predetermination and trust in God, and blamed chess for the freedom of choice it requires of the player as something akin to Muʿtazilī doctrine. The story appears to have been meant originally as the opposite of what it seems to suggest, namely, as an argument for the superiority of the Muʿtazilī view of free will, while taking a dim view of gambling as supporting the idea of blind chance in the realm of metaphysics.

Thus the factors that in Islam fought against the human propensity for gambling were numerous. They were, moreover, reinforced by the generally disdainful attitude toward "play and amusement" (*liʿb —lahw*) in all forms professed by religious scholars and intellectuals. This did not eliminate gambling in Islam but, to all appearances, succeeded in keeping its impact upon society largely under control.

Bibliography: T. Hyde, *De ludis orientalibus*, Oxford 1689-94; Mez, *Renaissance*, 382-4 (Eng. tr. 403-6). References to gambling are as sporadic in the modern scholarly literature as they are in the primary sources. A first attempt to bring the available information together has been made by F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, which contains the full documentation for the present article. (F. ROSENTHAL)

AL-**KĪMIYĀʾ**, alchemy. The word is derived from Syriac *kīmiyā* which in its turn goes back to Greek χυμεία χημεία "the art of casting or alloying metals" (see Liddell-Scott, *Greek-English lexicon*, 2013). The Arabs believed that *al-kīmiyāʾ* was a loanword from Persian (Ibn Durayd, al-Djawālīḳī), from Hebrew (al-Akfānī) or from Greek and had the meaning of "artifice and acuteness" (*al-ḥīla wa ʾl-ḥidhḳ*, according to al-Khafādjī) or "solution and division" (*al-taḥlīl wa ʾl-tafrīḳ*, according to Ibn Sallūm, 11th/17th century). As synonyms of *al-kīmiyāʾ* were used *al-ṣanʿa* (for ποίησις), *al-ṣanʿa al-ilāhiyya* (for ἡ Θεία τέχνη), *ʿilm al-ṣināʿa*, *al-ḥikma*, *al-ʿamal al-aʿẓam* (for τὸ μέγα ἔργον) etc. In abbreviation alchemy is also called *al-kāf*, which serves also as pseudonym (see *WKAS*, i, 439b, 29 ff.).

The Arabs have defined alchemy more than once. Its task is to make gold and silver without falling back upon the corresponding ores (*ṣanʿat al-dhahab wa ʾl-fiḍḍa min ghayr maʿādinihā*, Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 351); it should lend colourings to the metals which they did not have before (Djābir b. Hayyān, *Textes choisis*, ed. P. Kraus, Paris 1935, 141), and it should alter the specific qualities (*khawāṣṣ*) of the mineral substances so that gold and silver can be obtained through certain artifices (*ḥiyal*; Ghazālī, *Tahāfut*, ed. M. Bouyges, Beirut 1927, 270); through alchemy harm and poverty are done away with (Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Beirut 1957, iv, 286, 305). The theme of alchemy is therefore the transmutation of base metals into precious ones. And thus certain limitations are given: retrology and mineralogy do not belong to alchemy in the strict sense, although the alchemist must of course have an exact knowledge of minerals (as well as of animal and vegetable substances). In the same way, fabrication of glass and falsification of precious stones (see the *Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis*, ed. O. Lagercrantz, Uppsala 1913) belong no more to alchemy than metallurgical activities like extracting iron, gold and silver from their ores, so precisely and impressively described by al-Hamdānī (*K. al-Djawharatayn*, ed. C. Toll, Uppsala 1968). Nor does the technical chemistry of the craftsman, namely the manufacture of tints, colours and perfumes, come within the field of alchemy. The title *Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿiṭr* (ed. K. Garbers, Leipzig 1948) which al-Kindī gives to his book on the falsification of perfumes is as metaphorical as the *Kīmiyāʾ al-saʿāda* with which the mystics entitled their writings (see *WKAS*, i, 515b). Finally, it should be mentioned that the notion of "pharmaceutical chemistry" did not exist in the Islamic Middle Ages. The often very complicated "compound medicines" (*al-adwiya al-murakkaba*) are prepared by the physician or the apothecary according to Galen's work *De compositione medicamentorum* or to the many *Aḳrābādhīnāt* [*q.v.*] composed by the Arabs. There were of course points of contact between the various professions: the metallurgists and perfumers worked with the same instruments and appliances as the alchemists. Some of the latter also excelled in the related sciences, like Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, who classified the minerals. Alchemy, however, the art of transmuting metals, has to be singled out from the other more technically orientated professions because of its theoretical foundations.

Alchemy originated among the Greeks. In order to prevent misunderstandings, it should be mentioned that the fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorology* (the genuineness of which is disputed) is neither a writing about chemistry in the modern sense of the word nor was it a starting-point for alchemy. It discusses only the primary qualities as causes of all changes in nature (see J. During, *Aristotle's chemical treatise Meteorologica, Book IV*, Göteborg 1944; H. Happ, *Der chemische Traktat des Aristoteles, Meteorologie IV*, in *Synusia, Festgabe W. Schadewaldt*, Pfullingen 1965, 289-322). *Ca.* 200 B.C. Bolus of Mendes knew certain techniques of colouring, and such techniques, combined with neo-Platonic, gnostic and hermetic ideas (Stoic philosophy seems also to have had some influence) helped alchemy to assert itself in Egypt (H. Diels, *Antike Technik*, 2, Leipzig-Berlin 1920, 121-54). From the period between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. (see F. Sherwood Taylor, *The origins of Greek alchemy*, in *Ambix*, i (1937), 30-47; J. Lind-

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say, *The origins of alchemy in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, London 1970) date a number of writings disseminated under the names of Hermes, Thoth, Agathodaimon, Cleopatra, Moses, Solomon, Mary, Jesus, Democritus (or Democrates), Zarathustra, Astanes etc. At the beginning of the 4th century these pseudographs are joined by the writings of Zosimus of Panopolis (=Akhmīm [*q.v.*]), the genuineness of which is better vouched for. In the 6th century the neo-Platonic philosopher Alymiodorus and emperor Heraclius wrote also on alchemy. A not inconsiderable amount of these Greek writings were translated into Arabic, but we have no exact information about times and places of these translations. It seems however that the first were made towards the end of the 2nd/8th century and that the greater part of these writings came to the Arabs in the 3rd/9th century (D. M. Dunlop, in *JRAS* (1974), 6 ff., makes it clear that the assertion according to which a work of Zosimus was translated into Arabic already in 38/659, is false). It is possible that in some cases there may have been intermediary translations in Syriac (for Syrian alchemy, see R. Duval in M. Berthelot, *La Chimie au moyen âge*, ii, Paris 1893), but it is not clear whether Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] and his pupils took part in the work of these translations. Most of the Greek writings have only been preserved in a very poor and fragmentary way. The oldest codex is Marcianus 299 dating from the 11th century (see M. Berthelot and Ch. E. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, i-iii, Paris 1887-8; J. Bidez, F. Cumont *et alii*, *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, i ff., Brussels 1927 ff.). Since the Arabic translations are thus two hundred years older, and the Arabs at that period still knew an essentially greater amount of Greek writings than we do at present, the oriental tradition is of the greatest importance. It is certain that the study of Arabic alchemical literature will bring to light Greek works which have been lost in their original language.

Unfortunately, Arabic alchemistic literature has remained until now still a *moles indigesta*. Very many manuscripts have been preserved, but only an extremely small part of their contents has been disclosed through catalogues or published. Consequently, it is not yet possible to sketch out a history of Arabic alchemy. In particular, the beginnings of this science in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries are still largely wrapped in darkness. It may however be stated that already in the period in which the *Corpus Gabirianum* (end of the 3rd/9th—beginning of the 4th/10th centuries) and the works of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] were compiled, an important literature must have come into being, whose authors might have been Greek, Egyptian, Jewish, Christian, Persian or Indian wise men and philosophers. This pseudographic literature uses to a great extent the same names that served early Greek alchemy as designations. Some writings are in fact translations of Greek works; others were composed directly in Arabic but are imitations of Greek examples. It should however not be assumed that all sentences of Greek wise men, quoted by the Arabs, are taken from specific writings which are ascribed to these wise men. It seems rather that some of them originate only from doxographical collective works.

Nevertheless, a great number of Greek notions are found in these writings. The etyma of the terms *al-kīmiyāʾ*, *al-ṣanʿa al-ilāhiyya* etc. have already been mentioned above. The metals are called *al-aǰsād*, corresponding to τὰ σώματα, quicksilver and sulphur are *al-arwāḥ* τὰ πνεύματα. Elixir, *al-iksīr* is the loanword τὸ ξηρίον, the distilling apparatuses *al-uṯḥāl* and *al-anbīḳ* are derived from τὸ αἰθάλιον and ὁ ἄμβιξ, the processes *tabyīḍ*, *taswīd*, *tashmīʾ*, *taṣdiʾa* etc. are adaptations from λεύκωσις μέλανσις, ἐγκήρωσις, ἴωσις. In the same way a number of pseudonyms are imitations of Greek models, e.g. *ziʾbaḳ sharḳī* from ὑδράργυρος ἀνατολική, *zabad al-ḳamar* from ἀφροσέληνον, *kibrīta lā taḥtariḳ* from Θεῖον ἄκαυστον and *laban al-ʿaḏhrāʾ* from γάλα παρθενικόν (for other pseudonyms formed with *laban*, see *WKAS*, ii, 25 ff.). To these are added whole theorems: *al-ṭabīʿa tafraḥ bi ʾl-ṭabīʿa* is the innumerably repeated ἡ φύσις τῇ φύσει τέρπεται, and *lam tafʿal al-ṭabīʿa shayʾan bāṭilan lā fāʾidata lahū* corresponds to ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν ποιεῖ μάτην. All this shows without any doubt the origin of Arabic alchemy.

We thus possess a great number of Arabic writings, fragments and quotations in which our attention is caught by the names of Pythagoras, Archelaus, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Porphyrius, Galen, Democritus, Zosimus and Theosebeia, Secundus "the silent philosopher" and many others. Often Hermes Trismegistus [see HIRMIS] is mentioned, who in the opinion of the alchemists was the first to speak about alchemy (*ʿilm al-ṣanʿa*, see *Fihrist*, 351). The writings attributed to him, *al-Risāla al-falakiyya al-kubrā*, *Risālat al-Sirr*, *Tadbīr Hirmis al-Harāmisa*, *al-Dhakhīra al-iskandariyya*, etc. have introductions in which in a legendary way is described how these texts were found in temples, caves and sepulchral vaults. The "Emerald table", a brief text full of symbols, was considered to be the key to the ultimate secrets of nature (see J. Ruska, *Tabula smaragdina. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der hermetischen Literatur*, Heidelberg 1926; M. Plessner, *Neue Materialien zur Geschichte der Tabula Smaragdina*, in *Isl.*, xvi (1927), 77-113). Sentences by Hermes are to be found in almost every Arabic alchemistic work (see e.g. H. E. Stapleton, G. L. Lewis, F. Sherwood Taylor, *The sayings of Hermes quoted in the Māʾ al-Waraqī of Ibn Umail*, in *Ambix*, iii (1949), 69-90). Apollonius of Tyana [see BALĪNĪS] is considered to be the intermediary of the hermetic wisdom. Under his name a big commentary on the "Emerald table", the so-called *Kitāb Sirr al-ḵhalīḳā*, an allegorical book on the seven metals, the *Kitāb al-Aṣnām al-sabʿa*, and other writings were disseminated. Agathodaimon [see AGHĀTHŪDHIMŪN] is also associated with Hermes. In the *Risālat al-Ḥaḏhar* he communicates before his death to his pupils the secret of alchemy. Finally they are joined by Cleopatra (see M. Ullmann, *Kleopatra in einer arabischen alchemistischen Disputation*, in *WZKM*, lxiii-lxiv (1972), 158-75). Mary the Jewess, the Persian wise men Djāmāsfand and Ostanes, Mani, an Indian called Biyūn, Adam, Moses, Korah (Kārūn) and many others, whose writings and sentences became known to the Arabs at a relatively early period. This largely still uninvestigated complex of the pseudographs was enlarged by the Arabs since the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries and rendered even more opaque by stamping as alchemists the Umayyad prince Khālid b. Yazīd, the son-in-law of the Prophet, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the *Imām* Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*qq.v.*] and the mystics al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Sufyān al-Thawrī, Dhu ʾl-Nūn al-Miṣrī and Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Djunayd [*qq.v.*]. The alleged writings and doctrines of all these Greek, Persian, Jewish and Arabic authorities form the groundwork for the two large alchemistic corpora which came into being at the turn of the 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries, namely the *Corpus Gabirianum* and the writings of

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā³ al-Rāzī (the mutual relation of these two cycles has been discussed by J. Ruska and K. Garbers, *Vorschriften zur Herstellung von scharfen Wässern bei Ǧābir and Rāzī*, in *Isl.*, xxv (1939), 1-34). Djābir b. Ḥayyān [*q.v.*], who may have died *ca.* 196/812, is considered to be the author of the first work. Meanwhile, P. Kraus has proved that these writings cannot have originated before the second half of the 3rd/9th century and that a team of authors must be supposed (for this problem see also F. Rex, in *Isl.* xlix (1972), 305-10; idem, in *Deutsche Orientalistik am Beispiel Tübingens*, Tübingen 1974, 86-8). Accordingly, the writings of the so-called Ibn Waḥshiyya and the *Muṣḥaf al-djamā'a*, whose Latin translation carries the title *Turba philosophorum*, may have originated at the turn of the century. In the *Turba* a congress of alchemists is pictured, in which Pythagoras takes the chair and Archelaus records the minutes, while nine pre-Socratic philosophers present their doctrines (J. Ruska, *Turba philosophorum. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Alchemie*, Berlin 1931; M. Plessner, *The place of the Turba Philosophorum in the development of alchemy*, in *Isis*, xlv (1954), 331-8; idem, *Vorsokratische Philosophie und griechische Alchemie in arabisch-lateinischer Überlieferung. Studien über Text, Herkunft und Charakter der Turba Philosophorum*, forthcoming). In the 4th/10th century Muḥammad b. Umayl [*q.v.*] was outstanding with writings of a hermetic-allegorical character, followed in the 5th/11th century by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Kāthī, pseudo-Maǧrīṭī with the *K. Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and Muḥammad b. Bishrūn. In the 6th/12th century the most important alchemists were the poet and statesman Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Ṭughrā'ī and the preacher in Fās, 'Alī b. Mūsā, called Ibn Arfa' Ra's. Around the middle of the 7th/13th century, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Sīmāwī (*Book of knowledge acquired concerning the cultivation of gold by Abu 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-'Irāqī*, ed. E. J. Holmyard, Paris 1923) worked in 'Irāḳ, and in the 8th/14th century the Egyptian Aydamir b. 'Alī al-Djildakī [*q.v.*] produced an unprecedented number of books in which he summarised and commented upon everything which had been written before him on alchemy and magic. In the following period a number of authors still further appear who are of importance partly as compilers, partly as producers of brief original writings, like al-Iznīḳī (= 'Alī Čelebī), al-Maṣmūdī, Bel Mughūsh al-Maghribī and others. In the second half of the 11th/17th century Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣr Allāh b. Sallūm, the court physician of sultan Mehemmet IV (1058-99/1648-87), tried to introduce into Arabic medicine the chemical concepts of Paracelsus, which gave the alchemists the chance to set about new ways. They did not however avail themselves of these; on the contrary, they continued until recent times the ancient fruitless search for the "philosopher's stone" (G. Salman, *Archives Marocaines*, vii (1906), 451 ff.; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, The Hague 1889, 215, Eng. tr. J. H. Monahan, Leiden-London 1931, 162 ff.; E. W. Lane, *The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. xii; C. Barbier de Meynard, *L'Alchimiste, comédie en dialecte turc azeri*, in *JA*, 8e série, vii (1886), 5-66; Osman Nevres, in O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur arabischen Poesie*, iv/2, Istanbul, n.d., 92 ff.).

In the Middle Ages Arabic works were translated into Latin. We have in Latin versions the *Tabula smaragdina*, the *Tabula chemica*, the *Practica Mariae prophetissae*, the *Liber de compositione alchemiae* of Morienus (translated by Robert of Chester in 1144; partly translated by J. W. von Goethe, *Die Schriften zu den Naturwissenschaften*, Part 1, Vol. vi: *Zur Farbenlehre, Historischer Teil*, revised by D. Kuhn, Weimar 1957, 131 ff. Part 2, Vol. vi: *Ergänzungen und Erklärungen*, Weimar 1959, 439-41), the *Liber secretarum alchemiae* of Calid, the *Liber de septuaginta* and the *Liber misericordiae* of Geber (E. Darmstaedter, *Eine lateinische Übersetzung des grösseren Kitāb alraḥma*, in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, xvii (1925), 181-97) and many other works (see M. Steinschneider, *Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, repr. Graz 1956, *passim*). It was not the Greek writings, but these Arabic ones which prepared the way for western alchemy (J. Ruska, *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze. Ein Grundwerk der spätlateinischen Alchemie*, Berlin 1935, 11). Thus they introduced a process which leads via Arnald of Villanova, the Latin "Geber" and Paracelsus to Robert Boyle (1627-91), Joseph Black (1728-99), Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743-94) and finally to the miracle of modern chemistry. But they also gave important impulses to European cultural history; it may suffice to mention Jakob Böhme, the Rosicrucians, Novalis and Goethe (see R. D. Gray, *Goethe, the alchemist. A study of alchemical symbolism in Goethe's literary and scientific works*, Cambridge 1952).

This concise historical survey makes it clear that Arabic alchemy holds a key-position in the development of chemical thinking as a whole. However, in glaring contrast to its importance, it has been regrettably neglected by research until now. Most of what historians of science have written on the Arabic alchemists is second-hand, based on obsolescent literature and disfigured by gross errors. A vast and fertile field lies here open to research; access to it, however, is not easy.

Alchemy is an extraordinary complex phenomenon which combines many divergent trends. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā³ al-Rāzī in his *K. al-Asrār* exerted himself in particular to build up a sober system. The Djābir-writings contain concepts of the Ismā'īliyya [*q.v.*] which came into existence *ca.* 263/877. The authors introduce also into their thinking magical, arithmological, astrological and biological reflections. The hermetic writings and those of Ibn Umayl are marked by gnosis, others are coloured by strong mysticism. So it becomes understandable that Ibn al-'Arabī (*Futūḥāt*, ii, 357) can indicate alchemy as a "natural, spiritual, divine science" (*'ilm ṭabī'ī rūḥānī ilāhī*). As a whole, it was a natural philosophy which aimed not only at teaching the transmutation of the metals, but also at the whole connection of the world. For many scientists, however, the effort to refine matter was inseparable from purification of the soul. The alchemists expressed their insight in theoretical discourses, and also in allegorical stories, myths, visions and poems (Pseudo-Khālid b. Yazīd, Ibn Umayl, Ibn Arfa' Ra's). In order to protect themselves against prosecution by orthodoxy or against competitors, they used pseudonyms and availed themselves of obscure, encoded expressions. All this renders the writings apparently abstruse. It was therefore bound to happen that the "Aufklärer" counted the history of alchemy among the *Geschichte der menschlichen Narrheit* (J. C. Adelung, Leipzig 1785-9), and even in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* E. Wiedemann still remarked: "Often it cannot be understood how reasonable beings could have written such things". Only the science of religion and depth-psychology have

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smoothed the way for a more justified and significant explanation of alchemy. J. Evola, C. G. Jung and M. Eliade in particular have rightly shown how alchemy is dominated by mythical, mystical and gnostic ways of thinking. There remains, however, the task of decoding the Arabic texts through exact historical-philological studies, and thus laying foundations which will no longer permit rash conclusions and approximate assertions.

Until now it has not been possible to say much about the theoretical foundations of Arabic alchemy, and even this little only incidentally. The way theories are built up differs considerably from one author to the other, and even in the corpus of writings known under the name of Djābir b. Ḥayyān and thus claiming unity, they show quite varying concepts. Hence only a few basic notions can be given here, which cannot be generally applied.

Transmutation is possible because the various sorts (*anwāʿ*) of metals form only one single species (*djins*). They are differentiated only in accidents (*aʿrāḍ*) which can be proper (*dhātiyya*) or occasional (*ʿaraḍiyya*). The accidents, however, are not stable but changeable, as can be seen in nature. Indeed, the metals grow in the bowels of the earth over long periods. In a sort of maturation process they change from base into precious metals until finally they become gold. According to some scientists, this conversion comes about under the influence of the stars. The alchemist is able to hasten this process in his retorts and to achieve by his skill in one day that for which Nature needs a thousand years. The literature gives hundreds, even thousands of recipes for making gold. Basically three methods can be distinguished:

1. The first method is based on the quicksilver-sulphur theory. In quicksilver water and earth are present, sulphur contains fire and air and thus both substances together hold the four elements. When the particles of sulphur and quicksilver are mixed and enter into a close compound, the heat generates a process of maturation and cooking which result in the various kinds of metals. If the quicksilver is clean and the sulphur pure, if the quantities (*maḳādīr*) of both substances stand in ideal relation to one another and if the heat has the right degree (*iʿtidāl*), pure gold (*dhahab ibrīz*, ὄβρυζον) comes into being. If before maturation coldness enters, then silver originates; if dryness, then red copper. The more disturbing factors enter, the more low-grade the metals become: thus originate tin (*raṣāṣ ḳalāʿī*), iron (*ḥadīd aswad*), plumbago (*usrub*) and antimony (*kuḥl*) (see Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, Beirut 1957, ii, 106 ff.; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, 204 ff.). The alchemist, then, exerts himself to imitate nature. He tries to discover how much sulphur and how much quicksilver is contained in gold and how great the heat must be to bring about the maturation process. If he succeeds in establishing these conditions, he is able to synthesise gold. It should perhaps be added that "quicksilver" and "sulphur" did not necessarily mean for the alchemists the chemical elements Hg and S, but that by these terms they understood rather the basic principles of fluidity and inflammability (they speak of *zīʾbaḳ raḍjrāḍj* and *kibrīt muḥtariḳ*).

2. The second method is based on the doctrine of the relations of quantities (*ʿilm al-mawāzīn*) propagated by the authors of the *Corpus Gabirianum*. The alchemist tries to establish the mutual relation of the metals according to volume and weight (*ḥadjm wa-wazn*) and to construct on the ground of these data a body with corresponding volume and weight (for details of these strongly speculative doctrines, see P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Ḥayyān*, ii, Cairo 1942, 187-303, ch. "La théorie de la balance").

3. The most important and most recommended method, however, consists in projecting an elixir [see AL-IKSĪR]. An elixir can be made from mineral, but also from vegetable and animal matter. It is thrown upon a base metal which precedingly has been transposed into the passive (or black i.e. without any quality) condition; it permeates it like yeast pervades dough, and transmutes it into gold which is more valuable than mineral gold.

All these theories were based on premises which could neither be proved nor refuted. Therefore no real progress could be recorded in the dispute of the Muslim scientists about the possibilities of alchemy. It was significant that among the arguments advanced against the alchemists the reference to the *de facto* failure of all endeavours played only a small part. The alchemists admitted the difficulty of their undertaking, but emphasised that it must be possible to rediscover the secret of making gold, undoubtedly known to the wise men of old. The dispute was above all enacted in the theoretical field. Philosophical and theological arguments were put forward and conclusions based on analogy were often drawn.

ʿAmr b. Baḥr al-Djāḥiẓ's [*q.v.*] standpoint towards alchemy is not completely unequivocal. He is sceptical, but poses the question whether once in five thousand years it could be possible to make gold, when the various factors, like the quality of the elements, the right period, the correct position of the stars etc. would coincide accidentally (*K. al-Ḥayawān*, iii, 374 ff.). It seems paradoxical to him that it is possible to make glass from sand, but that it is impossible to transmute brass and quicksilver into gold and silver, although quicksilver more resembles molten silver than sand does pharaonic glass.

Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī composed the *K. Ibṭāl daʿwā ʾl-muddaʿīn ṣanʿat al-dhahab wa ʾl-fiḍḍa min ghayr maʿādinihā*, a refutation of those who pretended to be able to win gold and silver otherwise than from ore. According to him mankind is unable to achieve acts which are reserved to nature. This polemic writing was immediately contested by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī.

Al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) was of the opinion that transmutation of metals is possible because, according to Aristotle's stonebook, the various sorts (*anwāʿ*) of the metals belong to only one single species (*djins*). But it was indeed extraordinarily hard to realise the transmutation, and a thorough study of logic, mathematics and natural sciences was a prerequisite. The alchemistic texts were rightly veiled by pseudonyms and symbols, because otherwise, anybody might be able to find out the secret of making gold, and gold would become useless as means of payment. This economic argument was repeated again and again by later authors (E. Wiedemann, *Journal für praktische Chemie*, clxxxiv (1907), 115-23; A. Sayılı, *Fārābī'nin simyanın lüzûmu hakkındaki risâlesi*, in Türk Tarih Kurumu, *Belleten*, xv (1951), 65-79).

The geographer al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945) worked with obvious analogies taken from metallurgy, of which he possessed a thorough knowledge. In the same way as iron and steel could reach various degrees of good quality and pureness through metallurgy, i.e. through the skill of man, in the same way man is able to make in an artificial way gold that otherwise maturates in a natural way in the bowels of the earth

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(*K. al-Djawharatayn*, ed. C. Toll, Uppsala 1968, ch. xxxvi).

But the very assertion that man is able to imitate nature was contested peremptorily by Abū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī and Abū ʿAlī b. Sīnā: the alchemists were only able to make something that externally resembles the precious metals, but the senses do not perceive specific differences (*fuṣūl*) in the metals after the alchemistic operations, but only attributes and accidents (*lawāzim*, *ʿawāriḍ*); the substance (*djawhar*) of the base metals remains untouched (E. J. Holmyard and D. C. Mandeville, *Avicennae de congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*, Paris 1927, 85 f.; Ibn Sīnā, *K. al-Shifāʾ*, *al-Ṭabīʿiyyāt*, v, ed. A. Muntaṣir *et alii*, Cairo 1385/1965, 22 f.; G. C. Anawati, *Avicenne et l'alchimie*, in *Convegno internazionale 9-15 April 1969 [Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Atti 13]*, Rome 1971, 285-341). Because of these utterances, Ibn Sīnā became the target for the polemics of all later alchemists, in particular of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ṭughrāʾī and Aydamir b. ʿAlī al-Djildakī.

With his *K. Ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-istishhād*, written in 505/1112, al-Ṭughrāʾī produced the most important writing in defence of alchemy. He meets Ibn Sīnā's objection by stating that the alchemistic processes do not absolutely create a new *differentia specifica* (*faṣl*), but that through them matter is only prepared to take in the *differentia specifica* which is granted to it by the Creator. Al-Ṭughrāʾī's argumentation thus takes account of the front of orthodox theologians, whose criticism found a mouth-piece in Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalūsī, Ibn Taymiyya and the latter's pupil Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 750/1349).

The latter's *K. Miftāḥ dār al-saʿāda* contains a polemic of 200 pages against all secret sciences, especially astrology (see C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 33 f.). Like Ibn Sīnā, he is of the opinion that the alchemists only keep up appearances, but are in fact unable to make real gold and silver. The economic argument adduced by al-Fārābī to justify the disguise of the alchemistic writings is used by Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya to refute alchemy itself: if man were able to make gold and silver, the economic order of the world, created by God, would collapse. Gold would lose its value if it were available in abundance. The social order would also be destroyed because nobody would be willing any more to be the slave of a master (J. W. Livingston, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah: A fourteenth century defence against astrological divination and alchemical transmutation*, in *JAOS*, xci (1971).

Ibn Khaldūn also shows himself an adversary of alchemy, which in his opinion is in fact only a kind of magic (*siḥr*). With regard to Ibn Sīnā and al-Ṭughrāʾī his point of view is even somewhat more differentiated, without however alleging essentially new arguments (see G. C. Anawati, *La réfutation de l'alchimie par Ibn Khaldūn*, in *Mélanges d'Islamologie, Vol. mém. A. Abel*, Leiden 1974, 6-17). For this kind of polemic literature see also Abu 'l-Barakāt Hibat Allāh b. Malkā, *K. al-Muʿtabar*, ii, Hyderabad 1358, 231-6; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *K. al-Mabāḥith al-mashriḳiyya*, ii, Hyderabad 1343, 214-18; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (A. Dietrich, *NAWG*, i (1964), no. 2, p. 106); Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimashḳī, *K. Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 58-61; Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *K. al-Ghayth al-musadjdjam*, i, Cairo 1305/1887, 9-13.

The theoretical expositions and speculations of the alchemists were partly complete in themselves, and partly completed by experiments in the laboratory. The experiences gained in such experiments gave again rise to new writings and theories. It is probable that alchemy had a greater part in the development of experimental science than medicine, pharmacology, physics and astronomy (see L. Thorndike, *A history of magic and experimental science*, i-viii, London-New York 1923-58). An important experimental achievement was the oxidation of quicksilver which had been exposed continuously to a very slow fire over forty days. Pseudo-Madjrīṭī describes the process in his *K. Rutbat al-ḥakīm* and emphasises that the weight of the matter was the same before and after the experiment (E. J. Holmyard, *Makers of chemistry*, Oxford 1931, 78). The furnishing of a chemical laboratory is very impressively pictured by Ibn Shuhayd (382-426/992-1035) (see J. Dickie, in *al-Andalus*, xxix (1964), 243-310). There were many apparatuses: the *uṯḥāl* (Latin *aludel*), used to distil and to sublimate, the *ḳarʿ* (*cucurbit*), a receiver over which was placed an alembic (*al-anbīḳ* [*q.v.*]), melting-pots (*būṭaḳ*, pl. *bawāṭiḳ*), kilns (*tannūr*, pl. *tanānīr*, Latin *athannor*) to generate high temperatures, phials (*ḥinnīna*), casseroles (*ḳidr*, *tindjīr*), pans (*sukurrudja*) and mortars (*hāwūn*). Many apparatus are named after their alleged inventors, like *attūn Fīṯāghūras*, the "oven of Pythagoras", the *biʾr Zūsim*, the "pit of Zosimos" and the *ḥammām Māriya*, the bain-marie (see A. Siggel, *Verzeichnis der Apparate und Geräte, die in arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften vorkommen*, in *Deutsche Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, Institut für Orientforschung, no. 1, Berlin 1950, 91-100; E. J. Holmyard, *Alchemical equipment*, in Ch. Singer *et alii*, *A history of technology*, ii, Oxford 1956, 731-52).

With such apparatus, vessels and ovens the procedures (*tadābīr*), i.e. certain chemical processes, were achieved. The methods of these procedures were essentially the same as those of Greek alchemy, and most of the Arabic *termini technici* are translations of Greek notions. The "solution" (*taḥlīl*, λύσις) of a matter is achieved by water, acids or lyes; the "putrefaction" (*taʿfīn*, σῆψις) is a process of decomposition furthered by water. Distillation and sublimation are indicated with *taṣʿīd* and *taḳṭīr*, calcination with *taklīs*. A substance is consolidated and fixed by *tadjmīd* and *taʿḳīd*. "Blanching" (*tabyīḍ*, λεύκωσις) indicates the making of silver, "reddening" (*taḥmīr*) the making of gold. Many alchemists, however, use these and many other expressions only symbolically or in a completely different meaning for fear that they might reveal their secret. Thus the understanding of alchemical texts is made extraordinarily difficult.

Since the alchemists were obliged from the earliest times to keep their esoteric knowledge secret (see *Papyrus Leidensis*, ed. C. Leemans, Leiden 1843, i, 10, 9: ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἔχε ὡς μεγαλομυστήριον, μηδένα δίδασκε), they used innumerable "pseudonyms", not only for the processes but also for the matters and elixirs. The same matter was often indicated with dozens of different names, and conversely, one and the same name was used to design different matters. These pseudonyms also have a Greek tradition. Thus the names of the planets serve as designations of the metals: *al-shams* is gold, *al-ḳamar* is silver, *al-mirrīkh* is iron, etc. Certain words contain the characteristics of a matter: *al-farrār* "the fugitive" is quicksilver, *al-aṣḥḳar* "the reddish" is copper. Often names of animals are used: *al-ʿuḳāb* "the eagle" may designate sal-ammoniac, *al-ʿaḳrab* "the scorpion" and *ʿunuḳ al-ḥayya* "the snake-neck" can stand for sulphur, *ṭāwūs al-barbā* "the peacock of the Egyptian temple" for copper. The

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meaning of such pseudonyms varied from one author to the other and from one workshop to the other; they had no general validity.

The first endeavours to solve this lexical problem were undertaken by the Arabs themselves: they composed glossaries or added to bigger theoretical works lists in which the meaning of the pseudonyms was explained. But the value of these lists is small. Only careful critical editions and competent lexicographical revisions of the sources may enable us to travel further in this thorny field, but in not a few cases it will probably be impossible to uncover now the original meaning of the alchemical recipes.

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(M. Ullmann)

ḴIHĀ [see ḴUNĀ].

ḴĪNALĪZĀDE, ʿAlāʾ al-dīn ʿAlī Čelebi (916-6 Ramaḍān 979/1510-22 January 1572), Ottoman scholar. His grandfather, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir from Isparta, was one of the tutors of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, while his father was the *Ḳāḍī* Amr Allāh, known also as a poet. His grandfather used to dye his beard with henna, hence was by-named *ḳınalı* ("the one with henna"). This nickname was applied to other members of the family as well. Ḳınalızāde ʿAlī was born in Isparta in 916/1510 where he had his elementary education. His first tutor was one of his relatives, the *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker* Ḳadrī Efendi. Then, he went to different *madrasa*s and completed his education under such scholars as Maʿlūl Emīr, Sinān, Merḥabā, Ḳara Ṣālih̲, and Čiwizāde Muḥyī al-Dīn. In 948/1541, he was assigned by the *Shaykh al-Islām* Abu 'l-Suʿūd (Ebüssuʿūd) to the *madrasa*s of Ḥusām al-Dīn (the Ḥusāmiyye) in Edirne as *müderris*. He next taught in the *madrasa*s of Ḥamza Bey and Welī al-Dīn-oghlī Aḥmed Pasha—both in Bursa—and in the two *madrasa*s of Rüstem Pasha, one in Kütahya and the other in Istanbul, and in *madrasa*s of Khāṣṣeki and Semāniyye, also in Istanbul. In the year of 966/1559, when the construction of the *madrasa*s of the Süleymāniyye Mosque was completed, he was assigned to one of them as *müderris*, thereby reaching the highest of the academic ranks. In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 970/July-August 1563, he was appointed as *ḳāḍī* of Damascus to succeed Ḳurd Čelebi. He remained in Damascus nearly four years, after which he was appointed to Cairo and then to Bursa. Two years later he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Edirne, after which he became *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul. Shortly afterwards, in Muḥarram 979/June 1571 he became *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anatolia. This same year, while in Edirne with Selīm II, he died (6 Ramaḍān/22 January 1572) from an attack of gout, a complaint he had contracted during his earlier residence in Edirne. His funeral, attended by many of the statesmen and scholars of his time, took place at the Eski Djāmiʿ, and he was buried in the so-called Nāẓir cemetery on the road to Istanbul. In his youth, ʿAlī Efendi was famous for his memory and knew by heart numerous *ḥadīth*s and poems in Arabic, Persian and Turkish. He was versed in most of the branches of the knowledge of his time, including mathematics, astronomy and rhetoric; and while in Egypt his mastery of the Arabic language was admired by all. His son, Ḥasan Čelebi, informs us that he wrote marginal notes to the *Kashshāf* of al-Bayḍāwī up to *Sūrat al-Hūd* and that he corrected other versions of these manuscripts. According to his son's *Tedhkiret al-shuʿarāʾ*, ʿAṭayī's *Dhayl al-Shaḳāʾiḳ* and *ʿOthmānlı müʾellifleri*, his works may be summed up as follows: (1) the *Akhlāḳi-i ʿAlāʾī*, his most famous work and an important source for the study of Ottoman culture. He completed this work on 25 Ṣafar 973/21 September 1565 when he was the *ḳāḍī* of Damascus and dedicated it to ʿAlī Pasha, the *Beglerbegi* of Syria, hence its title *Akhlāḳ-i ʿAlāʾī* (For an analysis of the work and its sources, and in particular for its dependence on the *Akhlāḳ-i Naṣīrī* of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, cf. the article by A. Adnan-Adivar in *IA*, iv, 710-11). (2) his *Dīwān*, which includes his poems in Turkish, Arabic and Persian; (3) the *Ḥāshiye-yi tadjrīd*. He taught *tadjrīd* when he was *müderris* at the Ḥamza Bey Madrasa at Bursa, and wrote these marginal notes at that time; (4) *Ḥāshiye-yi Ḍurar u ghurar ilā nisfihi*; (5) the *Kitāb al-Karāhat min al-Hidāya*; (6) *Risālatāni fī ḥaḳḳ al-wāḳif*, written as a reply to Shāh Meḥmed Čelebi who had criticised one of his *fatwa*s when ʿAlī Efendi was *ḳāḍī* of Edirne; (7) the *Esʿāf*; (8) the *Risālet al-sayfiyya wa 'l-ḳalemiyya*; (9) the *Ḥāshiye ʿalā Ḥasan Čelebi li-Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*; (10) his *Münsheʾāt*;

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(11) the *Ḥāshiye-yi Kashshāf*; (12) the *Ḥāshiye-yi Bayḍāwī*; (13) the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Ḥanafiyya*; (14) the *Sharh-i Ḳaṣīde-yi Burde*.

Bibliography: Ḳınalızāde Ḥasan Čelebi, *Teḏhkiret al-shu'arā'*; New'izāde 'Aṭāyī, *Ḏhayl al-Shaḳā'iḳ* (originally called *Ḥadā'iḳ al-ḥaḳā'iḳ fī takmilat al-Shaḳā'iḳ*), 164-8; *Sidjill-i 'Oṯhmānī*, iii, 501; *'Oṯhmānlı müellifleri*, i, 406; *İA*, s.v.

(MEHMED ČAVUŞOĞLU)

ḲİNALİZĀDE, Ḥasan Čelebi (953-12 Shawwāl 1012/1546 14 March 1604), Ottoman scholar and biographer. He was born in Bursa where his father 'Alī Čelebi (see the preceding article) was *müderris* at the Ḥamza Bey Madrasa. He first followed the lectures of Nāẓir-zāde Ramaḍān Efendi, who was *müderris* between 967/1560 and 973/1562 at the Yeñi 'Alī Pasha Madrasa founded by Semiz 'Alī Pasha in Istanbul. Afterwards he became a student of Abu 'l-Su'ūd (Ebüssu'ūd) Efendi. He began his career in 975/1567 as a *müderris* at Bursa. One year later, upon the assignment of his father as *ḳāḍī* of Edirne, he was transferred to the Čukhādjı Ḥādjıdjı Madrasa as a *müderris*. Later he became *müderris* at the Sulṭāniyye Madrasa in Bursa, after which he taught at several *madrasa*s in Istanbul, ultimately attaining an appointment to the Süleymāniyye. In Djumādā al-Ākhir 998/April 1590 he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, following which he received the *ḳaḍā'*s of Cairo again, Bursa, Gallipoli, Eyyūb and Eski Zaghra respectively. While in this last post he became ill and returned to Istanbul. He then requested and received the *ḳaḍā'* of the small town of Reshīd in Egypt, where he died shortly after his arrival. Although credited with several minor works, his fame rests on his biographical dictionary of the Ottoman poets, *Teḏhkiret al-shu'arā'*, the autograph of which is in the Library of Istanbul University (TY 1737). This is the fifth work in this genre after those by Sehī, Laṭīfī, 'Ahdī and 'Āshıḳ Čelibi. Though completed at 994/1586, his own copy shows later revision and corrections. It is dedicated to Murād III and includes three sections: the first devoted to the *sulṭān*s, the second to the *shehzāde*s and the third to poets proper, most of whom are also mentioned in previous *teḏhkire*s. Ḥasan Čelebi made use of the *teḏhkire* of *Laṭīfī* [*q.v.*] and, in particular, that of 'Āshıḳ Čelebi. As may be seen from the alterations in his autograph, his method was to adopt the information given by these two predecessors, recasting it in his own individual, elegant style. However, he sometimes criticises their views on the merits of certain poets and advances his own opinions. The information he has to give about the poets and scholars with whom he was personally acquainted gives his work a particular value.

Bibliography: 'Aṭāyī, *Shaḳā'iḳ al-nu'māniyya ḏheyli*, Istanbul 1269, 491; *Sidjill-i 'Oṯhmānī*, ii, 127; Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry*, iii, 199. For the *teḏhkire* manuscripts, see *Istanbul kitabları tarih-coğrafya yazmaları*, vii, 588-97.

(MEHMED ČAVUŞOĞLU)

KINĀNA b. Khuzayma, an Arab tribe, genealogically related to Asad (b. Khuzayma) [*q.v.*]. The territories of Kināna were around Mecca from the Tihāma on the south-west, where they were next to Hudhayl, to the north-east where they bordered on Asad. There were six main subdivisions of the tribe, though more are sometimes mentioned: al-Naḍr (or Ḳays), the ancestor of Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], which is reckoned a separate tribe; Mālik; Milkān (or Malkān); 'Āmir; 'Amr; 'Abd Manāt. The latter was further subdivided. Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt was a strong group, and included as parts Mudlidj, al-Du'il and Layth, as well as the more independent Ḍamra. Ghifār [*q.v.*] is sometimes reckoned to Ḍamra and sometimes said to be Ghifār b. 'Abd Manāt. Al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Manāt was the main part of the Aḥābīsh [see ḤABASH, end], who were probably a collection of small groups without common ancestry (named as 'Aḍal, al-Ḳāra and al-Dīsh, all of B. al-Hūn b. Khuzayma, together with B. al-Muṣṭaliḳ of Khuzā'ᶜ and sometimes B. Liḥyān of Hudhayl).

History. At an early date Fihr, the common ancestor of all Ḳuraysh, was leader of Kināna when they defeated a Ḥimyarite force. His descendant Ḳusayy [*q.v.*] had the help of men of Kināna in the fighting which gave him control of Mecca, and his position was consolidated by the arbitration in his favour of Ya'mar b. 'Awf of Layth, though most of Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt opposed Ḳusayy. In the wars of the Fidjār [*q.v.*] the "day of Nakhla" resulted from the killing of a Kilābī by al-Barrāḍ b. Ḳays, a man of Ḍamra rejected by his tribe but protected by al-Du'il, and a *ḥalīf* of Ḥarb b. Umayya (of Ḳuraysh). In general, Kināna, including Bakr, supported Ḳuraysh against Hawāzin, but some parts of Bakr continued to feel hostility towards Ḳuraysh, especially after the chief of Bakr was killed in revenge for a youth of Ḳuraysh. Because of this matter Ḳuraysh hesitated before setting out for Badr in 624, until a man of Mudlidj guaranteed that Bakr would not attack them from the rear. After this, however, Bakr supported Ḳuraysh against Muḥammad, and it was an attack by Bakr on Muḥammad's allies of Khuzā'a which led to his conquest of Mecca in 630. In his force on this occasion Muḥammad had men from Ghifār, Ḍamra and Layth. Little is heard of the movements of Kināna after this. A prominent member of the tribe, Abu 'l-Aswad al-Du'alī [*q.v.*], is known as a supporter of 'Alī, and is incorrectly alleged to be the founder of Arabic grammar. In 230/844-5 al-Ṭabarī mentions some Kināna as still near Mecca but apparently weak. They are also recorded in the Ḥawrān, and, in the 6th/12th century, in Upper Egypt and the western delta.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 79 f., 430-2, etc.; Caussin de Perceval, *Histoire des arabes avant l'islamisme*, index; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, i, 350 f.; idem, *Nihāyat al-arab*, mentions most subdivisions; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-buldān*, index of tribes; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, index; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 156 f. (intercalators of months from Kināna), 195 f. (al-Barrāḍ), etc.; idem, *Munammaḳ*, index; al-Azraḳī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 61-4.

(W. M. WATT)

KINĀYA (A.), a technical term of rhetoric corresponding approximately to "metonymy" and meaning the replacement, under certain conditions, of a word by another word which has a logical connection with it (from cause to effect, from containing to contained, from physical to moral, by apposition etc.). Etymologically, this term implies a sense of dissimulation found also in the word *kunya* [*q.v.*], which is considered by such a grammarian as al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 677) to be derived from *kināya*. *Kināya* constitutes a particular type of metaphor (*isti'āra* [*q.v.*]) and it is distinct from trope (*maḏjāz* [*q.v.*]) in that the latter is only to be understood if taken in its figurative sense (e.g. *ra'aynā 'l-ghayth* "we have caused the rain to feed", where *ghayth* can only mean the grass appearing after a fall of rain). For some theorists, *kināya* covers allusion (of which the various forms are called *ta'rīḍ*, *talwīḥ*, *ramz*, *īmā'* and *ishāra*), but this is not so because, if it may be

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taken both in its proper and its figurative sense, it demands, if it is to be genuinely understood, an effort of imagination on the part of the listener, who may otherwise turn a deaf ear; after al-Thaʿālibī, Ibn al-Athīr saw fit to put together *kināya* and *taʿrīḍ* in *nawʿ* xix of *al-Maṯal al-sāʾir*, so as to condemn the errors made by his predecessors in this regard and to make plain the differences which exist between the two concepts. On the other hand, euphemism, antiphrase and other methods of dissimulation of a more popular nature are to be included under the heading of *kināya*.

In general, if we are to follow Ibn al-Athīr, *kināya* describes a word or a group of words which may be interpreted either in their literal or figurative sense and are used to replace other words which are to be rejected, sometimes simply for considerations of style, sometimes out of respect for decency, avoiding the use of words likely to shock or judged to be of bad omen; a logical relation must however exist between the literal and the figurative, the *kināya* and the *maknī ʿanhu*.

This is not the place to examine the other definitions proposed by the theorists and to take into account their disagreements regarding classification and nomenclature. We will simply observe that al-Sakkākī distinguishes three types: (1) *tamṯīl* or assimilation of one thing to another (e.g. *naḳī al-ṯawb* "clean of clothing" meaning "exempt from moral vice". (2) *irdāf* "implication", a term which Ḳudāma (*Naḳd*, 88) invariably uses to the exclusion of *kināya* (e.g. *ṭawīl al-niḏjād* "with long crossbelt", meaning "tall in stature", because the one cannot go without the other); in certain cases it is by a series of implications, more precisely of *ridfs* "pillion-riders" that the intended sense is reached (*kaṯīr al-ramād* "having a great quantity of ash" to express generosity, hospitality: in fact the abundance of ash implies successively abundance of fire, then of wood and of cooking for a large number of guests). (3) *muḏjāwara* "proximity" or "association" (e.g. the container for the contained: *zuḏjāḏja* "bottle" = "wine").

Studies and chapters devoted to *kināya* contain first a number of quotations from the Ḳurʾān and from *ḥadīṯ*s which may be interpreted as metonomies; thus LXXIV, 4: *wa-ṯiyāba-ka faṭahhir*" and your clothing, purify" where *ṯiyāb* may be understood as meaning the soul, behaviour etc. Another characteristic example is provided by XXXVIII, 22/23: *la-hū tisʿun wa-tisʿūna naʿḏjatan wa-lī naʿḏjatun wāḥida*, which is translated as "he has ninety-nine sheep and I have only one sheep", but where some, influenced no doubt by popular usage according to which the wife is called *naʿḏja* (al-Ḏjāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, 23, tr. Pellat, 40; *Ḥayawān*, i, 212), see a *kināya*. There seems little purpose in providing extensive examples of the ways in which the followers of allegorical interpretation (*taʾwīl*) can take advantage of this concept of *kināya* in order to justify all kinds of daring interpretations.

It must be said that the *fuḳahāʾ* themselves are sometimes obliged to take it into account where they have to use verses directly concerning the *Sharīʿa*. This is the case for example with IV, 46/43, V, 9/6 where two *kināya*s appear: *aw ḏjāʾa aḥadun min al-ghāʾiṭi aw lāmastumu 'l-nisāʾ* "if one (of you) has come from the place hidden from view or if you have touched women", then washing is obligatory; *ghāʾiṭ* comes to mean latrines, then excrement, and *lāmasa* may be taken in a literal sense of "touching" or in the figurative sense of "having sexual relations with a woman", so this verb is of a type which provokes discussions. Another notable example is the text which demands, for the application of the legal penalty to the fornicator, the presence of witnesses testifying that they have seen *al-mīl fī 'l-mukuḥla* "the needle in the container for kohl"; but here the context leaves no doubt as to the true sense of the expression.

In these last examples it is a case of euphemisms whose purpose is to "palliate the ugly" (*taḥsīn al-ḳabīḥ*), as al-Thaʿālibī says (*Kināyat*, 55), and it is the examples of this genre that the authors most often quote, borrowing them from the Ḳurʾān, from *ḥadīṯ*s, from poetry; generally they concern woman, the sexual organs, defecation, various forms of uncleanness and everything which is of bad omen. Some *kināya*s testify to great finesse, notably that quoted by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūḏj*, vi, 350-4 = § 2550), where, in a letter addressed to al-Rashīd, the word *ḵayzurān* "bamboo", but also the name of the caliph's mother, is replaced by *ḳuḍbān*. Others however are criticised, notably the use of Abū Aws to describe a stone (*ḥaḏjar*), because the father of Aws was called *Ḥaḏjar* (al-ʿAskarī, *Ṣināʿatayn*, 370). There was thus ample scope for the making of puns, and the humorists did not hesitate to take advantage of this.

In the introduction to the *Kitāb Muṣākharat al-ḏjawārī wa 'l-ghilmān*, al-Ḏjāḥiẓ makes fun of the hypocrites who cover their faces upon hearing a crude word, recalling that the most pious of the Muslims and the Prophet himself did not hesitate to use such words, and he adds that these words were created in order to be used and that it would be necessary to withdraw them from the Arabic language if one were not allowed to speak them. In the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (i, 33), he notes the unwillingness of his contemporaries to use the specific term for excrement and their habit of utilising a number of euphemisms to describe latrines: *makhraḏj*, *maḏhhab*, *khalāʾ*, *ḥashshḥushsh*, *mutawaḍḍaʾ*, and excrement: *raḏjīʿ*, *zibl*, *ghāʾiṭ*; others could be added to this list. An anecdote probably invented for specific purposes figures in several sources (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūḏj*, viii, 330-3 = §§ 3490-2; al-Thaʿālibī, *Kināyāt*, 31; al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ*, ed. Cairo 1314, ii, 270-1; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, ii, 215-6; etc.): a man is the victim of a joke in bad taste, in that he is asking for the latrines and appealing to a group of singing girls who pretend not to understand him. He tries one by one about eight different terms supposed to belong to various regions of the Arabic-speaking world (but the variants are too numerous to permit the drawing up of a linguistic map on the basis of this anecdote); to the words quoted by al-Ḏjāḥiẓ we may add here at least *kanīf*, *mustarāḥ* and *mirḥāḍ*.

In this regard, W. Marçais (*Euphémisme*, 395-6) comments that in classical Arabic "the plurality of nomenclature sometimes contrasts with the simplicity of the items described. If the latter are by nature liable to shock, one's tendency is to attribute this discrepancy between means and ends to the practice of euphemism." It is quite possible in fact that, independent of dialectical variants, the abundance of synonyms is sometimes due to the listing, by the lexicographers, of euphemistic terms whose origin is not indicated. It is thus for example that Ibn Manẓūr lists, according to Ibn Khālawayh, eight verbs meaning "to menstruate" (s.v. root *ḥ.y.ḍ.*); *ḥāḍat* can in fact be replaced by: *nafiṣat*, *ḍarasat*, *ṭamiṯat*, *ḍaḥikat*, *kādat*, *akbarat* and *ṣāmat*.

It is not impossible that certain of the euphemisms which figure in the dictionaries belong to the language

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of slang, but it is not always easy to determine the degree of decency of such and such a term of which the satirists make considerable use. In this connection, we quote only one epigram of *Di'bil* ('Abd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *Shi'r Di'bil*, Damascus 1384/1964, 204) where the sixth verse contains the word *ḳiṯṯha*, "cucumber" the sense of which is all the more readily understood because of the appearance in verse four of *tis'īn* "ninety" which means the anus. This last *kināya* is borrowed from dactylonomy (*ḥisāb al-'uḳad* [*q.v.*]), which supplies a large number of less obscene examples (e.g. "93" or "99" = miser"); see now Ch. Pellat, *Textes arabes relatifs à la dactylonomie*, Paris 1977, 21-2 and passim.

As a result of its undeniable expressiveness, to which the numerous examples cited by rhetoricians bears witness, the *kināya* preserves all its force in colloquial Arabic, for not only do slang expressions abound here, but also convention demands a strict caution in circles where superstitions continue to be strong. To antiphrase (*bṣīr* "clear-seeing" for "blind", already found in the name of Abū 'Alī al-Baṣīr [see AL-BAṢĪR], who lost his sight; with this may be compared Ḳur'ān, XI, 89/87; *inna-ka la-anta 'l-ḥalīmu 'l-raṣḥīd* "truly you are long-suffering and just", which must be interpreted in the contrary sense), to designation by a verb without subject *kānet ṣḥayḥa lāyḥa* "the situation was lamentable"), by an adverb or a pronoun (*'and-hā hādūk* "she is having her menstrual period"; cf. in a verse of Abū Nukhayla, *Aghānī*, XX, 382, *ḥarraktu-hū*, where the pronoun refers to an obscene word not expressed (likewise *aḍu'u-hu*, in Yāḳūt, *Irṣḥād*, XVI, 209, l. 3 from bottom), and to euphemism pure and simple (in Morocco, *fāḳḥər* "glorious" to describe coal (*faḥm*) because of its black colour), there are to be added voluntary alteration (*tas'ūd* [*tɔs'ud*] "you shall be happy" for the number "nine" because *tɔs'a* also means "you shall be a beggar"), borrowing from other languages (the Turko-Persian *ṣḥīṣḥma* for "latrines"), the refusal to specify ("those who are not to be named" = the djinns) and other procedures. On this subject, one can only refer to W. Marçais, *Nouvelles observations sur l'euphémisme dans les parlers arabes maghribins*, in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Philol. et d'Hist. Or. et Slaves* of Brussels (*Mélanges Isidore Lévy*), XIII (1953), 331-98. For Berber, see E. Destaing *Interdictions de vocabulaire en berbère*, in *Mél. René Basset*, Paris 1928, II, 177-277.

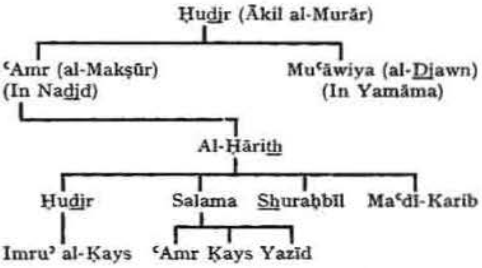
Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Ḳudāma, *Naḳd al-shi'r*, 88-90; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1356/1937, 472-4, 674-8; Ibn Rashīḳ, *'Umda, passim*; Aḥmad al-Djurdjānī, *al-Muntaḳhab min kināyāt al-udabā' wa-ishārāt al-bulaghā'*, Cairo 1326/1908; Tha'ālibī, *K. al-Kināyāt wa 'l-ta'rīḍ*, at the end of the preceeding item; 'Askarī, *Ṣinā'atayn*, 368-70; Sakkākī, *Miftāḥ al-'ulūm*, Cairo 1356/1937, 189-96; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, VII, 59-60; Mehren, *Rhetorik*, 41-2. See also KHAMSA, TAWRIYA and the bibl. to ISTI'ĀRA. (CH. PELLAT)

KINDA, a South Arabian tribal group, whose descent, real or imaginary, from Kahlān correctly identifies them as Arabs and distinguishes them, as it does the Azd, from Ḥimyar and other non-Arab inhabitants of South Arabia. The tribe spread all over Arabia in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., from the south to the centre to the north, and played a decisive role in the military, political, and cultural history of the peninsula before the rise of Islam.

1. The pre-Islamic period.

From Kinda (a *laḳab*, nickname for Thawr) are descended Mu'āwiya and Ashras, and from the latter are descended al-Sakūn and al-Sakāsik. The more distinguished branch was Mu'āwiya, and within Banū Mu'āwiya, the house of Ḥudjr, nicknamed Ākil al-Murār, became the most illustrious.

Genealogical table of the Banū Ākil al-Murār



It was this Ḥudjr who, in the second half of the 5th century and supported by the power of Ḥimyar, moved into central and northern Arabia and assumed supremacy over the Arab tribes of Ma'add. One of the celebrated *Ayyām*, battle days of the Arabs, Yawm al-Baradān, involves him with Ziyād b. al-Habūla, the Salīḥī client-king of Byzantium. It was his descendants, the Banū Ākil al-Murār, that dominated the political and military scene in Arabia for almost a century. He was succeeded by his son 'Amr, nicknamed al-Makṣūr, while his younger son Mu'āwiya (nicknamed al-Djawn) ruled over al-Yamāma. Neither was distinguished, and it was his grandson, al-Ḥārith b. 'Amr, who became the best-known member of the house, an international figure known not only to the Arabs of the peninsula but also to Persia and Byzantium and to their Arab clients, the Lakhmids and the Ghassānids. Around 500 A.D. his two sons, Ḥudjr and Ma'dī-Karib, mounted an offensive against the Byzantine border and in 502 A.D. the Empire had to conclude a peace treaty with al-Ḥārith. For a short time he ruled over Ḥīra, adopting Mazdakism during the reign of the Persian king Kawād. Then leaving al-Ḥīra, he went over to the Byzantines, who assigned to him a phylarchate in Palestine, but he quarreled with Diomede, the *dux* of that province, and fled to the desert where he was killed in 528 A.D. either by the Lakhmid Mundhir or by a member of the tribe of Kalb.

Al-Ḥārith had divided the Arab tribes of Ma'add among his four sons, Ḥudjr, Shuraḥbil, Salama, and Ma'dī-Karib. After his death, rivalries broke out among them and brought about a bloody engagement, the first day of al-Kulāb, in which Shuraḥbil was killed. Then the tribe of Asad rose against Ḥudjr and killed him. It was at this juncture, after the violent death of al-Ḥārith when the power of Kinda was in disarray, that Byzantium sent its two diplomats, Julian and Nonnosus, *ca.* 530 A.D., to Ḥimyar, Ethiopia, and Kinda for an alliance against the Persians. The services of Kinda were indispensable, and Byzantine diplomacy was finally able to compose differences between the Ḥimyarīs and the Kindīs by withdrawing Ḳays (probably the son of Salama) from central Arabia and arranging for the division of his dominion between his two brothers, Yazīd and 'Amr. Ḳays visited Constantinople and was given a command in Palestine.

In the second half of the 6th century, the power of Kinda in central and north Arabia was clearly disintegrating. In addition to the fratricidal wars among the sons of al-Ḥārith in Nadjd, the Banū

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'l-Djawn branch in al-Yamāma allowed themselves to be involved in the inter-tribal feuds of Tamīm and ʿĀmir; these resulted in the two battles of Shiʿb Djabala and Dhū Nadjab, which proved disastrous to the Banu 'l-Djawn. So precarious had the position of Kinda become that the tribe, according to the sources, decided to go back to its original home in Ḥaḍramawt.

A century or so of rule over such a vast area in the Arabian peninsula calls for an assessment of the role of Kinda in Arab history: (1) The dominion of Kinda represents the first attempt, however forcible, to impose unity on the tribes of central and northern Arabia; but this unity could not have been achieved without the support of Ḥimyar. (2) Kinda brought from the Ḥimyarī South a tradition of sedentary life; it ruled the Arabs from such urban spots as Ghamr Dhī Kinda, Baṭn Ākil, and Hadjar. (3) The house of Ākil al-Murār adopted Christianity, and must have been an important factor in disseminating it in central and northern Arabia. The most important Arabic Christian inscription of pre-Islamic times, commemorating the erection of a church in al-Ḥīra, is that of Hind, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr; and the Banu 'l-Djawn must have done their share in spreading Christianity in al-Yamāma. (4) Kinda contributed towards the spread of literacy among the Arabs and one Bishr b. ʿAbd al-Malik (from the Sakūn) is said to have learnt the art of Arabic writing in al-Ḥīra and to have taught it in Mecca, where he settled and married a sister of Abū Sufyān. (5) Kinda's greatest contribution, however, to the cultural life of the Arabs was Imruʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*], the foremost poet of pre-Islamic Arabia. Through him and through the unification of the Arab tribes for a century, Kinda accelerated the development of a common and standard Arabic language, transcending dialectal differences, a circumstance that attained its fullest significance with the rise of Islam.

While the Banū Ākil al-Murār were making history in the Fertile Crescent as well as in central and north Arabia, other Kindī groups were not idle in the south, where they rebelled against, as well as fought for, the Ḥimyarīs, with whom their relations as auxiliaries and clients remained close. They fought for Ḥimyar against the Lakhmid Mundhir, against Nadjrān and the Ethiopians, and also for Abraha [*q.v.*]. A measure of the military power of Kinda, in both the north and the south, is provided by the fact that of the twenty-one Djarrārūn (pl. of Djarrār, "leader of a thousand", chiliarch) of Yaman, eleven were Kindīs. Their military role in the south is evidenced by references to them in the Sabaean inscriptions (see below, Appendix).

The Arabic sources corroborate the Sabaean inscriptions on the importance of Kinda in the south and give prominence to Ḳays b. Maʿdī-Karib, also a member of Muʿāwiya but from the family of Banu 'l-Ḥārith. He was the lord of Kinda in Ḥaḍramawt, and is known to have adopted Judaism. Al-Aʿshā eulogised him and the famous al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] was his son. Kinda is counted among the Arab tribes who adopted Judaism in pre-Islamic times, and it must have been this Kinda in the south that became Judaised. Their Judaism could possibly support the view that the *Nasaʾa* (those in charge of intercalation in the pre-Islamic calendar) had been Kindīs before the tribe of Kināna took over the function after one of them had married a Kindī princess.

2. The Islamic period.

Although it was in pre-Islamic times that Kinda, sc. Kindat al-Mulūk, "Royal Kinda", had its heyday, the tribe retained some of its power and influence in the time of the Prophet and in Islamic times. In addition to the Banū Muʿāwiya, the Ashrasīs, especially the Sakūnīs, now come to the fore, and within the Sakūn the Tudjībīs become the most important group. The Kindīs crossed the paths of Muḥammad, the caliphs, and their governors, who enlisted their talents in the service of Islam, as is clear from the many personages listed in the pages of such works as Ibn Ḥazm's *Djamhara*. They appear at critical junctures in the history of Islam, displaying the same unruliness and spirit of independence that had characterised their tribal *ethos* in pre-Islamic times.

Al-Ashʿath b. Ḳays [*q.v.*] led the delegation of Kinda to Medina and accepted Islam, and so did four other Kindī chiefs, Mikhwas, Mishraḥ, Djamad and Abḍaʿa, leading another branch of Kinda (in some sources the four chiefs are associated with the Ḥaḍramawt delegation); Tudjīb also sent a delegation and accepted Islam. In 9/630 the Sakūnī Ukaydir b. ʿAbd al-Malik, master of the strategic point Dūmat al-Djandal in northern Arabia, submitted to Khālid b. Walīd. Perhaps the best measure of the continuing importance of Kinda in the newly-emerging world of Islamic Arabia is the fact that Muḥammad contracted marriages with two, possibly three, Kindī princesses, but these do not seem to have been consummated.

After the death of Muḥammad, Kinda led a furious insurrection in Ḥaḍramawt, in which al-Ashʿath and the four chiefs mentioned above were involved, and it was with great difficulty that the insurrection was finally put down; the four chiefs were killed, and Abū Bakr spared the life of al-Ashʿath, who espoused the cause of Islam enthusiastically, fighting at both al-Yarmūk and al-Ḳādisiyya and later with ʿAlī at Ṣiffīn. Other Kindīs distinguished themselves in the conquests: Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasana was one of the three or four main commanders appointed by Abū Bakr for the conquest of al-Shām or Syria and his front was al-Urdunn, which he conquered and later governed. Al-Simṭ b. al-Aswad, a member of Muʿāwiya, and al-Ashʿath b. Miʾnās, a Sakūnī, took part in the conquest of Ḥimṣ; the first is credited with the division of the city into quarters in which the Muslims settled.

It was during the caliphate of ʿUthmān that Kinda took part in what proved to be the turning point in the history of Islam, namely, the murder of the fourth Orthodox caliph. Many of the Sakūnīs had settled in Egypt, and in the rising against ʿUthmān they formed part of the Egyptian party of rebels which advanced against Medina. The weapon that actually killed ʿUthmān was wielded by a Tudjībī, Kināna b. Bishr by name, and two other Sakūnīs are also associated with the murder. A memorable event in the Second Civil War of Islam is also associated with a Kindī. It was al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr, a Sakūnī, whose catapults rained stones upon the Ḥaram when in 64/683 he conducted for the Umayyad Caliph, Yazīd, the siege of Mecca, during which the Kaʿba caught fire and was burnt down. More revelatory of the atavistic rhythm in the history of Kinda in Islamic times is the career of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, commonly known as Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*], a member of Muʿāwiya, vividly aware of his Kindī and South Arabian origins and worthy of his grandfather al-Ashʿath. After extending the boundaries of the Dār al-Islām by his invasion of Zābulistān in 80-1/699-700, he raised the standard of revolt and marched against al-Ḥadjdjādj in ʿIrāḳ, where he was

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finally beaten at the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim.

It was, however, in the Islamic Occident, in far-away Spain and as late as the 5th/11th century, during the period of the *Mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, that the Kindīs, unruly and rebellious as ever, achieved what figures such as Ibn al-Ashʿath in the Orient had been unable to achieve, namely, the carving out for themselves of an independent political existence, however shortlived this proved to be. The Tudjībids settled in Saraḳusṭa (Saragossa), Darawḳa (Daroca) and Ḳalʿat Ayyūb, in which cities they ruled, as they did also in al-Mariyya (Almeria), if the Banū Ṣumādiḥ were indeed Tudjībids, as is probable. Claims made by such historians as Ibn Khaldūn that the Dhu 'l-Nūnids [*q.v.*] of Toledo and the Afṭasids [*q.v.*] of Badajoz were Tudjībids, do not seem to have been substantiated by recent research, which affiliates them rather to a Berber ancestry.

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(I. SHAHĪD)

Appendix. The relations of Kinda with Saba and Ḥimyar.

Pre-Islamic Sabaean inscriptions furnish us with some useful references to Kinda in its epigraphic South Arabian form *Kdt*. Unfortunately, one of the earliest of those references is not at present securely dateable, since the precise chronology of the Sabaean texts is still in dispute; however, a date in the 3rd century A.D. seems possible. This text, Ja 576 (published in full by A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqīs*, Baltimore 1962), according to a recent re-interpretation offered by A. F. L. Beeston (*Notes on Old South Arabian lexicography VIII*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxvi (1973), 448-51), depicts for us a situation in which Mālik king of Kinda was head of a confederation in which a certain Imruʾ al-Ḳays b. ʿAwf, called "king of the *KHṢṢT*", was a subordinate member; the latter committed an act of agression against Saba, as a result of which the king of Kinda and his *shayḵhs* were forced under duress to surrender the person of the actual offender, to pay an indemnity, and to give hostages to the Sabaeans.

In two other texts of approximately similar date (Ja 660 and 665) we find Kinda and Madhḥidj, together with other bedouin groups, placed under the overall control of a Sabaean official with the title "*kabīr* of the Arabs of the king of Saba, and Kinda, and Madhḥidj etc,", and evidently acting as bedouin auxiliaries of the Sabaean army. In an inscription published by Sharafaddin (*Yemen*, Taʿizz 1961, 44, bottom left), a mixed force of Sabaeans, Kindī Arabs and other elements, was commanded by two individuals bearing the title "*wāsiʿ* of Saba".

In the early 6th century A.D., the Ḥimyarite king Yūsuf (= Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*]) was similarly employing Kindīs, together with members of the Murād and Madhḥidj tribes, under the control of a Sabaean commander belonging to the Yazʾan (in Islamic sources Yazan) family, as auxiliaries in his campaigns in central Arabia; see Ry. 508.7. (G. Ryckmans, *Inscriptions sud-arabes X^e ser.*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxvi (1953), 296) from Kawkab, an isolated rock north-east of the Kāra mountains and on the edge of the Empty Quarter.

In the mid-6th century, the Ḥimyarite king Abraha [*q.v.*] claims to have installed a certain Yazīd b. Kabsha as "his *khalīfa* over Kinda"; it appears that this Yazīd later revolted, but was defeated by the Ḥimyarites and forced to renew his allegiance in the year 657 of the Ḥimyarite era (*Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*, iv, 541). Five years later, in 662 of the Ḥimyarite era, Kinda was again campaigning in support of the Ḥimyarites, this time being given the particular mission of pinning down the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa tribe [*q.v.*] while the king was engaged on military operations elsewhere (Ry. 506, *op. cit.*, 277).

(A. F. L. BEESTON)

AL-KINDĪ, ʿABD AL-MASĪḤ B. IṢḤĀḲ, the name given to the author of a defence of Christianity presented in the forms of a letter written in response to that of a Muslim friend, named ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Hāshimī, who invited his correspondent to embrace Islam. The names of these two characters are supplied only by al-Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050 [*q.v.*]) in a reference that he makes to this defence in his *Chronology* (ed. Sachau, 205). In fact, the author of the two letters, who states in the prologue that he does not wish to mention the names of the correspondents "for a certain reason", speaks only of a Hāshimī and a Kindī. But it should also be noted that the headings of certain manuscripts supply the name of Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī, not to be confused with the name of the first Muslim philosopher (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]).

The authorship of this defence is the object, among orientalists, of serious disagreements concerning his period and his sect. Taking as evidence the historical data supplied by the text, mention of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), of the sack of Mecca by Abu 'l-Sarāyā (199/815) and of the revolt of Bābak al-Khurramī (204/819), W. Muir believes that the date of the composition of the letter can be fixed at 215/830. But L. Massignon believes the composition to be later than the year 300/912, seeing that the author has borrowed from al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) his criticism of an opinion of the Ḥanbalī al-Barbahārī (d. 329/940). Similarly, observing a parallelism between certain criticisms contained in the letter and in a work of the Muslim heretic Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. 298/910), P. Kraus concludes that the Christian author borrowed these criticisms from the latter and therefore the letter can only have been composed at the beginning of the 4th/10th century.

As for the sect to which the author of the apology belonged, the majority of orientalists make him a Nestorian, as is moreover indicated explicitly by his Muslim friend in his letter. The fact that he himself mentions the convent (*ʿumr*) of al-Karkh, a suburb of Baghdād, and Sābāṭ al-Madāʾin, near Seleucia-Ctesiphon, confirm this idea. But Massignon, considering that the distinction between the essence and

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the attributes of the act is an "adaptation to Christian theology of the tenets of Islamic *kalām*", is led to identify the author with the celebrated Jacobite philosopher Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 364/974). Similarly, M.-Th. de Alverny, on the basis of a passage in the Latin translation which treats the Nestorians as heretics, makes the author of the letter a Jacobite philosopher who, according to a concluding passage figuring only in the Latin version and a Karshūnī manuscript (Paris B. N. syr. 204), must have composed a work against Arius.

Now the publication of the work of a Jacobite theologian of the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Rāʾiṭa Ḥabīb b. Khidma, shows that, contrary to the opinion of Massignon, this distinction between the divine attributes dates from a period considerably before that of Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, since it is found in the work of Abū Rāʾiṭa, from whom the author of the letter borrowed it, as well as the whole of the philosophical-theological section dealing with the unity of God (ed. G. Graf, *CSCO*, cxxx, 5-10). As for the fact of a Nestorian author borrowing from a Jacobite a discussion of the unity of God, this is not surprising, since there was no difference of opinion between them on this point.

Similarly, the publication of the Latin version has shown that in this version, conforming to the original Arabic, the Muslim tells his correspondent that of all the Christians, the Jacobites profess the worst doctrine while the Nestorians, his friends, are closer to the Muslims (379); and it is clear that the passage in the Latin version which describes the Nestorians as heretics (413), and which is nowhere corroborated by the Arabic text, arises from the fact that the translator has "revised" the text in a "Catholic" manner (400); as for the concluding passage where there is mention of a work against Arius, it seems, judging from its content and style, that it does not belong to the original text, and that it is a later addition.

Finally, it should be noted that in a Karshūnī manuscript (Paris, B. N. syr. 205), the text of the letter of the Muslim has been revised in manner favourable to the Jacobites, the name of the Jacobites being replaced by that of the Nestorians and *vice-versa*, and the writing of the name of Cyrillus being distorted (fol. 3b).

Presented as the work of a Nestorian Christian, a senior official at the court of al-Maʾmūn, this defence of Christianity is also a refutation of Islam, and is thoroughly documented, assessing the respective worth of the two religions from a historical and moral viewpoint. Translated into Latin in 1141, by Peter of Toledo and revised by Peter of Poitiers, the letter of al-Kindī played a very important role, in the East as well as in the West, in the polemic between Christians and Muslims.

Bibliography: *EI*¹, art. s.v. (L. Massignon); Brockelmann, S I 344-5; Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 135-45; first edn, of the Arabic text by Anton Tien, London 1880; Eng. tr. in Sir William Muir, *The apology of al-Kindy*, London 1882; P. Kraus, *Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte*, in *RSO*, xiv (1933), 335-41; M.-Th. d'Alverny, *Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen-Âge*, in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale*, xxii (1947), 87-96; J. Muñoz Sendino, *La apologia del christianismo de al-Kindi*, in *Miscelanea Comillas*, xi (1949), 339-460; A. Abel, *L'Apologie d'al-Kindī et sa place dans la polémique islamo-chrétienne*, in *L'Oriente cristiano nelle storia della civilta*, Accademia Nazionale dei Linceí, Anno CCCLXI (1964), Cuaderno No. 62, 501-23; G. C. Anawati, *Polémique, apologie et dialogue islamo-chrétiens*, in *Euntes Docete*, xxii (1969), 380-92.

(G. Troupeau)

AL-KINDĪ, ABŪ ʿUMAR MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF AL-TUDJĪBĪ, historian of Egypt, was born on *yawm al-naḥr* (10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja) 283/18 January 897 and died on Tuesday, 3 Ramaḍān 350/Wednesday, 16 October 961. He heard al-Nasāʾī, the author of the *Sunan*, when the latter lectured in Egypt, and appears to have lectured on *ḥadīth* himself. Among his teachers and historical informants, Ibn Ḳudayd (d. 312/924-5) seems to have been the most important one. His principal transmitters (cf. his *Judges*) was Ibn al-Naḥḥās (323-416/935-1025). This is about all that is known of his life. The authentic information goes back mostly to his contemporary, the historian al-Farghānī, who mentioned him in his continuation of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*; this information has fortunately been preserved in biographical notices added in Ms. Brit. Mus. add. 23, 324. The name of the town where he was allegedly born is in fact to be read *yawm al-naḥr*; this shows that no independent biographical information is preserved in the notice on al-Kindī in al-Maḳrīzī's *Muḳaffā*, reproduced by N. A. Koenig, *The history of the governors of Egypt*, New York 1908, 1, n. 5.

Al-Kindī's *Histories of the* (1) *Governors* (wulāt) *and* (2) *Judges* (ḳuḍāt) *of Egypt* are preserved in the above-mentioned Brit. Mus. manuscript. The definitive edition, provided with a careful introduction, is that of R. Guest, (GMS xix, Leyden-London 1912, reprinted in 1964, re-edition of the *Governors* by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, Beirut 1379/1959). The *Governors* end with the year 334/946; they were briefly continued in the preserved ms. for a few decades to the coming of the Fāṭimids. The *Judges* end with the year 246/861 in the preserved text; they were perfunctorily supplemented by two hands through the first third of the 5th/11th century. Both works contain important information, and are early representatives of provincial historiography. As to political history, they afford a glimpse into events as seen from outside the centre of empire. As to judicial history, they reveal a good deal about legal institutions and practices. We may suspect, however, that they do not really compensate for the loss of the older, and early Fāṭimid, literature on Egyptian history. In Mamlūk times, al-Kindī's works together with what was then still known of the literature now apparently lost, were much used.

Al-Kindī is further credited with works on (3) the *Mawālī* (known from a considerable number of quotations), (4) the *Khiṭaṭ* of Egypt, (5) the *Khandaḳ* (the trench made by Ibn Djaḥdam around Fusṭāṭ in 65/684, cf. *Governors*, 46), (6) the *Great Mosque of the Ahl al-Rāya* (the mosque of ʿAmr), (7) the *Western Contingents* (*al-djund al-gharbī* or *al-adjnād al-gharābā*), and (8) *Marwān b. al-Diaʿd*, presumably the last Umayyad caliph (unless it dealt rather with al-Sarī b. al-Ḥakam). (5) and (6) may have been parts of (4). The assumption that he also wrote an independent history (see Brockelmann, in *EI*¹, s.v. *al-Kindī*) is quite uncertain.

A brief treatise on the *Faḍāʾil Miṣr* was compiled by al-Kindī's otherwise unknown son ʿUmar in the third quarter of the 4th/10th century. His authorship is indicated with some confusion at the beginning of the work and appears supported by the list of sources used, ending with Abū ʿUmar al-Kindī and Ibn Yūnus. Its transmitter was again Ibn al-Naḥḥās. Later authors took it for a work by Abū ʿUmar himself. It was first edited with a Danish

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translation by J. Østrup, in *Oversigt over det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Forhandlinger*, Copenhagen 1896, 173-245. Another edition, by I. A. al-ʿAdawī and ʿAlī M. ʿUmar, appeared in Cairo in 1971 (including a reproduction of two pages of the ʿAkkā ms. supposedly dating from the 5th/11th century). Neither edition is complete with respect to the use of the available mss. material.

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AL-KINDĪ, ABŪ YŪSUF YAʿḲŪB B. ISḤĀḲ, "The philosopher of the Arabs" whose distinguished genealogy is obligingly given by the bio-bibliographers, was born before the end of the 2nd/8th century and died in about the middle of the 3rd/9th (perhaps approximately 185-252/801-66).

An eminent universal scholar and philosopher, he lived in a period of intellectual ferment in the sphere of the sciences as well as in that of *kalām*: the period of the translations, and of the controversies concerning Muʿtazilism.

He was a companion of the caliphs al-Maʾmūn and al-Muʿtaṣim. To the latter he dedicated notably his *On first philosophy*, and to his son Aḥmad, who was a pupil of his, he dedicated a number of other treatises. His association with these two sovereigns, plus the fact that he fell into disfavour during the reign of al-Mutawakkil (and was even deprived temporarily of his extensive library), lead one to suspect at least a tendency towards Muʿtazilism on his part. This hypothesis is supported by several passages from his known works (where there are references to the negation of the divine attributes or to the excellence of the works of God), as well as by the titles of works which are known only from the bibliographies. The latter show the extent and the variety of the work of al-Kindī: almost 250 titles (according to the *Fihrist*) concerning all the sciences cultivated in his day (these include astrology but not alchemy, which he regarded as a form of trickery), also technical subjects of particular interest to the ruling classes with whom he was associated: the manufacture of glass, jewellery, armour and perfume.

It is impossible to give a complete account of al-Kindī's thought because of the relatively small number of documents which has survived (less than 40 extant titles, as many of them philosophical as scientific; the task of editing and evaluating a number of unpublished ones is as yet incomplete). In the meantime, one can sketch the general outline, or at least note certain significant features, on the basis of the available texts.

His general philosophical position is best expressed in the introductory chapter of *On first philosophy*. Besides certain definitions and technical statements concerning philosophy, sc. the principles of philosophy, the four "causes", the four "scientific questions", there is to be found there what is in effect both an advertisement for, and a defence of, philosophy (it should be remembered that this treatise is dedicated to the caliph).

Taking as his inspiration, and sometimes borrowing literally from, the opening of a book of Aristotle's *Methaphysics*, of which he quotes a passage (without, however, acknowledging his source), al-Kindī describes the progressive accumulation of true knowledge which has come about in the course of time, thanks to the efforts of the philosophers: from this he infers that "the truth must be acquired, from whatever source it comes", and the statements of the philosophers must be re-examined and completed. He violently criticises the opponents of philosophy who attack it in the name of religion, while they themselves, he says, are without religion. The content of "the science of things and their true nature", that is to say philosophy, is identical to that of the message of the prophets: the science of divine sovereignty and divine unity, the science of morality and ethics. Finally, a brief quotation from Aristotle's *Protreptic* (again not acknowledged), according to which it is logically impossible not to be a philosopher, is followed by a prayer invoking the assistance of God in the pursuit of knowledge.

Thus al-Kindī sets forth an intellectual orientation doubly opposed to that of the traditionalists; according to him, knowledge can come from various sources and can still be expected to develop; but equally, he claims to respect the prophetic message. In precisely the same spirit his epistle *Concerning the number of Aristotle's works* compares human knowledge (*ʿilm insānī*) with divine knowledge (*ʿilm ilāhī*); whereas the first depends on prolonged effort and preparation regulated according to a precise scheme, God inspires the prophets, when He so desires, and without them having recourse to the methods of "human knowledge", with a type of revelation condensed into a few phrases whose sense the philosopher can only explain at the cost of a lengthy process of elucidation.

This position of al-Kindī's, with regard to the sciences and to philosophy, derived from various sources on the one hand, to revelation and religious speculation on the other, emerges also in some ways from the information supplied by the bio-bibliographers. These emphasise that al-Kindī had an unequalled acquaintance with the ancient sciences (Ibn al-Nadīm), that he of all the Islamic philosophers was closest to Aristotle (Ibn al-Djuldjul), that he studied in depth the various branches of Greek, Persian and Indian wisdom (Ḳifṭī); but also that he combined in his works the principles of the Law and those of the rational sciences (Bayhaḳī) and that he wrote an essay on *tawḥīd* according to the methods of the logicians (Ibn al-Djuldjul).

Also, in a systematic list of his works such as is first to be found in the *Fihrist*, one notes the section of "books of dialectic" or of "controversy" (*kutub djadaliyya*), many of which must have dealt with specific problems of *kalām*, such as prophecy, *istiṭāʿa*, divine unity, the creation of the body, of the atom, etc.

As regards the Greek philosophers, al-Kindī mentions by name Plato and Aristotle and hardly any others. We know on the one hand that he used the *Treatise on the heavens* of Aristotle, that he commissioned a translation of his *Metaphysics* and revised the translation of the *Theology* which was attributed to him. But careful scrutiny of his works shows that he must have been acquainted, directly or indirectly, with certain others, such as Epictetus, Proclus and probably John Philoponus; we find also echoes of the last phase of the teaching of the school of Alexandria as it is expressed notably in the writings of David. These various references to other authors and implied borrowings pose many problems, both historical and critical, which are far from being solved. Without doubt there are questions still to be asked.

The variety of these borrowings poses in addition a philosophical problem, which could only be solved by examining the entire corpus of works of our author and his precise chronology, and examining the con-

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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sistency and the development of his thought, and his vocabulary as well.

Without attempting to enter into the details of the philosophy of al-Kindī as it is known to us, we can say that he adopted from the Aristotelian tradition a certain number of concepts (the four causes, the categories of change etc.) and of propositions (the finiteness of the world, the impossibility of a corporeal infinitude as an act, the mechanics of intellectual perception etc.); from the Platonist tradition, he takes speculation on the soul in its relationship with the body and with the divine light and on its ascent to and beyond the heavens. Parenetic and semi-mystical in this last case, his style and method are by times extremely precise, very abstract, strained, proceeding freely and methodically by means of axioms and deductions of a geometrical regularity.

On the other hand, al-Kindī, who ceases to follow the Greeks where they are in disagreement with the Ḳur'ānic revelation (i.e. with regard to the creation, and the life-span of the Universe), is interested in establishing or formulating agreements between certain philosophical ideas and certain articles of the Islamic faith, even Mu'tazilī ones.

Thus the *On first philosophy*, after some reflections on the "one" and the "many", where we detect echoes of Proclus, concludes (that is to say, the first part of the book, which is all that has survived, concludes) with a kind of philosophical *tawḥīd* and with criticism of those who give attributes to God (the same theme is used in the essay *On the unity of God and finite nature of the world*). The epistle *Concerning the number of Aristotle's works* contains a philosophical commentary on verses 78-82 of Sūra XXXVI and the epistle *On the lowest prostration of the body* another on verse 6 of Sūra LV.

There are other detailed references to other works which could be quoted. It would appear that al-Kindī uses the same method in his choice of language where certain words or verbal roots are common to the vocabulary of religion and to that of the Greek translations (thus he refers to God by the name *al-wāḥid al-ḥaḳḳ*, which is both Ḳur'ānic and Neo-Platonist; he uses the word *rubūbiyya*, which belongs to the language of religion, in the title of the *Theology* attributed to Aristotle). It is important to analyse these various agreements and differences at this early stage of the history of *falsafa*.

In so far as one is able to judge from the bibliographical lists and the few treatises, of various lengths, which have survived, the scientific work of al-Kindī follows the same scheme as his philosophical work, sc. to revise and develop the findings of the ancient scholars in the light of new interests. He wrote essays on Euclid, Archimedes, Ptolemy, on the astrolabe and on Hippocratic medicine; he also drew to a considerable extent on Asiatic sources, particularly for his knowledge of remedies.

On the other hand he followed ideas which were specifically his own, notably in his studies of optics and pharmacology. His article on perspective (known only in Latin under the title *De causis diversitatum aspectus*) follows Euclid, though without following him blindly. Three points are set out here in succession: the rectilinear propagation of light which Euclid postulated and which al-Kindī demonstrates; a theory of vision whereby the eye illuminates the object seen—this also is a Euclidean theory which al-Kindī modifies, giving three dimensions to the rays emitted by the eye (whereas for Euclid these were geometric lines); finally, a theory of mirrors. Here too, his study of burning mirrors is an adaptation, that is to say a revision, a criticism and a completion, of what Anthemios of Tralles had written on this subject.

The same method is used in the treatise *On compound medicines*. The ancients had studied the proportions of the four qualities (hot, cold, dry, wet) in simple medicines. Now this method had to be extended to compound medicines, and al-Kindī takes pains to explain mathematically the relation between increasing the number of parts of each quality, and the corresponding increase in the effect of the medicine on the organism.

Al-Kindī left a few pupils (Aḥmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī, Abū Ma'shar), but not a school in the strict sense of the word. It is most of all as a universal scholar and as an astrologer that he has survived (to the point that those of his works which were available in Latin, were still being read in medieval times). Ibn Khaldūn quotes him at various points in his *Muḳaddima*, but does not include him in his list of Islamic philosophers.

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(J. Jolivet - R. Rashed)

ḲINDĪL [see MIṢBĀḤ]

KINKIWAR, Kankiwar, Kangāwar, a small town of western Persia (population in 1975, 13,144) situated in lat. 34°29′ N., long. 47°55′ E., and in the *bakhsh* of the same time in the *shahristān* of Kirmānshāhān. The town is almost equidistant from the cities of Kirmānshāh and Hamadān [*qq.v.*], and lies at an altitude of 1,467 m.; it is first mentioned by Isidore of Charax under the name "Concobar". The *bakhsh* comprises (1975) four *dihistāns*, with a total of some sixty villages and a population of about 38,435. The economy of the region is based on agriculture and trade.

The Kangāwar valley has since ancient times been an important staging post and centre of communications on the great highway from Mesopotamia to the Iranian plateau, and recent excavations have established that nearby sites such as Gawdīn Tappa and Sih Gabī were occupied several thousands of years prior to the foundation of Kangāwar itself, which probably occurred in Parthian times. The important temple to the goddess Anahita, recently discovered at Kangāwar, is thought to date from the 2nd century B.C.; its construction was erroneously attributed by early Muslim writers to the Sāsānid monarch Khusraw Parwīz.

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In Islamic times, Kangāwar seems to have flour-

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ished up to the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century. At about that time, most of the Saldjūḳ remains were destroyed by fire, and there seems to have been virtually no building on the site from Ilkhānid to Tīmūrid times, and little under the Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs.

In general, the Islamic geographers refer to Kangāwar as Ḳaṣr al-Luṣūṣ ("Robbers' Castle"). Al-Ṭabarī, i, 2649, says simply that it acquired this name because the Arab army on the way to meet the Persians at Nihāwand (21/642) had some of its baggage-animals stolen there. Centuries later, this reputation of the people of Kangāwar still prevailed: Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (ed. M. Dabīrsiyāḳī, Tehran 1336/1957) states that they were "first-class thieves" (Le Strange's translation in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 107, is inaccurate). From the name Ḳaṣr al-Luṣūs derived the *nisba* "Ḳaṣrī" (see Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 450).

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(R. M. Savory)

ḲINNASRĪN, an ancient town and military district in Syria; the name is of Aramaic origin and appears as Ḳenneshrīn in the Syriac texts. Composed of *ḳinnā* "nest" and *nasrīn* "of eagles", it is mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud in the form of Kannishrayyā and the European historians of the Middle Ages called the area Canestrine. A distinction must be drawn between the town and the *djund*.

1. The town. At the present day, Ḳinnasrīn is nothing more than a little village surrounded by ruins, a day's journey to the south of Aleppo, on the right bank of the Ḳuwayḳ which flows into the nearby marshy depression of al-Matḵh. The Arab geographers place it in the fourth climate. Yāḳūt, who gives various explanations for the origin of the name, says that the place was already populated in the period when the Amalekites, coming from the south, sought refuge there, and that the town had once been prosperous and strongly fortified, but that in his time (beginning of the 7th/13th century) it was nothing more than a village, owing its survival to its position in the centre of a district where a number of highways converged. In ancient times the town, founded by Seleucus Nicator, was called *Chalcis ad Belum*, and gave its name to the Syrian-Arab *limes*. In the 4th century A.D. Ḳinnasrīn was a commercial centre and a prosperous agricultural market-town.

Set at a highway intersection and with a much-frequented *khān*, the town occupied an important position in the defensive system of the Syrian frontier from Antioch to the Euphrates and from the *hamad* toward Tadmur. It played a strategic role of some importance for the Byzantine empire and at the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 7th century A.D. it came under attack from the Persians.

After their victory on the Yarmūḳ [*q.v.*], the Muslim Arabs went on to conquer northern Syria. At Ḳinnasrīn, the garrison of local militia offered some resistance to the troops of Abū ʿUbayda, [*q.v.*] and in Shaʿbān 17/August-September 638, the town was taken. Under the reign of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, the town's defences were dismantled. Profiting by the experience of the Byzantines, the Umayyads, in their turn, installed a military headquarters at Ḳinnasrīn, which rapidly became the capital of the rich agricultural region of which it was the centre. Until the 4th/10th century, the history of the town was not marked by any event of importance.

In 331/943, it was one of the most solidly constructed localities of the region. Two years later, in the spring, the Ḥamdānid prince Sayf al-Dawla was defeated there by the troops of the Ikhshīd of Cairo. In the second half of the 4th/10th century, Ḳinnasrīn became the object of contention in the struggle between the Byzantines and the Ḥamdānids. At the approach of the Byzantines, in 351/963, the inhabitants fled from the city in panic. After the Ḥamdānid period, Ḳinnasrīn began to decline to the benefit of Aleppo. In 355/966, when Nicephorus Phocas advanced against Aleppo, Sayf ad-Dawla fell back upon Ḳinnasrīn, but being unable to defend it, he evacuated the town and the Byzantines came and burned the mosques. Part of the population settled to the East of the Euphrates and the rest took refuge in Aleppo. Shortly after, the town was repopulated, but in 389/998 it was burnt down and reconstructed once again. In 422/1030, it was again sacked by the Byzantines. Rebuilt at the end of the 5th/11th century by Sulaymān b. Ḳuṭulmush [*q.v.*], it was destroyed by his enemy Tādj ad-Dawla Tutush, [*q.v.*] brother of the sultan Malik Shāh [*q.v.*]. It remained virtually uninhabited. Nāsir i-Khusraw, passing that way in *Radjab* 438/January 1047, saw nothing but a poor village.

In the period of the Crusades, Ḳinnasrīn was to play only a strategic role and was scarcely populated at all. In Muḥarram 513/April-May 1119, without occupying Aleppo, Il-Ghāzī installed himself in Ḳinnasrīn, made it a depot for military equipment and made raids against Ḥārim, the Rudj and Djabal Summaḳ.

Some years later, Tughtakīn of Damascus joined forces with Aḳsunḳur and together they attacked Aleppo. Sawār, *amīr* of Aleppo in the name of Zankī, made Ḳinnasrīn an operational base. In 529/1134-5 Pons of Tripoli laid siege to the place, which was relieved by Zankī, arriving in haste from Ḥimṣ. The traveller Ibn Djubayr (end of the 6th/12th century) describes the town as being in a state of abandonment and ruin.

From the time of the Ayyūbid period (7th/13th century), Ḳinnasrīn is no longer mentioned as a town, but its *khān* is noted as a halting-place for caravans journeying from Aleppo towards the south, and, beyond the crossroads of al-Athārib, towards the west. Pilgrims continued to make their way to Tell Nabī ʿĪsā, one of the hills of the town, to the tomb (*maḳām, ḳabr*) attributed to the prophet Ṣālih [*q.v.*] which is in fact the burial-place of the *amīr* Ṣālih b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās. In the Ottoman period, Ḳinnasrīn was nothing more than an impoverished village, bearing the name Eski Ḥaleb. At the present day, it has returned to its original name.

2. The djund. Around Ḳinnasrīn there extends a

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vast undulating plain (*kūra*); this is one of the most fertile regions of northern Syria where, with the aid of irrigation, cereals, fruit trees and vines are cultivated. In 375 Saint Jerome, visiting the province where at that time monasticism and asceticism were developing, testified to its agricultural prosperity.

On the horizon, there are visible to the south the Djabal Zāwiya, to the west the Djabal Barīsha, to the north the Djabal Samʿān and the plain of Marḏj Dābiḳ punctuated by tells, while to the east there are the shining salt-marshes of Djabbūl. The Arabs penetrated at an early stage the territory of Ḳinnasrīn, which corresponded to one of the Byzantine administrative divisions of Syria, representing the Roman "Syria Prima" of which Antioch was the capital. In the 6th century, Arab tribes were encamped in the eastern part of the region between the Euphrates and Ḳinnasrīn. Among the battles which took place on this territory, one may note the victory won in 554 A.D. near the source of the ʿUḏhayya by the Ghassānid al-Ḥāriṯh over the Laḵhmid al-Mundhir of al-Ḥīra.

After the Muslim conquest, Syria was divided into four *aḏjnād*: the *ḏjund* of Urdunn, that of Filasṭīn, that of Dimashḳ and that of Ḥimṣ. The creation of the *ḏjund* of Ḳinnasrīn is attributed by some (al-Ṭabarī and al-Dimashḳī) to Muʿāwiya, who installed refugees from Baṣra and Kūfa there in 22/643, by others (al-Balāḏhurī, Yāḳūt) to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, who detached some districts from the *ḏjund* of Ḥimṣ.

In the ʿAbbāsid period, following the conquests of al-Manṣūr and his successors, the *ḏjund* grew in size towards the north; at this time it covered its greatest expanse of territory. It absorbed to the north Ḳurūṣ, Tizīn, Dulūḳ, to the north-west ʿAynṭab at a distance of two days' march, and Ḳalʿat al-Rūm [*q.v.*] at a distance of five days' march from Aleppo. To the south, it included the districts of the two Maʿarras (M. Miṣrīn and M. al-Nuʿmān) and of Ḥamāt, and the territory of Sarmīn.

Under the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-92/786-809), the *ḏjund* of Ḳinnasrīn was deprived, to the west, of the territory stretching from Antioch to the coast, to the east, of the region lying between Aleppo and Manbiḏj, and to the north, of the *thughūr*, districts which were to constitute the region of the ʿAwāṣim [*q.v.*]. The *ḏjund* was then limited to the area lying to the south of Aleppo. This was the end of its period of military importance, but economic activity continued, as is shown by the increases in taxation and in the tribute payed to al-Maʾmūn. In the 3rd/9th century, the *ḏjund* of Ḳinnasrīn paid 350,000 *dīnārs* while that of Damascus paid only 120,000. In the mid-4th/10th century, the *ḏjund* paid 400,000 *dīnārs* of *ḵharāḏj*, the same as Dimashḳ, and 370,000 of *ḵimāya* [*q.v.*]. The capital was then Aleppo, and the principal cities Antāḳiya, Ḳinnasrīn and Manbiḏj. Its limits were to the west, the coast from Lāḏhiḳiya to Bayās, to the north, Marʿash and the ʿAwāṣim, to the east the Euphrates between Sumaysāṭ and Bālis, and to the south, the region of Ḥamāt with Shayzar and Rafaniyya, a region claimed by both Ḳinnasrīn and Ḥimṣ.

In 349/961, Nicephorus Phocas attacked the region of Aleppo; he returned two years later to sow the ruins, and the population went in search of refuge elsewhere. The intervention of the Basileus led to the disappearance of the ʿAwāṣim, to the advantage of the Byzantines who occupied Antāḳiya. The reconstruction of northern Syria under the Saldjūḳs scarcely touched the *ḏjund* of Ḳinnasrīn. In the 12th century, the latter came under pressure from the Franks of Antioch, especially in 495/1102 when Bohemond demanded tribute. In Ṣafar 527/Dec. 1132, Fulk of Jerusalem and the armies of Antioch attacked the territory of Ḳinnasrīn and imposed a truce with the addition of tribute upon Sawār, the Aleppo representative of the *Atabeg* Zankī.

At the end of the 7th/13th century, the *ḏjund*, which retained its name in spite of the dominance of Aleppo, retrieved from the Franks the province of Antāḳiya and the lands of Sarmīn.

Under the Ottomans, in the mid-11th/18th century, Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa still speaks of "the province of Ḳinnasrīn of which the capital is Aleppo". Later, the *ḏjund* of Ḳinnasrīn disappeared and was integrated into the *liwāʾ* of Aleppo.

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(N. Elisséeff)

ḲINṬĀR [see MAḲĀYĪL].

ḲIPČAḲ, a Turkish people and tribal confederation; usually also written Ḳlpčāḳ or Ḳifčāḳ; the forms Ḳifčākh, Khifshāḳ, Ḳifshākh and Khifčākh are also found. The etymology of the name is uncertain: the origin of the Old Turkish word *ḳlvčaḳ* (*ḳlbčaḳ*), which is known only in the form *ḳlvčaḳ ḳovï* "unlucky" (Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 581), is conjectural, as well the connection with the Sagai word *ḳlpčaḳ* "irate, hot-tempered". The proper name Ḳlpčaḳ is recorded in the Uyghur texts. See Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1899, ii, 843-5. In later popular and learned etymologies (first in Rashīd al-Dīn, *Ḏjāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Berezin = *Trudy Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.*, vii, 23, later in Abu 'l-Ghāzī, ed. Desmaisons, 19) *ḳlpčaḳ* is connected with *ḳobuḳ* or *ḳobï* and explained as a "hollow tree trunk"; at the same time a legend is told of the birth of a boy from a hollow trunk; the boy is said to have been adopted by Oghuz Khān [cf. KIMĀK] and to have been given a separate territory as a fief. The relation of the tribe Ḳlpčaḳ, emerging in the Western Siberian steppes, to the other Turkish tribes is unclear. Gardīzī (text in W. Barthold, *Otčet v poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*,

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82 = ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 258) mentions the Ḳïpčaḳ along with the Īmāk as a division of the Kïmak [see GHUZZ] who lived on the Irtiš, [*q.v.*] although the earlier anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 19a tr. Minorsky, 101, § 21, comm. 315-17) says that the Ḳïpčaḳ had separated from the Kïmāk and dwelled to the north of the Pečenegs. Ibn Ḵhurraddādhbih, 31, l. 9, and, following him, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 329, l. 3, tr. Massé 388, mention the Ḳïpčaḳ along with the Kïmāk as a separate people. Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, i, 273, describes the Yïmāk (*sic*) on the Irtiš as a subdivision of the Ḳïpčaḳ, not of the Kïmāk. In another passage of the same work (iii, 22) we are told that the Yïmāk are a Turkish tribe (*ḏjīl min al-turk*), the same "as we call Ḳïpčaḳ" (*wa-hum al-ḳïfḏjāḳiyya ʿindanā*); the Ḳïpčaḳ themselves thought they were a separate branch (*ṯhumma atrāk ḳïfḏjāḳ yaʿuddūna anfusahum ḥizban āḵhara*). The Kïmāk mentioned by Muḳaddasī, 274 l. 3, at Ṣawrān must have been Ḳïpčaḳ. In connection with the advance of the Ḳïpčaḳ from north to south is the appearance (first in the 5th/11th century in the *Dīwān* of Nāṣir-i Ḵhusraw; cf. Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, i, 227) of the name *Dašt-i Ḳïpčaḳ* for *Mafāzat al-Ghuzz*, cf. *ibid.*, ii, 168. The Ḳïpčaḳ (Ḵhifčāḳ) are already mentioned by Bayhaḳī, ed. Morley, 91, as neighbours of Ḵhʷārazm. According to Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, 102, the Ḳïpčaḳ appear in history for the first time in 514/1120-1 in Ibn al-Aṯhīr, x, 399, as allies of the Georgians; according to Marquart (*ibid.*, 136) the kingdom of the Ḳïpčaḳ was founded by people who emigrated from Manchuria in connection with the rise of the Čurč (the Chinese Kin Dynasty); cf. thereon, P. Pelliot, in *JA*, ser. ii, xv, 125 ff. That the term Dašht-i Ḳïpčaḳ was also extended to South Russia is shown by the evidence of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* ed. Le Strange, 21, 238, that Dašht-i Ḳïpčaḳ is the same as Dašht-i Ḵhazar. Altogether it seems to be sure, that in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries a loose political unit of Turkish tribes (including the Kïmāk) existed under this name in the above-mentioned territories. In the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Ḳïpčaḳ tribes moved to the Russian steppes, pushing the Oghuz toward the western areas of the Pontus region. [see GHUZZ]. After 1064 they became the lords of these territories, which they kept until the Mongol invasion. Among the Ḳïpčaḳ tribes, the Ḳuman (called Polovtsï by the Russians and Comani by Western Europeans) were the dominant element which played an important role in the history of Byzantium, Bulgaria and Hungary. They are often identified with the whole of the Ḳïpčaḳ tribal confederation. The Ḳïpčaḳ in South Russia were exposed not only to the influence of Islam but also to that of Christianity; a prince of the Ḳïpčaḳ (Chinese Kin-č'a) in the time of the Mongol invasion (the same prince is mentioned in Russian annals) was called George (Russ. Yuriy, hence Chinese Yü-li-ghi, in Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, ii, 297 ff. and Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 150). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions Christian Ḳïpčaḳ at Ḳerč [*q.v.*]; the so-called "Codex Cumanicus" must be regarded as a memorial of the spread of Christianity among the Ḳïpčaḳ. The name Ḳïpčaḳ survived the Mongol invasion; it was later transferred to the empire of the Golden Horde. The Ḳïpčaḳ military slaves, coming to the Near East, especially to Egypt, played an important role in the history of this area as the Baḥrī Mamlūks [see AL-BAḤRIYYA and MAMLŪKS]. The first scant information concerning the language of the Ḳïpčaḳ is due to al-Kashgharī. According to his *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, ii, 253, iii, 23, the dialect of the Ḳïpčaḳ had the same phonetic pecularities as the dialect of the Ghuzz, with ḏj for *y* at the beginning of a word. The first linguistic record relating to the Ḳïpčaḳ (Ḳuman) language is the Codex Cumanicus. From the Ḳïpčaḳ Mamlūks, several linguistic monuments are known. From the Armenians in Poland and in Ukraine, speaking a special Ḳïpčaḳ dialect, several literary and other documents have come down to us. One section of the Turkish languages, according to the ethnic and historical relation of these peoples to the Ḳïpčaḳ trībes and regions, is also called Ḳïpčaḳ. The Ḳïpčaḳ are no longer mentioned after the Mongol period; like many other early names of peoples (Ḳarluḳ, Uyghur, Nayman etc.) the name Ḳïpčaḳ is found as the name of a family or of a minor tribal unit among the Bashḳïr, Nogai, Ḳïrghïz and Uzbek. The Ḳïpčaḳ are particularly associated with Farghāna in the modern history of Central Asia, cf. ḴHOḴAND.

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ḲÏR SHEHIR [see ḲÏRSHEHIR].

KIRĀ' (A.), a legal term meaning the leasing or hiring out of things. This is a contract in every way like a contract of sale, but with this difference that a sale aims at transferring the possession of something in exchange for the sale price, whilst leasing or hiring out aims at the beneficial use or enjoyment of a thing for a fixed period to time in return for a hiring fee. It is accordingly the sale of a beneficial use (*bayʿ al-manāfiʿ*) and is built around the procedure for a contract of sale. The only differences are those which are inherent in the differing nature of the two contracts, but both of them come into the category of commutative contracts (*muʿāwaḍāt*), of which sale is the leading example. The term "commutative contract" is used in practice for all procedures (sale, exchange, loan, leasing or hiring out, settlement, etc.) in which we have the transfer of property (*milk*) or beneficial use (*manāfiʿ*) in return for the handing-over of an equivalent.

The essential elements of a contract of leasing or hiring out are (a) the contracting parties, the lessor (*kārī*) and the lessee (*muktarī*); (b) the object in question (*al-maʿḳūd ʿalayh*), i.e. the thing hired out and the sum corresponding to its beneficial use (*aḏjr*); and (c) the form or embodiment of the agreement (*ṣīgha*). The effects of a contract of this kind are those of a contract of sale, except for the differences arising out of the specific natures of the two contracts.

The contract is not dissolved by the deaths of either of the two contracting parties; the heirs have the power to re-negociate the contract. Hiring or leasing can always be annulled when there is an excuse (*ʿuḏhr*).

The types of objects which may be leased or hired out. Whilst *iḏjāra* [see IDJĀR] is the hiring out of a service and of movable objects, with the exception of ships and beasts which are used for

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transportation, the term *kirāʾ* is used for these last and for immovable property. Hence in practice, *kirāʾ* may be a contract for transporting something. According to Ibn ʿArafa, it is in this case the sale of the beneficial use of an animal or of something else like a ship for purposes of transport. But the transporting of objects must be distinguished from the transporting of persons. Mālik sees there a *locatio operis*. Other Mālikīs pronounce in favour of a hiring out of services. The Shāfiʿīs consider this contract as a hiring out of objects. But in any case, the hiring out of beasts or burden and ships (*kirāʾ al-rawāḥil wa ʾl-sufun*) is perfectly admissible, whether the beasts are individually determined or not.

Hiring out can cover land (*kirāʾ al-arḍ*), and the leasing of rural properties existed before Islam, under two forms: (a) *kirāʾ* involving payment of money; and (b) *kirāʾ* involving the making over of a proportion of the produce of the property (*mukhābara*). This last form must have been the commoner one, in view of the scarcity of coinage.

The last type of hiring out of an object is *kirāʾ muʾabbad* or *conductio perpetua*, the lease in return for a quit-rent of ancient French law. It is the equivalent of our emphyteusis or emphyteutic lease. In Egypt, this institution is known under the name of *mudda ṭawīla*, in Algeria as *ʿanāʾ*, and in Morocco as *kirāʾ ʿalā ʾl-tabḥiya*; all these names indicate the idea of a perpetual lease.

Bibliography: D. Santillana, *Instituzioni di diritto musulmano malichito con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, Rome 1925, Book ix; Ibn ʿĀṣim al-Mālikī al-Gharnāṭī, *al-ʿĀṣimiyya*, 151; Kayrawānī, *Risāla*, 215-16; see also IDJĀR.

(A. M. DELCAMBRE)

ḲIRĀʾA, reading. Applied to the Ḳurʾān, *ḳirāʾa* also means *recitation*. In the present article the term *ḳirāʾa* is used as follows: 1. in the general sense of the recitation (a) of single parts of the Ḳurʾān, as prescribed for the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), or the recitation (b) of the entire Ḳurʾān, which has become, in the course of years, an accepted spiritual exercise (*ḳirāʾa* = recitation); 2. to indicate a special reading of a word or of a single passage of the Ḳurʾān (*ḳirāʾa*, pl. *ḳirāʾāt* = variant); 3. to indicate a particular reading of the entire Ḳurʾān (*ḳirāʾa* = reading). In the third case one speaks of the *ḳirāʾa* of Ibn Masʿūd or of the *ḳirāʾa* of the people of Ḳūfa as opposed to the *ḳirāʾa* of other authorities or to the redaction authorised by ʿUthmān.

The recitation of texts proclaimed by Muḥammad as revelation played from the very beginning a prominent part in the Muslim community. This is already evident from the fact that the collection of these revelations was designated as *ḳurʾān* "recitation". However, the Ḳurʾān had not yet been codified at the death of the Prophet and the form of Arabic letters used to note down single parts of it and later on the whole collection was very incomplete; in a group of consonants a choice between two or more readings was possible. Consequently, disagreements soon arose on exactly how to read the revealed text. The promulgation of a canonical redaction of the Ḳurʾān under the third caliph ʿUthmān (soon after 30/650) was intended to remedy this evil. Copies of this redaction were sent from Medina to Kūfa, Baṣra and Damascus, the most important cities of ʿIrāḳ and Syria. After a relatively short period, this redaction seems to have been generally accepted as the official text, finally even at Kūfa where Ibn Masʿūd (d. 33/653), the distinguished Companion of the Prophet, who maintained a "reading" of his own, had at first called upon his followers to resist.

On the whole, the text of ʿUthmān had a strong unifying influence, which was felt to an increasing extent. But a really uniform *ḳirāʾa* was not thereby guaranteed. During recitation, which was essentially based on oral tradition, readings deviating from the official edition continued to be followed. In so far as these readings went back to recognised authorities of the early period and to trustworthy witnesses, they were also noted by commentators on the Ḳurʾān and philologists, and turned to exegetic or linguistic account. Thus variant readings of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy b. Kaʿb (d. 29/649 or 34/654) and other early "readers", which deviated from the official text, were transmitted in early scholarly literature and have therefore come down to us, at least in extracts. The *ḳirāʾa* of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) was later even inserted among the "fourteen readings" (see below).

Further development was on characteristic lines. The untramelled freedom with which the text had been treated in the earliest times was followed by a period of systematisation and limitation of the possibilities of the "readings" which the consonantal text and the oral tradition offered. However, complete unification was not achieved. People neither would nor could simply set aside the power of tradition. Thus the free choice on the *ḳirāʾa* was limited, but not entirely forbidden. While reading the officially accepted consonantal text (already in itself constituting a limitation), the "reader" could still make a choice between a certain number of authorities. In its detail the history of Ḳurʾān reading is very complex. The scanty and sometimes unreliable sources leave much uncertain. In general, however, the course of development is clearly recognisable, thanks in particular to the penetrating studies of G. Bergsträsser (in collaboration with O. Pretzl) and E. Beck (see *Bibl.*). In this article only the essential aspects will be briefly mentioned.

Important progress in the standardisation of the "reading" was achieved by differentiating the letters *b*, *t*, *th*, *n*, *y* etc. by means of strokes (later dots) and by introducing vowel signs. The redaction of ʿUthmān, being officially recognised, gained in importance by this clarification. With the passage of time, other differences were gradually eliminated. Such a levelling seems at first to have been accomplished within single cities (*amṣār*), and later on through the influence of one city on another. Majority readings tended to prevail over minority readings, thus leading towards a general consensus. In the first half of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Mudjāhid (d. 324/936), the influential *Imām* of the "readers" in Baghdād, publicly and with governmental support brought this process to its logical conclusion. He banned further use of the *ḳirāʾāt* of Ibn Masʿūd and other uncanonical readings. Ibn Shanabūdh, a contemporary and fellow-reader of Ibn Mudjāhid, complied with this ban only after he had been arraigned and flogged. In addition, Ibn Mudjāhid declared the reading of the ʿUthmānic consonantal text, standardised by tradition and consensus, to be obligatory, and compelled Ibn Miḳsam, an other fellow-reader, to renounce the claim which he had maintained until that moment that he could decide for himself on the punctuation and vocalisation of the text. As authorities on the traditional reading of the ʿUthmānic text, Ibn Mudjāhid recognised seven "readers" belonging to the 2nd/8th century, among whom were ʿĀṣim of Kūfa (d. 128/745) and Nāfiʿ of Medina (d. 169/785), whose readings have both remained authoritative

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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to the present day, that of ʿĀṣim in the east and centre of the Islamic world, and that of Nāfiʿ—with some exceptions—in North Africa from Egypt westwards. To the seven "readers" recognised by Ibn Mudjāhid were added later on three others, and afterwards another four, but these never attained the same standing as the first seven. Furthermore, since Ibn Mudjāhid, in mentioning ʿĀṣim—one of the Seven—had often named two others, Abū Bakr Shuʿba (d. 193/809) and Ḥafṣ (d. 180/796), who transmitted ʿĀṣim's reading independently of one another, it became customary to add also the names of two other traditionists to each of the other six and of the "Three after the Seven". Thus originated the bewildering number of names in the list of readers recognised as canonical (*Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 186-9; Blachère, 118-23; Bell-Watt, 49 ff.).

After the readings had been limited to the "Seven" recognised as canonical, and to the other "Three after the Seven" and "Four after the Ten", all the others were eliminated in the practice of recitation. The "readers" henceforward had to keep exclusively to the canonical readings. This however did not completely rule out the uncanonical "deviant" (*shawādhdh*) readings. They were later adduced as useful evidence in the practical interpretation of the Ḳurʾān and in the elucidation of linguistic problems. Besides his "Book of the Seven" (*Kitāb al-Sabʿa*, ed. Sh. Ḍayf, see *Bibl.*) Ibn Mudjāhid also composed a "Book of deviant readings" (*Kitāb al-Shawādhdh*), which is not extant. The debate on the uncanonical *ḳirāʾāt* was carried on throughout the centuries in a scholarly literature of growing importance. Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī's (d. 316/928) *Kitāb al-Maṣāḥif* and Ibn Mudjāhid's works already mentioned were followed—to cite only a few of the most important names—by the monographs on uncanonical readings of Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980) and Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002), by al-Dānī's (d. 444/1053) classical manual of the Seven Ḳurʾān-readings (verse version by al-Shāṭibī, d. 590/1194) and his works on orthography, punctuation of the vowels and other punctuation marks, by Ibn al-Djazarī's (d. 833/1429) works on the Ten readings and on the classes (*ṭabaḳāt*) of readers, and finally by al-Bannāʾ's (1117/1705) book on the Fourteen readings. For the practice of recitation, the literary tradition constituted, in contrast with early times, an almost indispensable complement to oral instruction.

The knowledge of Ḳurʾān-reading (*ʿilm al-ḳirāʾa*) had become a distinct theological discipline and had many practitioners, few of whom, however, wrote books on it. In this connection, it becomes understandable that the official Egyptian Ḳurʾān of 1924 (following the reading of ʿĀṣim in the tradition of Ḥafṣ) is not founded on early Ḳurʾānic manuscripts, but is the result of reconstructions derived from the literature on the readings (see Bergsträsser, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 5 ff.).

In the recitation by professional "readers" (see above), a distinction is made between an incantatory, a rapid and a moderate tempo (*tartīl* or *taḥḳīḳ*—*ḥadr*—*tadwīr*). The manner of execution can be designated as cantillation, but there are also intricate musical settings (see the studies by K. Huber and M. Talbi). The technique of reciting is laid down in detail in works on the *ḳirāʾāt*.

Special importance is attributed to the rules of pronunciation, including the theory of assimilation (*idghām* [*q.v.*], *iddighām*), the modification of *a* into *e* (*imāla*), extension (*madd*), forms of the pause (*waḳf*) and the conservation or alleviation (*tabdīl*) of *hamza* (see O. Pretzl's analysis of a typical treatise on the *uṣūl al-ḳirāʾa*, in *Islamica*, vi (1934), 230, 291-331). The time required for private oral instruction is greatly increased by the fact that, since Ibn Mudjāhid, several different *Imāms* and Schools of Readers have been officially recognised. According to a distinctive method known as "assembling" (*djamʿ*) "the Ḳurʾān verse is divided into small fragments, each one of which is recited as often as there are variants of it, each time with another variant" (see the instructive passage, "Koranlesungsunterricht", by Bergsträsser, in *Isl.*, xx (1932), 36-42). When the whole of the Ḳurʾān is recited, the separate readings must be considered as self-contained units; the "readers" are thus not free to combine the text of their recitation from different *ḳirāʾāt* (Bergsträsser, *ibid.*, 29 ff.). These, however, are details which concern only an élite of "readers". The great mass of the *ḳurrāʾ*, consisting largely of blind men, would in any case limit themselves from the start to the study of a single reading (*Ḥafṣ ʿan ʿĀṣim*, in the west *Warsh ʿan Nāfiʿ*). In general, the originally large number of readings has given way in the course of centuries to a far-reaching uniformity both in the practice of recitation and in the theoretical *ʿilm al-ḳirāʾa*.

The history of the text of the Ḳurʾān and of the *ḳirāʾāt* has also been studied by European and American orientalists, notably Nöldeke and Goldziher, followed by A. Jeffery, G. Bergsträsser, O. Pretzl and E. Beck (see *Bibl.*). Important sources have been published, and separate stages of development reconstructed. Jeffery, and likewise Bergsträsser in association with Pretzl, planned an apparatus criticus for the Ḳurʾān. Bergsträsser and Pretzl had begun a systematic collection of photostats of early manuscripts of the Ḳurʾān in the hope of discovering variants not registered in the literature. Because of their untimely death (1933 and 1941), this research came to a standstill. Jeffery also died (1959) without having realised his vast project. The task, however, remains to evaluate the known and still unknown variants for the study of old Arabian dialects and in general for a future historical grammar of Arabic. Whether much will emerge to the profit of the historical interpretation of the Ḳurʾān remains to be seen. The harvest so far obtained by Bergsträsser and Beck is rather meagre and promises no new results of any importance. During the last years of his life, Pretzl himself had apparently "retreated from the generally high appreciation of the manuscripts and readings of the Ḳurʾān". August Fischer, who noted this *en passant* in a posthumous article (*Isl.* xxviii (1948), 5 f. n. 4), also cited a passage from Spitaler's obituary of Pretzl (*ZDMG* xcvi (1942), 163 ff.). In Fischer's opinion the Ḳurʾānic textual variants "*for the most part* (emphasis by Fischer) consist of no more than attempts at emendation made by philologically trained Ḳurʾān specialists on difficult passages in the ʿUthmānic redaction".

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ḲIRĀ'A [see TADRĪS].

ḲIRĀḌ (also *muḳāraḍa* and *muḍāraba*, cf. below), a commercial arrangement in which an investor (*ṣāḥib al-māl*) or group of investors entrusts capital or merchandise to an agent-manager (*'āmil, muḳāriḍ, muḍārib*) who is to trade with it and then return it to the investor with the principal and previously agreed-upon share of the profits. As a reward for his labour, the agent receives the remaining share of the profits. However, in case of a loss resulting from an unsuccessful business venture, the agent is in no way liable for the return of the lost investment. He loses his expended time, effort, and anticipated share of the profit, while it is the investor who exclusively bears the direct financial loss.

The *ḳirāḍ* combined the advantages of a loan with those of a partnership (*šarika*); and while containing elements characteristic of both contracts, cannot be strictly classified in either category. In all Islamic legal writings, it is treated as a distinct and independent contract with a separate section or book (*kitāb*) devoted to it. As in partnership, profits and risks in the *ḳirāḍ* are shared by both parties, the investor risking capital, the agent his time and effort. However, in the *ḳirāḍ*, unlike a partnership, no joint capital is formed and the investor does not become directly or jointly liable with the agent in transactions with third parties; indeed, third parties need not ever be aware of the investor's existence. As in a loan, the *ḳirāḍ* generally entailed no liability for the investor beyond the sum of money or quantity of commodities handed over to the agent; and in the event of its successful completion, the agent returned the capital plus a share of the profits (the latter, corresponding to the interest in an interest-bearing loan).

The agent's complete freedom under normal trading circumstances from any liability for the capital in the event of partial or total loss and the disjunction between the owners of the capital and third parties are novel and distinctive features of the *ḳirāḍ* which made it a particularly suitable instrument for long-distance trade.

Although commercial arrangements resembling the *ḳirāḍ* were known in the Near Eastern and Mediterranean world from the earliest times, it appears very likely that its direct origins were indigenous to the Arabian peninsula, having developed in the context of the pre-Islamic Arabian caravan trade. With the Arab conquests, it spread to the Near East, North Africa and ultimately to Southern Europe. Its introduction in the form of the *commenda* in the Italian seaports of the late 10th and early 11th centuries A.D. was germinal to the expansion of mediaeval European trade. The *ḳirāḍ* was the subject of lengthy and detailed discussion in the earliest Islamic legal compendia (late 2nd/8th century). Its legal treatment in these early treatises bears the hallmark of long experience with the *ḳirāḍ* as an established commercial institution. Although not mentioned in the Ḳur'ān, numerous traditions attribute its practice to the Prophet and his leading companions (e.g. Shirbīnī, *Mughnī al-muḥtādj*, ii, 309; Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxii, 18-19; Shaybānī, *Aṣl muḍāraba*, fol. 42). From the sparse indications available, it appears that this form of commercial association continued through the early centuries of the Islamic era as a mainstay of caravan and long-distance trade. In one of the very few mediaeval Arabic treatises of commerce, Dimashḳī's *The beauties of commerce* (probably 5th/11th century), the *ḳirāḍ* is cited as one of the three methods by which trade is carried out;

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Page 147 of 600

https://archive.org/details/bk1302/page/n149/mode/1up

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Ghazālī lists it among the six commercial contracts, "the knowledge of which is indispensable to anyone seeking gain in trade" (*Iḥyāʾ*, ii, 66). The documents from the Cairo Geniza (5th-7th/11th-13th centuries) are replete with numerous examples of *commenda* agreements which account for a considerable share of the commercial activity reflected in these documents. Thus we may conclude that not only in law, but in practice as well, the *ḳirāḍ* constituted one of the most widespread instrumen'ts of commercial activity.

Three Arabic terms are used to designate this contract: *ḳirāḍ*, *muḳāraḍa*, and *muḍāraba* and the terms are interchangeable with no essential difference in meaning or connotation among them. The divergence in terminology was probably originally due to geographical factors. The terms *ḳirāḍ* and *muḳārada* apparently originated in the Arabian peninsula, and the term *muḍāraba* was of ʿIrāḳī provenance. Subsequently, the difference was perpetuated by the legal schools, the Mālikīs and Shāfiʿīs adopting the term *ḳirāḍ* and, to a lesser degree, *muḳāraḍa*, and the Ḥanafīs the term *muḍāraba*.

As in the case of several other commercial arrangements, Islamic law justifies the licitness of the *ḳirāḍ* contract on the religious grounds of traditional practice (*sunna*), the consensus of the community (*iḏjmāʿ*) and, more interestingly, on the practical grounds of its economic function in society. After quoting a series of traditions describing the *ḳirāḍ*'s use in trade by the Prophet and his companions, Sarakhsī adds that it is also allowed: "Because people have a need for this contract. For the owner of capital may not find his way to profitable trading activity, and the person who can find his way to such activity may not have the capital. And profit cannot be attained except by means of both of these, that is, capital and trading activity. By permitting this contract, the goal of both parties is attained" (Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, xxii, 19).

Sarakhsī's summary of the *ḳirāḍ*'s economic function highlights one of the most important aspects of this contract's rôle in Near Eastern commerce, and helps explain its widespread use in mediaeval trade. For the investor, the *ḳirāḍ* served as a means of hiring trading skill, and for the agent-manager, as a means of hiring capital. Since, in the mediaeval commercial context, profit could be realised only by the combination of capital and trading activity, the *ḳirāḍ*, especially for the purposes of long-distance trade, became an ideal instrument to attain a profitable goal.

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(A. L. Udovitch)

ḲIRĀN, in Islamic astrology "the conjunction". Without further qualification, this refers to the mean or true conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter. The conjunctions of these two planets were combined, apparently by Sasanid astrologers, with the Hellenistic doctrine of the triplicities to form the basis of one of several methods of predicting the course of history available to mediaeval astrology.

The four triplicities were associated with the four sublunar elements as follows:

Fire	Earth	Air	Water
Aries	Taurus	Gemini	Cancer
Leo	Virgo	Libra	Scorpio
Sagittarius	Capricorn	Aquarius	Pisces

Mean conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter occur once in about every 20 years with a longitudinal increment of about 242;25°; for twelve or thirteen conjunctions, then, or about 240 or 260 years, they stay within the same triplicity, and it takes about 960 years (i.e. approximately a millennium) for the conjunctions to return to the triplicity in which the cycle started. The return of the conjunctions to the triplicity of fire (to Aries) in about a millennium was thought to indicate the appearance of a new prophet; the transfer of the conjunctions from one triplicity to the next in about 240 or 260 years was taken to signify a possible change in the dominant dynasty; and the occurrence of each individual conjunction was believed to portend lesser shifts in political, military, or economic status. The details of these predictions depended upon the horoscopes of the beginnings of the solar years in which the conjunctions occurred.

This theory of conjunctions usually appears in consort with various other elements of political astrology, all of which seem to have originated in the Zoroastrian millennarianism of Sasanid Iran. These other methods are: the revolutions of the world-years; the cosmic cycles—i.e. the mighty, big, middle, and small varieties of the *ḳisma*, the *intihāʾ*, and the *fardārs* of the planets; the mighty years of the planets; and the planetary lords of the millennia, centuries, decades, and single years. These elaborate systems for predicting religious and political change, together with the related theory of the conjunctions of the maleficent planets, Saturn and Mars, in Cancer every 30 years, appealed strongly to dissident groups in the early ʿAbbāsid period and later, and especially to these with Iranian connections; in particular, one may mention the Ḳarmaṭians and the Ismāʿīlīs. Many leading astrologers wrote expositions of the significance of the conjunctions, including Māshāʾallāh and Abū Maʿshar; through their writings, this form of political astrology was transmitted to Western Europe, where it became extremely popular during the Renaissance.

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ḴIRĀṬ [see MAKĀYIL].

ḴIRD (A., fem. *ḳirda*, pl. *ḳurūd*, *aḳrād*, *ḳirad*, *ḳirada*, *ḳarida*), a substantive having the general sense of "monkey", but representing in fact, among the simians of the Ancient World, only the members of two families, the colobids and the cercopithecids, the only primates known in ancient Arabia. Egypt, Abyssinia, Somalia, the Yemen and ʿUmān in fact constitute favourite habitats of baboons (genus *Papio*) and macaques or cynocephalous magots (genus *Macaca*). Both types live there in groups of which the total population can vary from a dozen to a hundred; each of these societies, which are based on polygamous family units, is subject to the authority of a male leader and this animal social organisation has not failed to attract the attention of those Arab writers who have spoken about monkeys. Since ancient times, the peoples of southern Arabia have looked with respect and circumspection tinged with an element of superstitious fear at the colonies of hamadryad baboons (*Papio hamadryas*) and of green baboons (*Papio anubis*) infesting the areas of high ground. In the times of the Pharaohs, the Egyptians deified these monkeys, and there was certainly a time when, in pre-Islamic Arabia, these animals were taboo. Were they demons incarnate, maleficent genii or metamorphoses of men? There was no shortage of questions for the credulous Bedouin to ask himself, and more especially, there was the ever-current legend according to which Solomon made a pact with the race of monkeys, setting them to guard the demons vanquished by the genii. Even in the 4th/10th century, Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] and al-Masʿūdī report, with complete seriousness, that among these troupes of monkeys there is found one larger than the rest wearing at his neck the seal bestowed by Solomon. Apart from the involvement of the latter in the world of monkeys, there was alive in the minds of men the legend, of Talmudic origin (*Sanhedrin*, 109a), of the divine curse inflicted upon some of the builders of the tower of Babel; their expiatory punishment was to be changed into monkeys for all eternity. This curse was to be confirmed by the Ḳurʾān (II, 61/65; VII, 166; V, 65/60) where it is said: "those whom He has cursed, He has changed into monkeys and pigs". Popular belief in such metamorphoses (*maskh*, pl. *musūkh* [*q.v.*], encouraged by successful fables such as the *Thousand and one nights* (for metamorphoses of men into monkeys, see nights 9, 12, 299, 624), was to persist for a long time in the bosom of Islam, in spite of categorical refutations on the part of the Prophet reported in certain *ḥadīth*s (see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt*, ii, 243-4), according to Ibn ʿAbbās. More sceptical, al-Djāḥiẓ did not omit to set these alleged retrograde mutations in the realm of fiction (*Ḥayawān*, i, 309).

By nature less inclined towards superstition than the nomads, the settled people of the Yemen and of ʿUmān were familiar with the baboons of their region and also with other monkeys imported from East Africa, and were able at a very early stage to domesticate the young animals and to use them for such menial services as turning millstones; butchers and grocers used them to guard their goods (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*). The cunning and agility of the monkey were also exploited by thieves for picking pockets and housebreaking. So the monkey became a part of the every-day life of man, to almost the same extent as the dog, and the term *ḳird* was no longer sufficient to differentiate between ages and sexes; a terminology based on exterior traits filled this gap. Thus the large male baboon was called *rubaḥ* or *rubbāḥ* (whence the form II verb *rabbaḥa* "to train monkeys"); he was known also as *ḳurduḥ*/*ḳurdūḥ*, *ḥawdal*, *ḥibn*, and his thick fur hood earned him the epithets *habbār*, *hawbar*. In the Ḥidjāz he was known as *hidjris*, a name for the fox in other countries. The female and the young monkey, smaller in stature than the male and with less hair, were known, according to different places and people, as *daḥya*, *ḳishsha*, *ilḳa*. In spite of these cases of domestication, which were in fact limited in number, relations between men and monkeys were not always so peaceable, and it happened quite often that as a result of the proliferation of the simian species, rural populations had to take issue with destructive and aggressive hordes; speaking of baboons, al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*. . ., 2nd clime, section 6) remarks that, in ʿUmān, it is sometimes necessary to repel them with spears and arrows, and al-Maḳrīzī notes (*Khiṭāṭ*, and quoted in the *Manhal al-ṣāfī* of Ibn Taghrībirdī) in referring to a *ḳāḍī* of Mogadishu in Somalia, that in about the year 800/1398 this town was actually invaded by monkeys which installed themselves there firmly, and that in 839/1435-6, the date of his meeting with the *ḳāḍī*, this permanent occupation was still going on, causing grave annoyance to the inhabitants.

In spite of a fundamental quality of mischief, encouraged by captivity and a sometimes extreme lewdness, stigmatised by the adage *azná min hidjris*, the Arabs recognised in the monkey qualities lacking in other animals, such as a concern for cleanliness expressed through a continuous and methodical process of delousing, its extreme agility, its astonishing ingenuity and above all its exceptional talent for imitation; these qualities were defined in proverbial expressions such as *aʿlam min hidjris* "more cunning than a monkey", *akyas min ḳishsha* "more sly than a she-monkey", *amlaḥ min rubbāḥ* "more pleasing than a baboon", *aḥkā min ḳird* "more imitative than an ape", and they summed all of this up in the antithesis *al-ḳird ḳabīḥ lākinnahu malīḥ* "rascal though he is, the monkey is agreeable".

The maritime trade of slavers and of Arab and Persian merchants in the Indian Ocean made known to the Muslim world a number of new species of cercopithics and a considerable trade in monkeys developed in the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The hunters, sea-farers from the coastal region of the Ḥaḍramawt, went by preference via the island of Socotra to the coast of East Africa (the country of the Zandj and the country of Sufāla) in search of the magnificent guereza colobes (*Colobus abyssinicus*) with its fine black pelt, an item of great luxury, exported at that time as far as Central Asia and Europe. Al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, 1st clime, section 7) speaks of an "Island of Monkeys" (*djazīrat al-ḳurūd*), in the Indian Ocean (perhaps the island of Pemba or that of Mafia?), where the hunters from Khuria-Muria and of Socotra went to trap monkeys (that is to say, the green monkeys *Cercopithecus callitrichs*, the vervets *Cerc. pygerythrus*, the moustacs *Cerc. cephus*, the grivets *Cerc. Aethiops* and the nisnas *Cerc. pyrrhonotus*) with the aid of small boats propelled to the coast by the tide and the currents. These boats contained delicacies for bait and on the gunwales

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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there were towing ropes manoeuvred by cords attached to the ship. Attracted by the food, the quadrumans soon crowded together in the boats and it was necessary only to operate the recovery ropes and to bring on board the teeming cargo; depending on the species, some were killed and their pelts sent to the fur market, and others, with collars on their necks, were sold at a high price either to merchants or to aristocratic collectors of rare beasts or to itinerant animal showmen.

It is known, from the chroniclers, and al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, i, § 485) confirms it, that princes of India and of China kept trained monkeys, whose role was to detect poison in food and drink; the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī was advised by Chinese ambassadors to avail himself of the same precaution. But, a century earlier, the Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya already had his monkey which accompanied him in processions, mounted on an ass (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*). The ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil received, from a king of Nubia, two monkeys, of which one could sew and the other model in clay. On the other hand, the sea-farers of Sīrāf and of ʿUmān, maintaining commercial links with India, the islands of Indonesia and China, were the principal source of information on Asiatic fauna and flora, information exploited by Arab geographers and encyclopaedists from the 3rd/10th to the 7th/13th century; these hardy adventurers brought back, on their return, specimens of quadrumans native to these regions, such as rhesus macaques (*Macaca mulatta*) and crab macaques (*Macaca irus*) and semnopithics or langurs, including the hanouman entellus (*Presbytis entellus*), all of these being untouchable beasts to the Indians. Certain of these monkeys were offered, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, by the *amīr* of ʿUmān, to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muḳtadir bi-llāh to complete his menagerie (*Murūdj*, i, § 487); with hunting dogs and falcons, monkeys were regarded as princely gifts and they were to figure among the presents sent by Hārūn al-Rashīd to Charlemagne on the occasion of the two exchanges of ambassadors between the two sovereigns (181-5/797-801).

For its part, the Maghrib was well acquainted with monkeys through the numerous colonies of apes, known as Barbary macaques (*Macaca inuus*) in the Atlas. Very tame and friendly animals, they are a tourist attraction in the valleys of the Chiffa, in Algeria, and it is well known with what vigilant care the British keep their few specimens imprisoned on the Rock of Gibraltar.

The monkey has always and everywhere had, with its grimaces its mimicry, its mischief and its agility, the power of amuse crowds; among showmen and jugglers, the exhibitor of monkeys (*ḳarrād*, *ḳurādātī*, *ḳuraydātī*) was assured, in the Islamic countries, of success in the company of strolling players, in public places, at fairs and in markets. Yemenis and Somalians were the experts in this profession, which, while relatively lucrative, was held in considerable contempt by the upper classes; so, according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, Ḵhālid b. Ṣafwān, in the course of an oratorical contest between the people of North and South Arabia, threw this insult at Ibrāhīm b. Maḵhrama al-Kindī: "You other Yemenis, you are nothing but exhibitors of monkeys..." In spite of this disapproval of public entertainers who were, it must be said, in many cases rogues, the mass of the people, both rural and urban, were attracted to open-air entertainments and to exhibitions of rare and "clever" animals, whether these were monkeys, dogs, bears, or goats. As trained quadrumans were a source of hilarity, the people readily abandoned the term *ḳird* to designate them, substituting expressions of a happier psychological effect; thus, in Syria and in Lebanon, the monkey was called *saʿdān* "lucky charm" and his trainer became the *saʿādnī*, while in Iran, ʿIrāḳ, Turkey and Egypt it was *maymūn*/*mīmūn* "fortune" which prevailed and which by a coincidence perhaps not fortuitous could quite well be linked to the Greek μιμώ "ape" from the verb μιμοῦμαι "imitate, mimic". In the same spirit, the entire Maghrib instinctively adopted, in parallel to the classical substratum, *ḳerd*/*gerd* (pl. *ḳrūd*, *krūda*/*grūd*, *grūda*) and the Berber *ibḳi* (pl. *ibḳan*) and *iddū* (pl. *iddawn*), the arabised Persian adjective *ṣḥādī* (pl. *ṣḥwāda*, *ṣḥwāda*, *ṣḥwādī*) "gay, joyous" which must have been introduced by the Turks and which ʿIrāḳ also made its own. Also in the Maghrib, the popular negro *Bū Saʿdiyya*, parodying black magicians, to the terror of small children, is often accompanied in his acts by a trained monkey, which he makes dance to the sound of the tambourine or of the *ghayṭa* [*q.v.*].

Arab authors have said very little about the tricks which the exhibitors of monkeys trained their pupils to perform. Al-Masʿūdī notes simply that the Nubian grivet exhibited in the fairs astonishes the audience by his surprising agility in climbing to the top of a spear fixed in the earth. As for al-Djāḥiẓ who, as an objective naturalist, enquired into the behaviour of monkeys employed by the *aṣḥāb al-ḳirada* (*Ḥayawān*, *passim*), he makes no mention of the kinds of acrobatics that were displayed in public. It is nevertheless easy to imagine them for anyone who has witnessed the displays given in Morocco by the wandering troupes of the Ulād Sīdī Aḥmed ū Mūsā, the native showmen of the Sus, with their performing monkeys, and this on the occasion of local patronal festivals like that of *Lālla Kassāba* (see E. Laoust, *Noms et cerémonies des feux de joie*, in *Hespéris* (1921), 44). In addition, the ambience of these travelling shows with their dense crowds of curious onlookers has been finely caught by Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] in his delightful *maḳāma ḳirdiyya* (*Maḳāmāt*, Cairo 1923, 104-6; Fr. tr. S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, Paris 1827, iii, 246-7) where the *ḳārrād* is none other than the waggish Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Iskandarī constrained by vicissitudes to occupy this dismal condition. One of the most familiar street characters, the exhibitor of monkeys, is not absent from the stories of the *Thousand and one nights*, notably in the very salacious tale of the nymphomaniac princess who ravished one of his animals (Nights 355-7).

In Islam, as elsewhere, to liken a man to a monkey was one of the most degrading insults. Among the Muslims of Spain, in periods of friction between the communities, while the pig and the dog were used as epithets for the Christians, the name "monkey" was generally reserved for the Jews, in reminiscence of the Ḳurʾānic verses quoted above (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, Paris 1953, 240-1). In Ifrīḳiya, under the Aghlabid dynasty, the *ḳāḍī*, in his zeal for *djihād* [*q.v.*], enjoined upon Jews and Christians the wearing on the shoulder of a square of cloth bearing the picture of a monkey in the case of Jews, and a pig in the case of Christians; these same symbols were to be shown on a board nailed to the door of their houses (according to al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs*, *apud* H. R. Idris, *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Ifrikiya*, in *REI* (1935), ii, 142). The satirical poets did not hesitate to use derogatory comparisons with monkeys to brand those whom they were attacking; this was

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done by the Andalusian Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī in referring to the famous *amīr* al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿĀmir (Pérès, *op. cit.*), as was done before him by Abū Nuwās, proclaiming his hatred of the Barmakids [see BARĀMIKA] in this opening verse *hāḏhā zamānu 'l-ḳurūdi. . .*, "This is the age of the apes. . ." (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1953, 519; Beirut 1962, 415).

Under the scheme of Ḳurʾānic law, eating the flesh of the monkey is forbidden, since the animal is omnivorous and has canine teeth; an additional and fundamental reason for this prohibition is the instinctive revulsion, which is natural to the primates, the family to which the human race belongs, for the idea of devouring another member of the same family. For the evolved human being, eating the meat of the ape would be close to cannibalism. Nevertheless, ancient medical opinion held the flesh of the monkey to be an effective preventive agent against elephantiasis (*djuḏhām*). Certain other parts of the animal, such as the teeth, the hair and the skin, possessed "specific qualities" (*ḵhawāṣṣ*) (see al-Damīrī, *loc. cit.*), which modern science has relegated to the rank of absurdity.

Finally, regarding the term *ḳird*, it should be noted that in astronomy the asterism ζ, λ *Canis majoris* and ύ, ϰ, θ, γ, λ, μ, ε *columbae* is wrongly called *al-Ḳurūd* "the Apes" in some treatises, a mistake arising from a misspelling of *al-Furūd* "the Hermits" (see A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, Algiers (1951), ix, 181).

With *ḳird*, there has not so far been any reference to other than colobids and cercopithecids; it might also be asked what conception the Arabs had of the large anthropomorphic, or anthropoid, apes. These number no more than eleven species world-wide, seven gibbons, two chimpanzees, one gorilla and one orang-outang; none of these species exists in Arabia, and to find them one must go either to Indonesia or to central Africa. It is impossible, however, not to see in one or other of these primates the mysterious *nasnās*/*nisnās* (pl. *nasānis*) of the mediaeval Arab writers, and there can be no doubt that such a "demi-man" with human face, and vertical stance, without a tail and possessing the faculty of speech, but also covered with a thick fleece, usually russet-coloured, was originally nothing other than an anthropomorphic ape observed by sea-faring Arab merchants of the Indian Ocean, and only the gibbon (*Hylobates lar*), found in Malaysia, Indochina, Burma and the Himalayas, corresponds fairly accurately to this description. Ibn al-Faḳīh, who is quoted by al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAḏjāʾib*, in the margin of al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, i, 191) and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] say, with reference to Sumatra (*ḏjazīrat al-Rāmnī* = Lambri), that "there are found there human beings of both sexes, who go bare-footed and without clothing. Their speech is incomprehensible and they live in the tree-tops. They are entirely covered with hair and they live on a diet of fruit; they constitute an innumerable people who flee at the approach of man . . . these beings are four spans in height, their language is a kind of whistling and their faces are covered with russet-coloured down. . ." Al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, 1st clime, section 8) adds that their movement through the trees is accomplished by means of the arms alone and no use is made of the feet, which gives the impression that they are flying from one branch to another. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, ii, 136) writes of the colonies of siamang gibbons (*Symphalangus syndactylus*) with black fleece and white mask which he encountered on the southern coasts of the Indies. As for the recently-discovered Asiatic orang-outang, the gorilla and the chimpanzees of Africa, these remained on the peripheries of knowledge until the 12th/18th century. Besides, in so far as they were known, their height, greater than that of man, meant that they could not be identified with the half-man which the *nasnās* is, by definition; the root *n.-s.-n.-s.* evokes in fact the idea of smallness and weakness. The reports of those who saw gibbons were rapidly distorted by the imagination of those who transmitted them to the point where the *nasnās* became a monstrous semi-anthropomorphic creature, one-eyed and one-legged, moving with successive bounds at a tremendous speed, in times past hunted for its meat in the Yemen. With the *shiḳḳ*, another half-human monster, the *nasnās* is not without analogy with the *monoculus* and the *satyrus* of Pliny. Understandably, sceptical minds demanded visual proof of the existence of such phenomena and to this end the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil, according to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūḏj*, i, § 491), instructed the famous doctor and translator Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] to find for him some of these curiosities; it seems that the scholar brought back from his explorations two authentic *nasnās*, but nothing further is known of the episode.

Modern philologists, like P. Anastase-Marie, have gone so far as to see in the term *nasnās* the Greek νανος "dwarf" (see Amīn Maʿlūf, *Muʿḏjam al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932, s.v. *Ape*, 13-18); it cannot be denied that the two words have the same sense and one would thus be led to see, in the origin of *nasnās*, besides the gibbon, a human pygmy. Al-Ḏjāḥiẓ, while not believing in them, lists a number of these fabulous beings which really existed in the popular imagination, and, this being an interesting fact, he assimilates the *nasnās* to the *wāḳ-wāḳ* and to the people of Gog and Magog (*Ḥayawān*, i, 189; vii, 178). Now the Arab geographers recognised three countries jointly said to be the land or the island of the *Wāḳ-Wāḳ* (or the *Wāḳ-Wāḳs*), the first situated below the country of the Zandj [*q.v.*], beyond Sufāla "of gold" (Mozambique); the second in the most eastern islands of Malaysia (the Philippines, Celebes, the Moluccas); and the third in the extreme north of the Sino-Asiatic continent; it is found that these three countries correspond quite closely to those inhabited by particularly small peoples, the Negrillos and the Akkas in Africa, the Negritos in Malaysia, in Deccan and in the southern Himalayas, and the Lapps, the Samoyedes, the Tungus and other nomadic ethnic groups of the arctic and sub-arctic regions. It may thus be supposed that those who encountered these pygmy people by chance identified them in their accounts with the *nasnās*, as had also been the case with the gibbon; and a detail which may corroborate this interpretation is the insistence of the authors on the faculty of speech attributed to the *nasnās*. Nevertheless, there remains the mystery of the alleged existence of the *nasnās* in the Yemen, and we can hardly be satisfied by the *ḥadīṯ* (see *LA*, under *n.-s.-s.*) according to which the *nasnās* were the metamorphoses of men from the two cursed tribes of ʿĀd and Thamūd [*q.vv.*]. Was there, in Arabia, a small anthropoid ape, or a race of human pygmies? The question and its solution belong to the realm of palaeontology and of prehistory.

In fact, in historical times, the Arab peoples, having never encountered this fabulous *nasnās* in their own countries, quite naturally applied the term to all the small long-tailed flat-faced African monkeys with which the exhibitors made them

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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familiar (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 353-4), and modern systematic practice has simply ratified the vox populi in retaining the name "nisnas" and applying it to the Somalian *Cercopithecus pyrrhonotus*. In conclusion, having been born out of confused images of the gibbon and a pygmy in travellers' tales, to become subsequently a monstrous human mutation blighted by divine punishment, the *nasnās* has finally been placed, by common logic, in one of the families defined by *ḳird*.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makẖlūḳāt*, and Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1356/1937; Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadẖānī, *K. al-Buldān*, tr. H. Massé, *Abrégé du livre des pays*, Damascus 1973; Ibn Taghrībirdī-G. Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Ṣāfī*, Cairo 1932; Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ* (*K. Rudjār*), ed. Leiden, *Opus geographicum*, 5 fascs., 1970-5; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Cairo 1346/1928; N. Elisséef, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une nuits*, Beirut 1949; R. and D. Morris, *Men and apes* (with bibliogr.), London 1966, Fr. tr. *Hommes et singes*, Paris 1967, and coll. "Marabout", MU No. 219, Paris 1971; M. Lombard, *La chasse et les produits de la chasse dans le monde musulman (VIII^e-XI^e siècle)*, in *Annales ESC* (May-June 1969); B. Heuvelmans, *Sur la piste des bêtes ignorées* (ch. "Les bêtes à face humaine d'Indo-Malaisie"), Paris 1955, i, 13-233; E. G. Boulenger, *Les singes*, Paris 1942. (F. Viré)

KIRESUN [see GIRESŪN].

ḲIRGIZ, a Turkish people, mentioned as early as the oldest Chinese accounts of Central Asia (from the 2nd century A.D.) under the name Kien-Kuen, which according to P. Pelliot (*JA*, Ser. 2, vol. xv, 137) goes back to a Mongol word, singular *ḳirḳun*. The lands of the Kirgiz are not exactly defined in these sources; according to a very reliable source, the land of the Kien-Kuen lay north-west of the land of the K'ang-Kiu, i.e. of Sogdiana. The name ḲIrghīz first appears in the Orkẖon inscriptions of the 8th century; at that time the Kirgiz (as the contemporary Chinese annals also tell us) lived on the Upper Yenisei (Turkish Kem), north of the Kög-men or Sayan mountains. The same name (Kūkmān) is also mentioned in Gardīzī (W. Barthold, *Otčet o poezdke v Srednyuyu Aziyu*, 86 = ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 262); according to this source, the capital of the Khān of the Kirgiz was 7 days' journey north of these mountains. There is also said that the Kirgiz had red hair and a white colour of skin (*surkẖī-i mūy wa sapīdī-i pūst*), which is explained by their alleged relationship with the Slavs; the same anthropological features, of which there is no longer any trace among the modern Kirgiz, are mentioned in the Chinese *T'ang-shu*; linguistically, the Kirgiz were then already Turkicised. They did not come to the fore politically till about 840 A.D., when they succeeded in conquering the lands of the Uyghur in Mongolia. Nothing was known in Muslim lands of this event; Marquart's endeavour (*Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 91-2) to connect with this the story in Djāḥiz of the defeats of the Toghuzghuz, can be utterly rejected; like Ḳudāma (ed. de Goeje, 262, l. 13) Djāḥiz only refers to the hostility between the Toghuzghuz and the Kharlukh (Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*]). Iṣṭakẖrī (ed. de Goeje, 9-10) and others mention the Kirgiz (Khirkẖīz) as eastern neighbours of the Kimāk [see KIMĀK] and as northern neighbours of the Kharlukh and Toghuzghuz; in the east their lands are said to have stretched to the ocean. The most important article of export for trade with Muslim lands was musk. The ethnic and historical continuity between the Kirgiz and the people living today under the same name in the USSR is supposed but not proved. The Kirgiz were probably driven out of Mongolia in connection with the foundation of the empire of the Khitāy in the beginning of the 10th century [see ḲARĀ KHIṬĀY] and the advance of the Mongol peoples; on the other hand, a body of Kirgiz must have migrated as early as this century southwards to the present abode of the genuine Kirgiz (Kara Kirgiz); according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 18a, tr. Minorsky, 98, comm. 293-4, even the town of Pančūl (the modern Aḳsu in Chinese Turkestan) was in possession of the Kirgiz. The Kirgiz are not mentioned again in this region till the 16th century; what the Chinese Č'ang-Te, who was there in 1259, records of the Kirgiz (especially on the use of dog-sledges, cf. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, i, 129) he had only been told, and did not see himself, and these stories probably do not refer to the people of the land he passed through. The main body of the people had probably remained on the Upper Yenisei; the Ḳarā Khiṭāy when driven out of North China had to fight with these Kirgiz during their trek westwards. In the fertile region of the modern administrative district of Minusinsk the Kirgiz gradually adopted agriculture and a settled mode of life. According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (f. 17b, tr. Minorsky, 97, comm. 286) there was only one town among the Kirgiz, called Kemidjkat, where their Khāḳān lived, and no other towns or villages, but only tents; on the other hand, Rashīd al-Dīn says (ed. Berezin, *Trudī Vost. Otd. Arkẖ. Obshč.* vii, 168-9) that the Kirgiz had "many towns and villages". From these and similar statements Radloff has drawn the conclusion (*JA*, Ser. 6, vol. ii, 328) that the present state of Kirgiz culture is much lower than it used to be.

In the 13th century the Kirgiz on the Yenisei had to submit to the Mongols under Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*]. Negotiations for their submission were already begun in 1207, but it was only settled in 1218 when the last rebellion was put down. After the decline of the empire of the descendants of Čingiz Khān the Kirgiz had sometimes to be under the yoke of the Mongols, sometimes of the Kalmucks, and sometimes of the Russians; in 1607 they recognised the suzerainty of the Ḳazāḳ, but by 1609 we find them killing a tax-collector sent by the Ḳazāḳ. In 1642 they were described by the Kalmuck Khān Batur as Kalmuck, in 1646 by the Russian plenipotentiary Daniyil Arshinskiy as Russian subjects. In 1703 they were transferred by the Kalmucks, by arrangement with Russia, southwards to the region of the modern Semirečye; they are then said to have numbered 3,000-4,000 tents. As mentioned above, a portion of the Kirgiz had migrated at a much earlier date; shortly after 1514 a certain Muḥammad is mentioned as being invested as Khān of the Kirgiz by Saʿīd Khān the ruler of the Mongols (*Taʾrīkẖ-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. D. Ross, London 1895, 141); in the 16th century the Kirgiz were for the most part under the rule of the Khāns of the Ḳazāḳ. The Kirgiz were called *Burut* by Kalmucks; they were nearly all driven out from Semirečye to Farghāna and Ḳarātegīn; it was only after the destruction of the Kalmuck empire by the Chinese (1758-9) that they returned to their old settlements in the southern part of Semirečye. At this date the name Kirgiz was transferred to the Ḳazāḳ by the Russians; to distinguish them from the latter, the true Kirgiz were called

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Black Kirgiz (Ḳarā Ḳïrghïz). The term "Ḳarā" was never adopted by the people themselves and is now definitely repudiated. In Semirečye, the Ḳarā Ḳïrghïz, outwardly at least, professed Islam; in their epic, which takes its name from the principal hero Manas, the wars against the Kalmucks are described as wars of religion. Unlike the Ḳazāḳ, the Ḳarā Ḳïrghïz had neither princes or nobles; the elders, called *Manap*, were not chosen by any kind of election but owed their position entirely to their personal influence. Owing to the continual state of war, the tribes of the Ḳarā Ḳïrghïz did not break up into small subdivisions as was the case with the tribes of the Ḳazāḳ; an *aul* (camp) of the Ḳarā Ḳïrghïz comprised the members of a whole tribe and therefore occupied a much greater area than an *aul* of the Ḳazāḳ. In the 18th century authority over the Ḳarā Ḳïrghïz was claimed by the Chinese, in the 19th first by the Özbegs in Farghāna and later by the Russians; the final establishment of Russian rule dates from 1864. The prosperity of the Ḳarā Ḳïrghïz has been seriously affected by the Russian colonisation and particularly by the rising of 1916, when a considerable portion of the people migrated to China; the Russian government resolved—but nothing came of it owing to the revolution of 1917—to take from the Ḳarā Ḳïrghïz all their grazing-grounds except the valley of the Tekes and to throw these lands open for Russian colonisation.

Until recently in both Russia and Western Europe the name "Kirgiz" meant particularly the Ḳazāḳ; they are sometimes called also "Kirgiz-Kaisak" (Kaisak, corrupted from Kazak, to distinguish them from the Russian Cossacks). On the separation of the Ḳazāḳ, from the Özbeg, cf. ABU 'L-KHAYR and ḲAZĀḲ. The whole of the Ḳazāḳ people was for long under the rule of one Khān who therefore had a considerable military force at his disposal; Khān Ḳāsim (d. 924/1518) was particularly powerful. In spite of several defeats from the Mongols allied with the Özbegs in the 16th century, the Ḳazāḳ still had a strong nomadic kingdom at the end of this century under the rule of Khān Tawakkul, who, during the last years of the reign of Khān ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar [*q.v.*] was able to make a successful incursion into Mā warā al-Nahr, and later still even held the town of Tāshkent. In the 17th century the power of the Khāns only rarely extended over the whole people; but about this time Tāshkent and Farghāna were usually in the possession of the Ḳazāḳ, sometimes under nominal recognition of the suzerainty of the Khāns of the Özbegs. At this time must have taken place the division of the Ḳazāḳ into three "Hordes" (called by the Ḳazāḳ themselves *djüz* "hundred"; the great horde (*ulu djüz*) occupied the most easterly, the little (*kishi djüz*) the most westerly part of the so-called "Kirgiz steppes" and between the two the central horde (*orta djüz*). Towards the end of the 17th century this division was already an accomplished fact. Khān Tyawka, celebrated as the law-giver of his people (in 1694 a Russian embassy was received by him in the town of Turkistān and in 1698 one from the Kalmucks), still ruled all three Hordes and had a representative in each of them. In 1717 unsuccessful negotiations for the submission of all three Hordes to Peter the Great were conducted; in 1723 the towns of Sayrām, Tāshkent and Turkistān were conquered by the Kalmucks. For a short period after this, the suzerainty of the Khān of the Little Horde was recognised by all the Ḳazāḳ and the agreement embodying this was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse; but the treaty had no practical results. In 1730, Abu 'l-Khayr negotiated with Russia and concluded a treaty by which he declared himself and his people Russian subjects. This treaty was renewed several times in the 18th century; but it was not till the 19th century, especially after 1847, when the Russians were firmly established on the southern frontier of the Kirgiz steppes on the Sïr Daryā, that Russian rule became definitely established over the steppes and their inhabitants. The eastern part of the steppes was administered from Siberia and the western from Orenburg; regulations for the government of the Siberian Ḳazāḳ were published in 1822 and again in 1868. Even after the abolition of the Khān's authority, the descendants of Čingiz Khān or "Sultans" exercised a considerable influence over the people as a nobility (among the Ḳazāḳ called "white bones", *aḳ süyek*); their authority has been gradually destroyed by the measures of the Russian Government. The last popular leader of the Ḳazāḳ was Kenesarï, who fought against the authorities in Siberia and Orenburg from 1842 in the mountains of Ala Tau; several risings were stirred up until 1873 by his son Sadik (so-called by the Russians, properly Ṣiddīḳ). Another son, Aḥmad, later wrote the life of his father Kenesarï and of his brother Sadik, entitled: *Sultanï Kenisara i Sadik. Biografičeskiye očerki sultana Akhmeta Kenisarina. Obrabotano dlya pečati i snabženo primečaniyami E. T. Smirnovïm*, Tashkent 1889 (review by V. Rosen in *Zap.*, iv, 122-3).

The most southern part of the Kirgiz steppes was conquered in the 19th century by the Özbegs of Farghāna and Khīwa and partly colonised; the advance of the Russians in this part was therefore assisted by the Ḳazāḳ. After the foundation of the general-gouvernement of Turkestan (1867) and the general-gouvernement of the Steppes (1882) (Semirečye belonged at first to the latter, but was later again united to Turkestan), the government of Kirgiz steppes had less unity than before. On the other hand, after the Revolution an administrative unit was established called at first by the Russians the "Kirgiz Republic" and by the people themselves "Ḳazāḳïstān". Today the Kirgiz form one of the Union Republics in the USSR. The number of the population in the Kirgiz Socialist Soviet Republic was 3,145,000 in 1973 (43.8% Kirgiz, 24.2% Russians, 11.3% Uzbeks, etc.). The whole number of Kirgiz living in the USSR was 1,452,000 in 1970. The number of Kirgiz living in China and Afghanistan is over 100,000. The Kirgiz language belongs to the northwestern (Kipchak) group of Turkic languages.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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KIRID [see IḲRĪTĪSH].

ḲĪRĪM, a peninsula jutting out into the Black Sea south of the Ukraine (Russian Krïm; English Crimea; French Crimée; German Krim; with an area of 25,500 km²), connected with the mainland by the isthmus *ca.* 8 km. wide of Perekop (in Turkish Or Ḳapï), and ending to the east in the peninsula of Kerč [*q.v.*]. The northern and central parts are flat; to the south lies a mountainous area consisting of three ranges, the most southern of which, Mt. Yayla (1,545 m. high), falls down steeply to the coastal strip. The climate is relatively mild and on the south-eastern coast similar to that of the Mediterranean area. The water of the few rivers and brooks—especially that of the Salghïr—is used for irrigation. The flat grounds are cultivated; in the mountains there are pastures besides woods, and wine-growing is not without importance. Some minerals are found (iron ore near Kerč, fluorspar near Sevastopol) and at present there is also all kinds of industry.

In antiquity, the peninsula was inhabited by the Scythians. From the 6th century B.C. onwards, Greek colonies existed on the coasts. Around 480 B.C. these formed the Bosporean State, whereas in the 1st century B.C. they belonged for a short time to the Pontian kingdom. From 63 B.C. onwards, the Roman Empire wielded supreme rule (see *Paulys Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, new ed. by G. Wissowa, vi. Halbband, Stuttgart 1899, cols. 2254-69; H. G. Gundel, *Die Krim im Altertum*, in *Das Gymnasium*, liii (1942), 117-38). In the 4th century A.D. first the Goths came, then the Huns. Until 1239 the Byzantine empire held the Chersonese (Old Russian Korsun'), while the main part of the peninsula belonged to the territory of the Khazars [*q.v.*]. During the 10th and 11th centuries there was the Russian colony Tmutarakan' (probably near modern Taman'), important in relations with Byzantium. From around 1030 the peninsula was dominated by the Kumans or Ḳïpčaḳ [*q.v.*], and from 1239 by the Tatars of the Golden Horde. They also wielded a sort of supreme rule over the Genoese colonies that came into existence here (since 1261-5, especially in Kaffa, mod. Feodosiya, see KEFE). These colonies took over the role of the Byzantine Chersonese and became of great significance for trade with Byzantium and the Mediterranean area until their downfall in 1475. They were to a certain extent tributary to the Tatars. Occasional plunderings of these towns by the Golden Horde (see BATU'IDS), e.g. in 1298-9, or sieges, e.g. 1343, remained incidental.

Ḳïrïm is only rarely mentioned by the Arab geographers (and even then partly following the Italian reports, as by Idrīsī). The first contact with Islam dates from a campaign of the Rūm Saldjūḳid sultan Kay Ḳubād ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn II [*q.v.*] (616-34/1219-36). After the Golden Horde occupied the peninsula, first in 1223 and then, definitively, in 1238-9, the religious situation did not change immediately. At the instigation of the Egyptian Mamlūks (who entertained trade relations with the peninsula) a mosque was erected at Old Ḳïrïm (also Solkhat/Solghad); another was built later by the Khān Özbeg (712-42/1313-41) [*q.v.*].

During the latter's reign, Sunni Islam had gained a firm footing among the Tatars of Ḳïrïm, like among the rest of the Golden Horde. From Egypt shortlived influences of the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] asserted themselves.

Next, there existed of old also Jewish settlements, but little is known about them in these centuries except from tombstones. Karaites or Ḳarāʾīm [*q.v.*] were found at Čufut Ḳale, and the Orthodox Christians had a bishopric of Gothia at Old Ḳïrïm. Western or Latin Christianity, supported mainly by the Franciscans, was represented by the Genoese until the downfall of the latter in 1475. Already in 1261 a Latin bishop is mentioned, and in 1318 the bishopric of Kaffa was founded. Its jurisdiction stretched from Varna (in modern Bulgaria) to Sarāy [*q.v.*], the capital of the Golden Horde. The bishopric of Cherson, which came into being in 1303, was definitively established in 1333, with parishes in the individual towns. From here efforts were made to effect a union with the other Christians and to start missionary work among the Tatars, but at the end of the 14th century these attempts came to an end for lack of success. From 1351 until after 1370 there had even existed a Latin bishopric at Sarāy.

In the 14th century, during embittered fights with the Venetians in the Mediterranean and the Aegean Sea, the Genoese founded trading factories in Sughdaḳ (Russian Surož), in Balaklava (then Cembalo), in modern Sevastopol, in Tana (Azóv, Turkish Azaḳ [*q.v.*]) and in Moncastro (Aḳ Kirmān [*q.v.*], Rumanian Cetatea Albă, since 1368) to the west of the mouth of the Dnēstr. Until 1343 the Venetians had a colony at Tana (Azóv). Besides Italians, who had their own rule and system of justice, there were living in these towns Arabs from various Near Eastern lands; Turks from Anatolia; Lurs [*q.v.*]; Greeks; and above all, such a large number of Armenians that Ḳïrïm was sometimes called Armenia Magna or Armenia Maritima. About the Crimean Goths we are informed by reports of the 13th century, and latterly in the 16th century by Augier Ghislain de Busbecq, ambassador of the Austrian emperor to Süleymān II (see E. S. Forster, *The Turkish letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, Oxford 1927, repr. 1968; W. von den Steinen, *Vier Briefe Busbecqs aus der Türkei*, 1926). Since that time they have merged with the Ḳïrïm Tatars.

The Mongols of the Golden Horde had a governor on the peninsula (*ḥākim* or *wālī*), who kept up his own diplomatic relations with the Nile valley. We hear also of an "*amīr* of the right wing" and "of the left wing of the army". Until the middle of the 15th century Ḳïrïm, thinly populated except for the coasts, remained a centre, especially through Byzantine intermediaries on the Dardanelles, for trade with Egypt. For a long period *via* the Ḳïrïm slaves

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(Mamlūks) were sent to that country, while all kind of goods (fine shawls, perfumes and the like) found their way from there to Ḳīrīm, and further to the Volga along the road of Sughdaḳ, Old Ḳīrīm, and Perekop. Trade with Anatolia was also important. The traffic was later taken over by Trebizond, which had remained Byzantine until 1462. The Genoese brought European goods (linen and ceramics) to Ḳīrīm and to further on. In the 15th century especially, the commercial highway ran along the bank of the Bug *via* Luck and Lemberg to Breslau.

Both in Old Ḳīrīm, the peninsula's seat of government in these centuries, and in Eski Yurt, many goods were warehoused. The currents of trade manifested themselves also in the artistic construction of buildings and in ceramics. These showed influences from Sarāy, Salḏjūḳid Asia Minor, Egypt and the Genoese colonies, as we know since the excavations of 1924-8. Besides trade, a part was played by the manufacture of salt, the gathering of honey (which went as far as Khʷārazm) and grapes, and by horse-breeding and tanning.

Notwithstanding all these developments, Ḳīrīm remained until the 15th century only an annexe of the Golden Horde and occasionally a refuge for ambitious claimants in their struggle for power, like Nolkhay in 1291 and Mamay in 1359. Around 1345-8, 85,000 persons allegedly fell victim to the Black Death, and in 1395 the peninsula was ravaged by Tīmūr. Attempts of the double kingdom of Poland and Lithuania to push as far as the Black Sea and to endanger also Ḳīrīm were foiled in 1399 by the victory of the "mayor of the palace" Edigü (Russian Yedigey) on the Vorskla. The latter had his base here during his struggle with Witold of Lithuania, until he died in 1419.

During the civil wars which ravaged the Golden Horde from 1359 onwards, princes of the Mongol ruling dynasty who were descendants of Čingiz Khān and his grandson Togha Temür (the son of Djoči), had settled on various occasions in the peninsula. At the beginning of the 15th century they had apparently adopted the family-name of Girāy [*q.v.*] or Kerey. Relying upon the noble family of the Shīrīn, Devlet Berdi had established himself in Ḳīrīm after 1426, and in 1427 he tried to enter again into relations with Egypt. But he (and since 1427 also his brother Ḥādjdjī Girāy [*q.v.*]) encountered opposition from the ruler of the Great (until then, the Golden) Horde. In August 1449 Ḥādjdjī formally declared himself ruler of Ḳīrīm. With the help of the Turkish sultan and the Polish-Lithuanian king Casimir IV, he was able to hold out until his death in 1466, first in his residence Ḳirḳ Yer and later in the valley of Bāghče Sarāy [*q.v.*]. He and later his son again and again took in fugitives of the decaying Great Horde, and they thus became rulers of the strongest among the Tatar states that came into being. On the northern shore of the Black Sea a strip of land where the Noghāys [*q.v.*] lived, and since 1484 also the Budjāḳ [*q.v.*], came gradually under the rule of the Ḳīrīm Khāns.

After rather lengthy succession disputes, Mengli Girāy I [*q.v.*], one of Ḥādjdjī Girāy's eight sons, got the upper hand. He was to become the real founder of the independent Ḳīrīm state, in spite of the fact that he had to recognise Ottoman supremacy after the conquest of Kaffa in 1475 by the Sultan's troops. The Girāy family was then recognised as enjoying in Ḳīrīm the sole rights of succession and immunity. Since Islām Girāy II (992-6/1584-8) [*q.v.*], their name was mentioned in the *khuṭba* after the Sultan's; they had the right to strike their own coins; and they could grant asylum. They remained independent in internal policy and had at their disposal a richly-ramified officialdom which followed more and more the Ottoman Turkish pattern. Under the continuous political preponderance of the Sultan, co-operation between the two states generally passed off without too much friction, in spite of many dangerous tensions at times. Joint military expeditions were regularly organised; in 1476 and 1538 into Moldavia, in 1543 for the first time into Hungary. From the time when the Turks had conquered Kilia and Aḳ Kirmān (1484) and the Poles had been defeated in Moldavia (1497), the khanate of Ḳīrīm was in direct contact with the Turkish dominions in the Balkan peninsula. In the north-east the Čerkes [*q.v.*] and Kabards [*q.v.*] were subjects of the Ḳīrīm-Khāns, and thus the Black Sea became until 1739 a Turkish-Tatar inland sea.

Relations with the Christian powers in the north changed when, from 1470-2 onwards, Casimir IV decided to co-operate more and more with the Great Horde. The Ḳīrīm Khāns turned to the Grand Dukes of Moscow, who between 1468 and 1571 were exempted from paying tribute. With certain fluctuations in details, both states remained loyal to this alliance until the fall of the Great Horde in 1502, and even extended it, while the kings of Poland-Lithuania in 1480 and later repeatedly neglected their commitments to the Horde. From that period onwards, this double kingdom was exposed to attacks from both the Muscovites and the Ḳīrīm-Tatars, who again and again invaded Podolia, Volhynia and Galicia and more than once laid Kiev, Černigov and other towns under contribution (for the Tatar incursions between 1474 and 1569, see J. Ochmański, *Organizacja obrony przed Tatarami w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskim* ("The organisation of the defence against the Tatars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania"), in *Studia i materiały do historii wojskowości* ("Studies for the history of the army"), v (1960), 349-98, esp. 362-4). Under these circumstances the Great Horde got into great difficulties, especially after the death of Khān Aḥmed in January 1481. Until the very end of this state, officers, soldiers and even princes of the ruling house continued to desert to the Ḳīrīm-Khāns (see M. Małowist, *Kaffa: kolonia genueńska na Krymie i problem wschodni w latach 1453-1475* ("Kaffa, the Genoese colony in the Crimea and the eastern problem in 1453-75"), Warsaw 1947 (*Prace Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego* ("Publications of the Historical Institute of the University of Warsaw"), ii). Even after a temporary treaty of peace between the Grand Duchy of Moscow and Lithuania in 1493, the latter's contact with Ḳīrīm remained so close that the Khāns were able to mediate in 1496 for the establishing of diplomatic Russian-Turkish relations, initially in the main for commercial reasons (see V. E. Syroečkovskiy, *Puti i snoshen'ya Moskvi s Krimom na rubeže xvi veka* ("Ways and relations of Moscow with the Crimea at the turn of the 16th century"), in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, iii (1932).

When in June 1502 the Great Horde was finally defeated to the east of Kiev and close to where the Desna joins the Dnyĕpr, and their last Khān was forced to flee to Lithuania (where he was executed in 1505), the Ḳīrīm Khān, in accordance with his claim, assumed the rights of the former Golden Horde and demanded tribute "without subterfuge" from Moscow and Lithuania. To the Grand Duke of Lithuania he offered a treaty "after straightening

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out relations". In addition, Mengli Girāy felt himself responsible for the security of the khānates of Ḳāzān [*q.v.*] and Astrakhān [*q.v.*] and thus ran into increasing difficulties with Moscow (K. Pułaski, *Mendli-Girāy* (sic), *chan Tatarów perekopskich* ("Mengli-Giray, Khan of the Perekop Tatars"), Warsaw 1882). Under these circumstances, a treaty with Sigismund I Augustus (1506-48) of Poland and Lithuania was of great importance to Mengli Girāy I. But the negotiations had not yet been concluded when the Ḳırım Khān died at a great age in 1515 (J. Pajewski, *Projekt przymierza polsko-tureckiego za Zygmunta Augusta* ("A project of treaty between Poland and Turkey under Sigismund Augustus"), in *Księga ku Czci Oskara Haleckiego*, Warsaw 1935).

Under Mengli Girāy I, Ḳırım reached its cultural zenith. The area was opened up to Ottoman Turkish culture. Artists from the Islamic cultural environment and also Italian, often Genoese, artisans who had remained in the country after 1475, such as Augustino da Garibaldi and Vincento da Zugulfi, found work here, especially as architects and stone carvers. Intellectual and literary circles came also into being. Of special artistic importance was the Khān's palace at Bāghče Saray [*q.v.*], whither Mengli Girāy had transferred his residence from Old Ḳırım. It is actually in ruins today, but the Zendjirli Madrasa has been preserved.

In view of the position of power which Meḥmed Girāy I (1515-22) [*q.v.*]) had inherited from his father (V. E. Syroečkovskiy, *Muchammed-Geraj i ego vassali* ("Meḥmed-Girāy and his vassals"), in *Učëniye Zapiski Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, lxi (1940)), the new Khān also aspired to the position of the Golden Horde and wanted to unite all Tatars under his rule. His son Ṣāḥib Girāy [*q.v.*] in 1521 succeeded in driving away a Khān of Ḳāzān who was friendly to Moscow and, in spite of the resistance of Astrakhān, in incorporating his territory into that of his father. Having become Khān (1532-51) after his father had been murdered and Islām Girāy I [*q.v.*] had been put aside, he did not however succeed in holding out after a defeat inflicted on him by Moscow on the Oka in 1541 (Ö. Gökbilgin, *Tarih-i Sahib Giray han (1532-1551)*, crit. ed., tr., notes and glossary, Erzurum 1973 (Atatürk Universitesi yayınları 212)). On the contrary, Ivan IV the Terrible (1533-84) who had born the title of Tsar since 1547, carefully collected his forces for a campaign which brought under his control Ḳāzān [*q.v.*] in October 1552, and Astrakhān [*q.v.*], firstly in 1554 and definitively in 1556. Thus the Volga valley was opened up to Russia right down to the Caspian Sea, the waterway to Caucasia and the north coast of Persia lay free and the Russians got an extensive new region for settlement. Dawlat (Dewlet) Girāy I (1551-77 [*q.v.*]) finally saw himself confined to the Ḳırım Khanate and its northern hinterland. After the manifold disturbances of the preceding decades he tried to collaborate again with Poland-Lithuania, which saw itself more and more threatened by Moscow and both of which merged into one single state in the Union of Lublin in 1569 (Ö. Gökbilgin, *1532-1577 yılları arasında Kırım Hanlığı'nin siyasi durumu*, Ankara 1973 (Atatürk Üniversitesi yayınları 289)).

However, the Khān was dissatisfied, as was Sultan Süleymān II, by the fact that so many Muslims had become subject to Orthodox Christian sovereignty. The two sovereigns entered upon a close treaty of alliance and for the time being supported Tatar revolts against the supremacy of Moscow; these revolts are echoed in the legends around Čora Batir (Saʿādat Šākir, *Čora Batyr. Eine Legende in dobrudscha-tatarischer Mundart*, Cracow 1935). Dewlet Girāy attempted to relieve them by marching against Russia in 1555. But his fear that the Sultan might enlarge his influence in Ḳırım by stationing his own troops there made him abandon a plan of supporting the Ottomans effectively. Thus the Sultan received little help from the Ḳırım Khān for his attempt to connect with a canal the Volga and the Don, at the place where they draw the nearest to each other (near modern Volgograd). He could rely only on the Noghāys [*q.v.*]. Consequently, when in the winter of 1569 the Turkish troops were defeated between Astrakhān and the Sea of Azov, the enterprise of Selīm II fell through. He had hoped to establish in Ḳırım a base for his campaign against Shiʿi Ṣafawid Persia, and to activate from there economic relations with Central Asia (H. İnalcık, *Osmanlı-Rus rekabetinin menşei ve Don-Volga kanalı teşebbüsü* (1569), in *Belleten* xii 146 (1948), 349-402; Eng. text in *AÜDTCFD* (1947), 47-106; A. N. Kurat, *Türkiye ve İdil boyu. 1569 Astarhan seferi, Ten-İdil kanalı ve XVI-XVII yüzyıl Osmanlı-Rus münasebetleri*, Ankara 1966 (*AÜDTDF* Yayınları 151); P. A. Sadikov, *Pokhod Tatar i Turok na Astrakhan v 1569 godu* ("The campaign of the Tatars and Turks against Astrakhan in 1569"), in *Istoričeskiye Zapiski*, xxii, Moscow 1947, 132-66). When in 1571 the Turkish fleet became decisively weakened by the defeat at Lepanto [see AYNA-BAKHTĪ], any plan of a Turkish advance against Russia had to be abandoned. On the other hand, Ḳırım was thus freed from the feared guardianship of the Sultan, although it also lost his direct protection.

The Khān availed himself immediately of this freedom at his rear to march against Moscow. In 1571 the city fell for the last time into Tatar hands and was burnt down. The Tsar was forced to declare himself prepared to resume paying tribute (*tlsh/tlylsh*). It was only Peter the Great who was able to free himself decisively from this obligation. At this point, the Tsar was unable to counter-attack, as a result of his military engagements in the west in regard to Livonia.

Ḳāzān and Astrakhān thus remained in Russian hands. In order to change this situation, Khān Meḥmed II, the Fat (Semiz; reigned 1577-84) made new endeavours (Kırımlı Abdulla oğlu Hasan, *İkinci Mehmed Giray Han/Khān Meḥmed Girāy II*, in *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi*, iii (1934), 1). Since Turkish help failed to come because of the war with Persia (1578-90), the Khān sought an alliance against Moscow with Poland, Lithuania and even with Pope Gregory XIII. He held out a prospect of conversion to Roman Catholicism, which caused the Popes to send several ambassadors between 1571 and 1583. A Ḳırım embassy was honourably received at Vilna in 1579 (Stanisław Kryczyński, *Nieudana misja katolicka wśród muzułmanów litewskich w XVI w.* ("A failed Catholic mission among the Lithuanian Muslims in the 16th century"), in *Przegląd Islamski* (1935), 3/4, 11-14).

But not even in this way could Meḥmed Girāy II achieve a real success. He was forced to put *ca.* 5,000 soldiers at the disposal of the Sultan for the war against Persia. When the successor to the throne, the Kalghāy [*q.v.*], was taken captive by the Persians, the Khān himself interfered in the war against the Shāh. This led to friction with the Sublime Porte and in the course of the ensuing unrest in Ḳırım, the Khān was murdered in 1584.

The new Khān, Ghāzī Girāy II (1588-1608) [*q.v.*],

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got the upper hand after lengthy disturbances. He also came forward as a poet (H. Ertaylan, *Gazi Geray Han, hayatı ve eserleri*, Istanbul 1958; C. M. Kortepeter, *Gazi Giray II, Khan of Crimea, and Ottoman policy in eastern Europe and the Caucasus, 1588-1594*, in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xliv/102 (1966), 139-66). His attack against Moscow in 1591 failed, and during the Turkish campaign against Hungary of 1592-1606 he had, in the same way as his predecessor, to provide troops for the Sultan, which on various occasions led to friction (B. Kocowski, *Wyprawa Tatarów na Węgry przez Polskę w 1594 r.*, Lublin 1948; M. Alekberli, *Bor'ba Ukrainskogo naroda protiv turetsko-tatarskoy agressii vo vtoroy polovine XVI/pervoy polovine XVII vekov* ("The struggle of the Ukranian people against the Turkish-Tatar attack in the 2nd half of the 16th and the 1st half of the 17th centuries"), Saratov 1961.

During these various wars, Ḳırım itself remained free of military incursions, and so the administration there could follow its even course. Public roads and inns were secure, and documents which survived the conflagration of the Khān's palace (in 1736) testify to well-organised archives and the regular proceeding of the Islamic law concerning justice, inheritance and marriage. Customary law (*ʿāda* [*q.v.*]) also played a rôle. The horse trade and rates of exchange of foreign currency were officially supervised. As in other Islamic countries, the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] was the supreme court of judicature. There were 48 judicial regions in the lowlands and 19 in the mountains, where, except for the infliction of the death penalty, convictions could be pronounced without right of appeal "insofar as the conviction was in accordance with the laws". However, in the administration of justice, corruption as always played a rôle that could not be disregarded.

The Tatars enjoyed personal freedom and, as in earlier centuries, passed for a friendly and hospitable people. Women were entitled to personal property, and took part now and then in public life, diplomatic negotiations or even in military expeditions; and occasionally they devoted themselves to poetry and literature.

Until the age of fifteen, the education of children of the ruling house was often left to Čerkes [*q.v.*], who taught them riding and the use of weapons. (Up to the 19th century other Caucasian peoples, including the Ossets, also had their children brought up by Čerkes.) The hardships thereby endured were supposed to influence many *khāns* up to their old age and to counterbalance Ottoman urban culture. In the course of time, however, rulers and high officials turned more and more to Istanbul for the education of their children; also, many a Girāy prince lived there as a hostage. Thus Turkish cultural influence became more and more important during the 17th and 18th centuries. Ottoman Turkish gradually began to supersede Ḳırım Tatar as the written language; Turkish melodies (played on drums, clarinets and later also violins) may well have merged into local musical tradition; but confinement of women in harems increased.

In this way, the ties with Turkey were strengthened, but they also reinforced dependency upon the Sultans, who more and more intervened, by deposing, and occasionally reinstating, many a *khān*. Thus the stability of the regional government was undermined both by the power of Istanbul and by the growing independence of the Begs, who possessed wide powers within their fiefs and fought out among themselves many a personal feud. The noble families, the prominent ones being the Shīrīn, the Ḳuluḳ, the Bārīn, the Manṣūr and the Sulesh, enjoyed tax freedom. The state revenues consisted largely of certain customs duties, payments by individual governors, indirect taxes (mainly on salt) and an annuity of the Sultan. Direct taxes, as far as they were levied, consisted (at least officially) of the *ʿushr* [*q.v.*] and *zakāt* [*q.v.*].

The interventions of the Sublime Porte bound Ḳırım the more closely to Turkey because no other policy of alliance was now possible with any power to the north (B. Baranowski, *Polska a Tatarszczyzna w latach 1624-1629* ("Poland and Tartary in 1624-9"), Lodz 1948). Bad harvests in the Crimea, whose agriculture normally secured the subsistence of its inhabitants, may have caused the Tatars to plunder again and again the south-western regions of Poland and Lithuania (W. Czapliński, *Sprawa najazdów tatarskich na Polskę w pierwszej połowie XVII w.* ("The problem of the Tatar incursions into Poland in the first half of the 17th c."), in *Kwartalnik Historyczny* lxx/3 (1963), 713-20; M. Horn, *Skutki ekonomiczne najazdów tatarskich z lat 1605-1633 na Ruś Czerwoną* ("The economic consequences of the Tatar invasions in 1605-33 in Red Russia"), Breslau 1964; J. Coldberg, *Chronologia i zasięg najazdów tatarskich na ziemie Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w latach 1600-1647* ("Chronology and reach of the Tatar invasions into the land of the Republic of Poland in 1600-47"), in *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, vii/1, 3-71). Properly speaking, these incursions had no political motivation, but they were to such an extent prejudicial to relations with the neighbours to the north-west that there could be no more question of combined action against the common enemy Moscow, which now became more and more threatening to both parties; also, the Ḳırım Khāns themselves suffered repeatedly from the unrest of the nomads. When at the treaty of Pereyaslavl' in 1654 the Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmel'nitskiy, who had been supported by the Tatars, changed sides and joined Moscow, the Tsar became a direct neighbour of the Crimean *khāns*. Now at last the Polish-Lithuanian king sought alliance with Islām Girāy III (1644-54 [*q.v.*]). They undertook a common military expedition against Moscow, which ended in 1655 with the victory of Ochmatów (J. Rypka, *Aus der Korrespondenz der Hohen Pforte mit Bohdan Chmelnyćkyj*, in *Festschrift für Jar. Bidlo*, Prague 1928; idem, *Weitere Beiträge zur . . .*, in *Archiv Orientální*, ii (1930); idem, *Další příspěvek ke korespondenci Vysoké Porty s Bohdanem Chmelnickým* ("Further contribution to the correspondence. . ."), in *Časopis Národního Muzea*, 1931; idem, *Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Krimchanen im II. Bande von Feridûns Münse'āt*, in *Festschrift für Georg Jacob*, Leipzig 1932, 249-69; O. Pritsak, *Das erste türkisch-ukrainische Bündnis (1648)*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 266-98). The Tatars now also took part in the campaigns of the Poles against the allied forces of the Russians, Swedes, Brandenburgers, Transylvanians and Cossacks (in the period of the "Deluge") and fought in 1656 together with them before Warsaw, in Prussia and in Greater Poland. Many captives and rich booty were brought to the Crimea. Khān Meḥmed Girāy IV (who reigned for the second time 1654-66) concluded a treaty with the Polish king over the partition of the conquered regions; the Islamic areas, like Ḳāzān and Astrakhān, were to fall to the Crimean khānate. Both peoples fought shoulder-to-shoulder against Transylvania in 1657 and against Moscow in 1660 (the Battle of Tsudnov) (L. Kubala, *Wojna brandenburska i najazd*

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Rakoczego i wojna moskiewska ("The Brandenburg War, the invasion of Rákóczy and the Moscow War"), Lemberg-Warsaw 1913; A. Hnilko, *Wyprawa cudnowska w 1660 r.* ("The campaign of Tsudnov in 1660"), Warsaw 1931). The Tatar army numbered at this time 20,000-30,000 troops at the most; higher accounts (up to 150,000 and even 200,000) are probably false (O. Górka, *Liczebność Tatarów krymskich i ich wojsk* ("The number of the Crimean Tatars and their armies"), in *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy*, viii/2, 1936). Single military units had their own standards, while the cavalrymen brought spare horses along with them. Victuals consisted mainly of millet, which was milled in leathern mortars. Prisoners of war were enabled to ransom themselves as far as possible; not infrequently they were humanely treated. In accordance with Islamic law, there may have been many freedmen.

The alliance between Poland-Lithuania and the Crimean khānate came to an end when Meḥmed Girāy was deposed in 1666 and the armistice of Andrusovo, between Poland-Lithuania and Moscow, was concluded in 1667. The political situation changed further when Peter Doroshenko (1665-76), the hetman of the Cossacks "of the left bank", submitted to the Sultan out of dislike for the equalising policy of Moscow (D. Dorošenko and J. Rypka, *Hejtman Petr Dorošenko a jeho turecka politika* ("Hetman P. D. and his Turkish policy"), in *Časopis Národního Muzea*, Prague 1933; Ch. Hilbert, *Osteuropa 1648-1681 bei den Zeitgenössischen osman. Historikern*, typewr. thesis, Göttingen 1948).

At the instigation of the Turks, Khān ʿĀdil Girāy (1666-71) had to collaborate with the Cossacks and therefore fell out with Poland-Lithuania. The ensuing war made Podolia in 1672 into a Turkish province, and thus the Sultan's empire reached its greatest expansion ever to the north of the Black Sea. Attempts by Khān Selīm Girāy I (1671-8) at mediation failed because of the Sultan's uncompromising attitude (J. Woliński, *Pośrednictwo tatarskie w wojnie polsko-tureckiej 1674-1675 r.* ("Tatar mediation in the Polish-Turkish War 1674-5"), in *Polityka narodów* iv (1954)/4). The new khān, Murād Girāy (1678-83), tried to free himself from subordination to Turkey and wanted to replace the *Sharīʿa* by "the Law of Čingiz Khān" (*Töre, Yasa*), a daring enterprise which naturally angered the *ʿulamāʾ*. In accordance with his political principles, he remained aloof during the Turkish march against Vienna in 1683, and his army corps did not take part in the battle of the Barren Mountain Kahlenberg. As a punishment, he was banished to Bulgaria (Kırımlı Abdullah oğlu Hasan, *Viyana önünde Kırım suvarileri*, in *Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi* ii (1933), 21-2, 348-53). Nevertheless, relations between the Tatars and Poland-Lithuania remained tense until the Peace of Carlowitz (1699 [see KARLOVČA]).

The Tsars availed themselves of this dissension. After the Cossacks of the left bank of the Dnyepr had come again under their control, two Russian armies marched against the Crimea in 1686 and 1687. While Khān Selīm Girāy (who reigned for the second time in 1684-91) succeeded in defending the peninsula itself, Azóv was lost to Peter the Great in 1699, and thus the khānate was divided for several years into two parts, sc. the peninsula and the region towards the Caucasus. In order to counterbalance Azóv while it was in Russian hands, the fortress of Yeñi Ḳalʿe was founded near Kerč (B. H. Sumner, *Peter the Great and the Ottoman empire*, London 1949).

During this turbulent period, the cultural significance of the khānate declined. Artistic creativity was small, although Islamic influences from the Crimea and from Turkey are clearly recognisable in contemporary Poland (T. Mańkowski, *Sztuka Islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku* ("Islamic art in Poland in the 17th and 18th centuries"), Cracow 1935; F.-K. Spuhler, *Seidene Repräsentationsteppiche der mittleren bis späten Safawidenzeit: die sog. Polenteppiche*, doctoral thesis, Berlin 1968).

The victory of the European coalition over the Sultan in the great war of 1682-99 was of serious consequence for Ḳirīm. Pressure from the north made itself more and more felt. The planned cooperation with the Swedish king Charles XII (1697-1718) and with the hetman of the Cossacks Ivan Stepanovič Mazepa, in which Ghāzī Girāy III (1704-7) [*q.v.*]) was very interested, failed owing to the Russian victory near Poltava in 1709. It is true that the allies succeeded in forcing Peter the Great, hemmed in by Turkish troops near the Pruth, to retrocede Azóv, but this was all that could be achieved: a protest of Khān Dewlet Girāy II (who reigned for the second time 1708-13) remained unsuccessful (A. N. Kurat, *Prut seferi ve barışı* ("The Pruth campaign and peace"), Ankara 1951). More and more the Tatars began to fear and reject the adversary from the north (G. Veinstein, *Les Tatars de Crimée et la seconde élection de Stanislas Leszczyński*, in *Cahiers du monde russe et slave*, xi (1970), 24-92), especially when the Russians invaded Ḳirīm in 1737 and 1738, destroying many cultural monuments, among them Bāghče Sarāy [*q.v.*]. In 1739 the Tatars and Turks had to abandon Azóv definitively to the Russians (Z. Veselá, *Turetskij traktat ob osmanskikh krepostʾyakh severnogo Pričernomorʾya v načale XVIII veka* ("A Turkish treatise on the Ottoman fortresses on the north coast of the Black Sea at the beginning of the 18th century"), in *Vostočniye istočniki po istorii narodov yugo-vostočnoy i tsentralʾnoy Evropi*, ii, Moscow 1960, 98-139). As in Poland-Lithuania, the strength of Ḳirīm was diminished by the heavy toll of human life, the demoralising defeats, the increasing interference of the Porte in Crimean affairs, the manifold struggles among the princes of the ruling house, and a fairly protracted revolt of the Noghays [*q.v.*] around 1758 (see B. Kellner-Heinkele, *Aus den Aufzeichnungen des Saʿīd Giray Ḫān. Eine zeitgenössische Quelle zur Geschichte des Chanats der Krim um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg i. B., 1975). An attempt at a new alliance between Poland-Lithuania, Ḳirīm and Turkey remained without further result during the 18th century (W. Konopczyński, *Polska a Turcja* ("Poland and Turkey") *1683-1792*, Warsaw 1936; D. Oljančyn, *Do istorii torhovli Ukraïny z Krymom* ("Contribution to the history of the trade between the Ukraine and Ḳirīm 1754-8"), Lemberg 1933). An offer of alliance made to the Crimean khān by Frederick the Great in 1761, at the most difficult moment of the Seven Years' War, led to no result either (H. Scheel, *Ein Schreiben des Krim Giray Khan an den Prinzen Heinrich, den Bruder Friedrichs des Grossen*, in *Jean Deny Armağanı*, Ankara 1958, 213-20).

On the other hand, the devastations of the war years stimulated the zest for living of the Crimean Tatars which, during the last decades of their freedom, flowered into a second cultural bloom, and which found its most important expression in the reconstruction of the *khān*'s palace at Bāghče Sarāy in 1740-3. The Sultan made a present of a valuable library, and in 1763 a new stateroom (*Diwān*) was erected, richly decorated with paintings and sculp-

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tures. Former hydraulic works, like aqueducts and canals, were restored and preparations made for a new period of prosperity.

But already in 1771, Russian armies had again marched into the Crimea. Khān Selīm Girāy III (second reign 1770-1) tried to make a stand against them, in vain, because the Sultan himself pressed hard by a war (1768-74), against the Tsarina Catharine II, was unable to render effective help. Many people perished and many places were destroyed. The Russians marched as far as Kaffa and the Khān had to flee to Istanbul (A. Mačanov, *Borʾba Tsarskoy Rossii i Turtsii za obladeniye Krĭmskim Khanstvom* ("The struggle of Imperial Russia and Turkey for the domination of the Crimea"), Moscow 1929).

Thereupon the nobility decided to appoint a *khān* who was friendly to the Russians and to accede to the Russian occupation of the fortresses of Kerč, Yeñi Ḳalʿe and Kaffa. Thus the independence which the Sublime Porte was forced to grant to the Ḳīrīm at the peace of Küčük Ḳaynardje [*q.v.*] in 1774 (E. I. Družinina, *Kyučukkayandardžiyskiy mir 1774 goda: ego podgotovka i zaklyučeniye* ("The peace of K. K. in 1774: preparation and conclusion"), Moscow 1955), and the renunciation of its rights over these fortresses, on the Kubań and on the Taman peninsula, were only fictions, the more so because Kerč and Yeñi Ḳalʿe were at that time already directly subject to Russia (V. D. Smirnov, *Sbornik vibora važnĕyshikh dokladov i ofitsialnikh dokumentov otnosyashć ikhsya k Turtsii, Rossii i Krĭmu* ("Selection of the most important reports and official documents with reference to Turkey, Russia and the Crimea"), St. Petersburg 1881 (bearing mainly on the period 1768-74); F. A. Unat, *Kırım tarihi veya Necati efendinin Rusya sefaretnamesi 1769-75*, in *Tarih vesikaları* iii (1944), 599 (with continuations in later issues); *Mubadele. An Ottoman-Russian exchange of ambassadors [1775/76]*, annot. and tr. by N. Itzkowitz and M. Mote, Chicago-London 1970).

Even the Russian concession at the treaty of Aynalī Ḳavaḳ in 1779 to declare the Sultan "in his capacity of caliph" to be the head of all Muslims could not prevent Crimean independence from coming to an end. Already two years earlier, the successor to the throne, Shāhīn Girāy, had succeeded as Khān with the help of the Russians and the Noghays (F. F. Lashkov, *Shagin-Girey, poslĕdniy krĭmskiy khan* ("Sh. G., the last Crimean *khān*"), in *Kiyevskaya Starina*, Sept. 1886, 36-80). He was educated in Salonica and Venice, had become acquainted with Russia while living there as ambassador, and was open-minded to European and especially to Italian culture. Like the last Polish king, he thought about reforming the state, mainly after the Russian example. He thus transferred the capital to Kaffa, on the sea coast, probably after the example of the Russian transfer of their capital to St. Petersburg. He invited foreign instructors to train his army of 6,000 troops, limited the *wakfs* [*q.v.*] while indemnifying the *ʿulamāʾ* with a pension, and introduced under foreign supervision a new silver coinage. A council of ministers consisting of 12 members was created, and finances were set up anew by introducing financial registers. These reforms burdened the country with considerable debts, and Russia availed itself of the ensuing discontent. Besides, the khanate became upset by a new revolt of the Noghays in 1781 and a rebellion of two brothers of the Khān, who saw himself forced to flee to Grigoriy Aleksandrovič Potĕmkin, the governor of the regions newly conquered by the Russians in the south (the Ukraine). After the Khān had returned to his country with Russian help, Catharine II pressed him under deceitful promises to abdicate. Shāhīn Girāy saw no escape from giving in to this pressure and from abandoning his country to Russia, to which it has belonged ever since (A. W. Fisher, *The Russian annexation of Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970; N. F. Dubrovin, *Prisoedineniye k Rossii Krĭma. Reskripti, pisʾma, relatsii i doneseniya* ("The union of the Crimea with Russia. Rescripts, letters, accounts and notes") i-iii, St. Petersburg 1855; idem, *V'ezd poslednyago krĭmskago khana Shagin-Gireya iz Rossii v Turtsiyu* ("The journey of the last Crimean Khan Shāhīn Girāy from Russia to Turkey"), in *Zapiski Imperatorskago Odesskago Obshčestva istorii i drevnostey*, xiii (1883), 132-56).

The annexation of the peninsula to the Russian empire (first as the Tauris region, and then from 1796 onwards as the New Russia Government) brought about shiftings of the population which must be mentioned here. Already in 1779 the Orthodox Christians of the Crimea, for centuries subordinated to "the Bishop of Gothia", had been removed to Southern Russia at the latter's instigation: 31,280 people from 6 towns and 60 villages settled around Mariupolʾ (A. L. Berthier-Delagarde, *K istorii khristianstva v Krĭmu* ("Contribution to the history of Christianity on the Crimea"), in *Zapiski Imperatorskago Odesskago Obshčestva istorii i drevnostey*, xxviii (1910), 1-108; A. I. Markevič, *K voprosu o polozhenii khristian v Krĭmu vo vremya tatarskago vladĭchestva* ("Contribution to the situation of the Christians on the Crimea during the Tatar reign"), Simferopol 1910). Also the Armenians left the country (likewise with their own hierarchy) and settled in (New-) Nakhičevan, now a suburb of Rostov-on-Don. In order to be able to remain in their home country, many Christians, among whom were probably the last remnants of the Crimean Goths, embraced Islam. (E. I. Družinina, *Sĕvernoe Pričernomorʾe* ("The northern edge of the Black Sea"), *1775-1800*, Moscow 1959). But also, many Tatars left the country at that period and in the 19th century to settle in Turkey (G. I. Levitskiy, *Pereselenie tatar iz Krĭma v Turtsiyu* ("The settlement of Crimean Tatars in Turkey") in *Vĕstnik Evropi* v (1882), 596-639; A. Markevič, *Pereseleniya krĭmskikh tatar v Turtsiyu v Ivyazi s dviženiem naseleniya v Krĭmu* ("The settlements of the Crimean Tatars in Turkey in connection with the movement of the population on the Crimea"), in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR* (1928), 375-405). In the place of all these people, came first Russian newcomers, and then also Czechs and Serbs, but furthermore some 7,000 Tatars from the Kuban area (M. Pinson, *Russian policy and the emigration of the Crimean Tatars to the Ottoman Empire, 1854-1862*, in *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, i, (1972), 37-62). Most of the Crimean Tatars who had remained were moved to Central Asia in 1945 (and have not until now been permitted to return—*New York Times*, 13 July 1972—in spite of their official "rehabilitation" (*New York Times*, 5 May 1967; *Frankfurter Allg. Ztg.*, 13 Sept. 1967)).

Until February 1954, Ḳīrīm belonged to the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic (RSFSR), but has since been combined with the Ukraine.

Chronology of the Crimean Khāns

(1449)-1456	Ḥādjdjī Girāy I
1456	Ḥaydar, son of the preceding
1456-1466	Ḥādjdjī Girāy I (2nd time)
1466-1467	Nūr Dewlet, son of the preceding

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1467-1474	Mengli Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1474-1475	Nūr Dewlet (2nd time)
1475-1476	Mengli Girāy I (2nd time)
1476-1478	Nūr Dewlet (3rd time)
1478-1515	Mengli Girāy I (3rd time)
1515-1523	Meḥmed Girāy I, son of the preceding
1523-1524	Ghāzī Girāy I, son of the preceding
1524-1532	Saʿādet Girāy I, son of Mengli G. I
1532	Islām Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1532-1551	Ṣāḥib Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1551-1577	Dewlet Girāy I, nephew of the preceding
1577-1584	Meḥmed Girāy II, the Fat, son of the preceding
1584-1588	Islām Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1588-1596	Ghāzī Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1596	Feth Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1596-1608	Ghāzī Girāy II (2nd time)
1608	Tokhtamish Girāy, son of the preceding
1608-1610	Selāmet Girāy I, son of Dewlet G. I
1610	Meḥmed Girāy III, grandson of Meḥmed G. II
1610-1623	Djānibek Girāy, grandson of Dewlet G. I
1623-1624	Meḥmed Girāy III (2nd time)
1624	Djānibek Girāy (2nd time)
1624-1627	Meḥmed Girāy III (3rd time)
1627-1635	Djānibek Girāy (3rd time)
1635-1637	ʿInāyet Girāy, brother of Tokhtamish G.
1637-1641	Bahādīr Girāy I, son of Selāmet G. I
1641-1644	Meḥmed Girāy IV, the Pious (*sofu*), brother of the preceding
1644-1654	Islām Girāy III, brother of the preceding
1654-1666	Meḥmed Girāy IV (2nd time)
1666-1671	ʿĀdil Girāy, from the collateral line Čoban G.
1671-1678	Selīm Girāy I, son of Bahādīr G. I
1678-1683	Murād Girāy, cousin of Selīm G. I
1683-1684	Ḥādjdjī Girāy II, cousin of the preceding
1684-1691	Selīm Girāy I (2nd time)
1691	Saʿādet Girāy II, brother of Ḥādjdjī Girāy II
1691-1692	Ṣafā Girāy, cousin of the preceding
1692-1699	Selīm Girāy I (3rd time)
1699-1702	Dewlet Girāy II, son of the preceding
1702-1704	Selīm Girāy I (4th time)
1704-1707	Ghāzī Girāy III, son of the preceding
1707-1708	Ḳaplan Girāy I, brother of the preceding
1708-1713	Dewlet Girāy II (2nd time)
1713-1716	Ḳaplan Girāy I (2nd time)
1716-1717	Dewlet Girāy III
1717-1724	Saʿādet Girāy III, son of Selīm G. I
1724-1730	Mengli Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1730-1736	Ḳaplan Girāy I (3rd time)
1736-1737	Feth Girāy II, son of Dewlet G. II
1737-1740	Mengli Girāy II (2nd time)
1740-1743	Selāmet Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1743-1748	Selīm Girāy II, son of Ḳaplan G. I
1748-1756	Arslan Girāy, brother of Feth G. II
1756-1758	Ḥalīm Girāy, son of Saʿādet G. III
1758-1764	Ḳīrīm Girāy, son of Dewlet G. II
1764-1767	Selīm Girāy III, son of Feth G. II
1767	Arslan Girāy (2nd time)
1767-1768	Maḳṣūd Girāy, son of Selāmet G. II
1768-1769	Ḳīrīm Girāy (2nd time)
1769-1770	Dewlet Girāy IV, son of Arslan G.
1770	Ḳaplan Girāy II, son of Selīm G. II
1770-1771	Selīm Girāy III (2nd time)
1771-1772	Maḳṣūd Girāy (2nd time)
1772-1775	Ṣāḥib Girāy II, son of Selīm G. III
1775-1777	Dewlet Girāy IV (2nd time)
1777-1782	Shāhīn Girāy, son of Selīm G. III
1782-1783	Bahādīr Girāy II, brother of the preceding
1783	Shāhīn Girāy (2nd time)

A list of the Crimean *khāns* can be found in A. W. Fisher, *op. cit.*, 158 (defective) and in Zambaur, 247 f. For genealogical tables of the Girāys, see H. Inalcık, in *IA*, iv, after p. 788; Zambaur, table S; and B. Kellner, *op. cit.*, after p. 263 (18th c.).

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ḲİRḲ KILISE, also Ḳïrḳ Kinise and Ḳïrkïlsa (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1928, viii, 69) a town in eastern Thrace, modern Kırklareli. This region to the east of Adrianople or Edirne [*q.v.*] had a centre in classical times, but its name is unknown (for the view that this place was called Heraclea, see J. von Hammer, *Histoire*, i, 234). The Byzantine name of Ḳïrḳ Kilise was apparently Sarante Eklesiai, and the name Ḳïrḳ Kilise must mean the church of forty saints and not forty churches (F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii, 391-2).

The later writers Kātibi Čelebi (*Djihān-nümā*, Rumeli section, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Hazine kütüphanesi, no. 443, f. 17a) and Münedjdjim-Bashï (iii, 295), record the date for the conquest of Ḳïrḳ Kilise as 770/1368-9 (see Feridūn Bey, *Münshe'āt al-selāṭïn*, Istanbul 1274, i, 71-2). The early historians do not mention its capture, but the implication is that it was conquered few years after the conquest of Edirne in 763/1361 (for this, see Halïl İnalcık, *The conquest of Edirne* (1361), in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, ii (1971). The first Islamic building constructed in the town after its conquest was the ʿAtïḳ mosque (Başbakanlık arşiv genel müdürlüğü, Tapu defteri, no. 370; this building was in a ruined condition in 1226/1807). Nomads (*yürüks*) brought from western Anatolia were settled in the region of Ḳïrḳ Kilise, and were during the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries known as "the *yürüks* of Ḳïrḳ Kilise" (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de yorükler, tatarlar ve evlâd-i Fâtihan*, Istanbul 1957, 84, 180 and *passim*), Kïrk Kilise was first attached to the Vize *sandjaḳ* of the province of Rumelia, but was then established as *müsellem sandjaḳ* (idem, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları*, in *Belleten*, lxxviii (1956), 255, 269).

In the 10th/16th century, Ḳïrḳ Kilise consisted of 6 quarters or *mahalles*: Djāmiʿ-i ʿAtïḳ, Djāmiʿ-i Kebïr, Ḥādjdjï Zekeriyā, Sulṭān Bāyezïd Khān Ketkhüdāsï, Yaprakll and Karadja Ibrāhïm, containing 283 households (Tapu defteri, no. 370). During the 11th/17th century, Ḳïrḳ Kilise was a small town with a few shops and red tile-roofed houses set among the vineyards, and visitors noted the Old Mosque (Eski Djāmiʿ), the *bedestān* or covered market, the Köprübashï fountain, and the coffee-house, meeting-place of the learned man, situated by a fountain (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1315, v, 79-80). For the remaining monuments of the town today, see *Sālnāme-i vilāyet-i*

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Edirne, Edirne 1309, 145 ff., 247 ff.; A. Rıza Dursunkaya, *Kırklareli vilâyetin tarih, coğrafya, kültür ve eski eserler yönünden tetkik*, Kırklareli 1947, ii; Özcan Mert, *Kırklareli kitabeleri*, in *TD*, no. 25 (Istanbul 1971), 155-62. During the 12th/18th century, the Greeks in the town almost equalled the number of the Muslims (see *Rucer Yosin Boşkoviç'in 1762 tarihli Istanbul-Lehistan seyahatine ait hatıra defteri*, tr. Ismail Eren, in *TD*, no. 16. (Istanbul 1962), 98-9). In the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳirḳ Kilise of the province of Edirne there was in 1899 an important number of Greeks and Bulgarians, and the population of the region was 18,325 (*Sālnāme-i vilāyet-i Edirne*, Edirne, 1317, 398-9). For a time, the town was included in the boundaries of Bulgaria after the treaty of San Stefano (3rd March 1878), but was given back to the Ottomans after the Congress of Berlin (13 June-13 July 1878). It again passed into Bulgarian hands for a short while during the Balkan War of 1912-3, but was recaptured on 8 July 1913. It was under Greek occupation for two years after the Mudros truce (1918), but was recovered by the Nationalist forces on 10th November 1922. The population of the town fell when the Greek population was transferred to Greece after the Treaty of Lausanne settlement in 1923. The name Ḳirḳ Kilise was changed into Kırklareli by a law taking effect from 24th December 1924. Under the Republic, Kırklareli has become the centre of a province or *vilayet* of the same name. Its population was 13,000 in 1927, 19,097 in 1955, 27,431 in 1970 and 33,260 according to the latest census (1975).

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ḲİRḲLARELI [see ḲIRḲ KILISE].

ḲİRḲ WEZİR [see SHAVḴHZĀDE II].

KIRKŪK, the biggest town of the region of Mesopotamia (44° 25′ E., 35° 25′ N.,) bounded by the Little Zab in the north-west, the Djabal Ḥamrīn in the south-west, the Diyālā in the south-east and the mountain chains of the Zagros in the north-east. It is identified by some (e.g. C. J. Gadd in *Rev. d'Assyr. et d'Arch. Or.*, xxiii (1926), 64, and by Sidney Smith) as the site of the ancient city of Arrapḫa, and so Kirkūk participated in the revolt of the son of Shalmaneser II (850-824 B.C.) against his ageing father; again it rose up in the reign of Ashur Dan III (771-754 B.C.). It saw the victorious troops of Nabopolasser pass through in 626 B.C. before being taken by the Medes under Cyaxeres at the end of 615 B.C. (G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, London 1964, 247, 251, 312, 312). From the time of the ancient Babylonian empire and during the Assyrian empire the town and its surrounding territories were very exposed to raids by the mountain peoples from the north-east.

Under the Sāsānids (226-651 A.D.) the province of Kirkūk was called Garmakān (Moses of Khoren) and in Syriac sources, Beth Garmaï; here the town of Kirkūk itself is called Karkhā of Bēth Sᵉlōkh (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, in *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vii/3 (1880), 267 ff.). This name could have come from the king Seleucus I Nicator (*ca.* 255-280 B.C.) who is said to have had constructed a tower in the citadel. During the Sāsānid period the town also became a famous centre for the Nestorians. The metropolitan of Bēth Garmaï had his residence there (J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, iii, Beirut 1968). Christians suffered persecution under Shāpūr II (310-79) (Fiey, *Histoires de Karka d'Bēt Sloḫ*, in *Analecta Bollandiana* lxxxii (1966), 203-9) and especially in 445 under Yezdegerd II, who made victims of thousands of them. Their situation later improved when a Christian of the town of Yāzdīn became chancellor under Chosroes II (591-628) and achieved such fame that his native town took the name Karkh Yāzdīn, (Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne*, iii, 23-8). Bēth Garmaï of the Syriac sources is called Badjarmā by the Arab historians. Yāḳūt speaks of a town Karkhīna (iv, 276) which Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, 272) believes can be identified, correctly it seems, as Kirkūk. Even today the people of Shaklāwā and ʿAyn Kāwā, when setting out for Kirkūk, still say that they are going to Karkhina (Fiey, *op. cit.*, iii, 44).

In the 6th/12th century the region of Kirkūk belonged to the territory dominated by the Begteginid dynasty [*q.v.*], who had their residence at Irbīl. After the death of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbūrī in 629/1232, the possessions of this dynasty reverted to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, but not long afterwards were conquered by the Mongols. The name Kirkūk appears for the first time in the history of Timūr of Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (*Ẓafar-nāma*, written *ca.* 823/1424-5, tr. Pétis de la Croix, Delft 1723, ii, 259). Then came the reign of the Aḳ-Koyunlu, followed by the conquest of Mesopotamia by Shāh Ismāʿīl I in the early years of the 10th/16th century. When finally Mesopotamia and ʿIrāḳ had fallen into the hands of the Ottoman sultans Selīm I and Sulaymān I (according to the first Turco-Persian truce at Amasya, 29 May 1555), Kirkūk again took on its rôle as an important bulwark against the enemy from the East.

The town fell again to the Persians after the fall of Baghdād in 1032/1623, but was reconquered by Khosrew Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1039/1630; in 1048/1638 Murād IV passed through the town on his march to reconquer Baghdād. But the true masters of these regions were the local Kurdish hordes, lords of the province of Ardalān (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 445). But shortly afterwards the Ottoman power became established there by the activity of the *pashas* of the *eyālet* of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*]. This *eyālet* was composed of 32 *sandjaḳs*, of which one was that of Kirkūk, and this town became the residence of the *pasha* of Shahrizūr after the castle in the town of this name had been razed by Shāh ʿAbbās (1571-1629) (*Djihān-nümā*, *loc. cit.*). In 1732 the future Nādir Shāh besieged the town in vain. A great battle took place near Kirkūk in the following year, when the Turks were completely beaten under the grand vizier Topal ʿOthmān Pasha, who died there. In 1743 Kirkūk fell again into the hands of the Persians, but was returned to Turkey after the truce of 1746.

The town remained in the Ottoman empire until the end of the First World War; it was occupied by the British on 7 May 1918, but abandoned fifteen days later. It was re-occupied at the end of October and remained occupied until the time of the Mudros armistice. Having remained outside the sphere of activities of Shaykh Maḥmūd (November 1918 until May 1919), Kirkūk and its district were administered peaceably. There was even a Turkish newspaper published there and sixteen schools were opened. At the time of the referendum of July 1921 Kirkūk

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rejected the Amīr Fayṣal as king of ʿIrāḳ, and from that moment Turkish propaganda developed in the region, supported by a Turkish committee founded at Kirkūk by the family of the Naftčīzāda and other Turcophiles. On 17 March the Turks named a *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* at Ruwanduz, and at the end of July, Col. ʿAlī Shafīḳ, who was called Öz Demir, "Pure Iron one", appeared and made some advances towards the territory; but he was unable to retrieve all the *vilāyet* of Mosul. The Turks tried again to claim it at the Lausanne Conference (20 November 1922 until 2 February 1923) but without success. The Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923) still left the question of Mosul undecided, and so it was referred to the League of Nations. A committee of enquiry was sent by them, and in its 34th session in Geneva on 16 December 1924, the Council gave a definite ruling: ʿIrāḳ was given the territory south of the so-called "Brussels line". Thereafter Kirkūk was incorporated into the kingdom of ʿIrāḳ.

The present-day town is built partly on top of an artificial mound or *ḳalʿa* about 40 m. high, and partly at its base, on the two banks of the Khasa Čay. These waters join with those of the Āwā Spī to form the Aḍhaym which flows into the Tigris 30 km. south of Balad. On the right bank of the Khasa Čay, in the middle of a fertile plain, rises the residential district of Arrapkha. In 1912 the population was estimated to be 15,000 (by E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan. . .*, 120), in 1922 to be 25,000 (by C. J. Edmonds), and in 1965 official statistics, determined according to maternal language, gave 184,000 inhabitants, comprising 71,000 Kurds, 55,000 Turcomans and 41,000 Arabs, plus others. The present population is certainly over 200,000. It should be noted that, for many years, the authorities have made strenuous efforts to replace the Kurds by Arabs. Kirkūk is the centre of an administrative region, formerly a *liwāʾ* and now since 1975 a *muḥāfaẓa*, and has had its name changed; it is now called al-Taʾmīm ("Nationalisation") in honour of the nationalisation of oil on 1 June 1972 and also in the intention of "de-Kurdicising" the town (though the latter has however kept its Kurds). The population of the *muḥāfaẓa* is rapidly increasing thanks to the development of the oil industry; its 388,900 inhabitants of 1957 increased to 523,000 in 1970, with a majority of Kurds. The Kurds, Arabs and Turcomans of the town are Sunnī Muslims, but the Turcomans of the villages belong to an unorthodox and secret sect, the Ḳizilbāsh. The Christians are mainly Chaldaean (about 4,500) with an archbishop, and the Nestorians, who are less numerous, have a bishop at Harīr. There was a small colony of Jewish merchants, one of whom was sent as a delegate to the Parliament in Baghdād and another was at the head of the Department of Finance of the *liwāʾ* of *Kirkūk*, but it has disappeared since the Arab-Israeli War of 1948. It is thought they were the descendants of the Jews who were deported to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar after the capture of Jerusalem (586 B.C.) and they continued to speak Aramaic. The little mosque of Nabī Dāniyāl on the slope of the hill of Kirkūk commemorates the Hebrew Prophet who was deported at the same time. This must be an ancient church which existed until *ca.* 1700, just like the Ulu Djāmiʿ mosque. The oldest church in the world was that of the martyr Mar Tahmazgerd, built by the metropolitan *ca.* 470 A.D., to the east of the citadel of Kirkūk; it was known as the Great Martyrion, but during the Turkish retreat of 1918 it was being used as a powder magazine and was blown up (C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, 267; Fiey, *Assyrie*, iii, 54).

Urban planning in Kirkūk has made the centre a large circle of broad streets. Christians have been established there since earliest times, and seem always to have maintained positions of greater or lesser importance. The presence of a Turcoman minority in Kirkūk, within its Kurdish majority, must go back considerably before the conquest by the Ottoman sultans; their origin could be sought in a Turkish garrison which the caliphs may have installed there in the 3rd/9th century, or in an immigration at the time of the Saldjūḳs, and the Begteginids or Atabegs of Irbīl (C. J. Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 267, has drawn attention to other opinions). Whatever may have been the circumstances of their coming to the region, the Turcomans of Kirkūk have always provided strong support for the Ottoman empire and its culture, and an abundant source for Ottoman officials (see *Türk Yurdu*, 1915).

Kirkūk's position as an administrative centre has varied through the ages: "In the 18th century Kirkūk was the chief town of the *eyālet* of Shahrizūr which included the modern *liwāʾ*s of Kirkūk, Irbīl and nominally of Sulaymānī under a *mutasallim* appointed by Baghdād. With the reforms of Midḥat Pasha, *wālī* of Baghdād from 1869 to 1872, the name of Shahrizūr was given to the *sandjaḳ* of Kirkūk, corresponding to the present-day *liwāʾ*s of Kirkūk and Irbīl, whereas the historic Shahrizūr remained outside, in the new *sandjaḳ* of Sulaymānī. The *vilāyet* of Mosul was formed in 1879 and Kirkūk remained an important garrison town" (Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 265-6). Under the Turkish régime, the *vilāyet* of Mosul was divided into three *sandjaḳ*s or *liwāʾ*s: Mosul, Kirkūk and Sulaymānī; in 1918 three *ḳaḍāʾ*s situated to the north of the Little Zab were detached from Kirkūk to form the *liwāʾ* of Irbīl. In the constitution of 1925, the new Iraqi state was formed of three Ottoman *vilāyet*s: Baghdād, which became the capital; Baṣra; and Mosul. The *liwāʾ* of Kirkūk was composed of four *ḳaḍāʾ*s: Kirkūk, Kifri, Čāmčamāl and Gil. Today, the *muḥāfaẓa* of al-Taʾmīm, with a *muḥāfiẓ* at its head, includes five *ḳaḍāʾ*s, as follows: Kirkūk, Ṭuz Khurmātu, Čamčamāl, Huwaydja and Kifrī. Each *ḳaḍāʾ* has at its head a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. The *ḳaḍāʾ* of Kirkūk has five *nāḥiya*s, as follows: Ṭāze Khurmātu, Ḳarā Ḥasan, Altun Köpri, Dibs and Shuwān, and each *nāḥiya* is administered by a *mudīr*. Kirkūk is the seat of the regional court and of a court of appeal, and it possesses a garrison and an airport. There is also an association of Turcoman writers.

Kirkūk is an important commercial centre and an agricultural market for the cereal and animal products of the neighbourhood. It is well served by good roads to Baghdād through Taʾūḳ and Kifrī to Mosul through Altun Köprü and Irbīl, to Sulaymāniyya through Čāmčamāl with branches to Sanāndadj and Hamadān in Iran. A narrow-gauge railway links Kirkūk with Baghdād in the south and with Irbīl in the north. The region around Kirkūk is undulating and it is populated mostly by Kurds. The Mesopotamian steppe begins to the west of the town and it is inhabited chiefly by Arabs. The immediately-surrounding district produces much fruit.

The region of Kirkūk abounds in sulphur and bitumen products and it is especially rich in petroleum deposits, extensively exploited even in ancient times. It should be noted that the petroleum had a

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certain importance in Ottoman times, being used by the army (V. J. Parry, *Materials of war in the Ottoman empire*, in *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, London 1970, 220. A *fermān* of 1049/1639 recognised the monopoly of rights over this petroleum to a group of Turks in the region of Kirkūk, the Neftčizādeler. But their systematic working dates from March 1925. At that time a concession was granted to the Turkish Petroleum Company (T.P.C.) which was founded in 1914 to exploit the deposits of the *vilāyets* of Mosul and Baghdād; royalties of 4 gold shillings per ton of extracted petroleum were payable. Before the end of 1925, geological work was begun and roads were constructed, water supplies, pipe lines and buildings were installed in the *vilayet* of Mosul, and there were 50 British and 2,500 Iraqis employed in the work. The drilling sites were chosen in the Djabal Ḥamrīn, near Ṭuz Khurmātu, in the neighbourhood of Kirkūk. The drilling programme was formally inaugurated in April 1927 by King Fayṣal I, and the first oil gushed forth on 27 October 1927 at Bābā Gurgur, near Kirkūk. The years 1927 to 1931 were given to preparing the whole region of Kirkūk for production by test drilling, scientific observation and arranging the necessary services; production units, reservoirs, workshops, housing etc. were established and at the same time negotiations were conducted with the Iraqi government to extend the period for selecting areas, according to the convention of 1925. In March 1931 the company, which had become the Iraq Petroleum Company (I.P.C.) in 1929, was able to operate in the whole territory in the north-east of Iraq, on condition that by 1935 they constructed a pipe-line to the Mediterranean with a capacity of 3,000,000 tonnes, with a branch at Ḥadīṯha on the Euphrates to Ḥayfā and Tripoli, and that they make an annual payment of £ 4,000 as an overall payment to the government.

It was also in 1931 that the operational headquarters of the I.P.C. was moved from Ṭuz Khurmātu to Kirkūk, and the headquarters for pipe-line operations was established at Ḥayfa. The drilling for crude oil at Kirkūk began at the end of 1934 and, from 1935 onwards, the annual production of 4,000,000 tonnes put Iraq in the eighth position among the oil producing countries. In January 1935 the double 12" pipeline from Kirkūk to the Mediterranean was formally opened, but because of the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, the branch leading to Ḥayfā was closed. This caused a loss of almost 7,000,000 tonnes and the corresponding royalties. The Tripoli pipe-line was, however, doubled by a second (16") pipe in 1949 and this trebled the export figure. In 1952 a third (30") pipeline was brought into service between Kirkūk and Banias (Syria). From then on the world market for Iraqi oil was to increase to 14,000,000 tonnes per year. On 3 February 1952 a new agreement was signed between the Iraqi government and the I.P.C. for the distribution of personnel, production and revenues. A minimum production of 22,000,000 tonnes was expected annually from 1953 and a revenue of £ 30,000,000, in 1952 to reach £ 60,000,000 in 1955. The profits gained from the oil workings would be shared equally.

The Iraqi revolution of 1958 did not change the agreements between the government and the petroleum companies. The objective was to obtain exports worth 100 m. in revenue from a capacity of 70 m. tonnes per year. This target was reached in four years, but a few problems of interpretation persisted. In April 1961 negotiations were begun and, after different interruptions, they finally reached deadlock. They were concluded by Law 80 of 11 December 1961 which dispossessed the company of 99.5% of the territories where they had prospecting rights and left I.P.C. with only 22 sites, 12 of them at Kirkūk in an area of about 478.75 sq. kms., 6 at Bay Hassan of about 182.5 sq. kms., and 4 at Djambar, of about 86.5 sq. kms. (Vernier, *L'Irak. . .*, 435). New installations were planned between May 1964 and June 1965 and were completed, with future plans taking into consideration the Iraqi National Oil Company (I.N.O.C.) which had recently been founded on 30 October 1962. More new laws were enacted as a consequence: Law 97 (6 August 1967) forbade any new concessions to foreign companies and Law 123 (October 1967) authorised the I.N.O.C. to exploit the remaining sectors, which seemed to put an end to the monopoly of oil production which the foreign I.P.C. enjoyed. On 14 June 1972, the I.P.C. itself was nationalised, and thus Iraq gained for itself all the profits from its rich petroleum deposits. The annual production of crude oil in Iraq has regularly increased from the 47.5 m. tonnes in 1960; by 1975 it had reached more than 110 m. tonnes, 60 m. of which were from the Kirkūk region. In 1973 the Iraqi reserves of crude oil were estimated to be 4.143 billion tonnes.

If the petroleum industry with all its subsidiary operations gave a favourable social status to its workers, for their standard of living is superior to that of other workers in the country, it did not suppress all the movements for social reform. Several important strikes were called in Kirkūk among the oil workers. The most notable were those of 1937 which coincided with the workers' strikes at the Kūt barrage, the drillers of the B.O.P., the railways, the stevedores at Baṣra and the weavers of Nadjaf. These showed a hardening of class-consciousness and the discovery of a new political weapon (Longrigg, *Iraq*, 252). In July 1947 a serious strike aggravated by politicians of communist leanings broke out at I.P.C., and it claimed several victims (*ibid.* 338).

Other demonstrations have had a more political tone. The mere announcement of the Treaty of Portsmouth (15 January 1948) produced a general strike for three days. At Kirkūk the British consulate was attacked, but the most tragic of these events was the so-called "purge of Kirkūk". On the occasion of the first anniversary of the republic (14 July 1959) Communist elements helped by bands of Kurds, massacred the Turcomans of the town, for they were considered to be anti-Communist. There were probably 120 killed and about 100 wounded. The participation of the Kurds in the affair was interpreted not as a sign of an antagonistic nationalistic rivalry against the Turcomans, but one of social competition. The Turcomans, who are more socially and culturally advanced, occupied more high-ranking positions in the I.P.C., while the Kurds had to content themselves with more subordinate work (cf. M. Khadduri, *Republican ʿIraq*, 125).

It must not be forgotten that one of the obstacles to a definitive solution to the Kurdish problem is precisely the claim of the Kurds to the territory and the revenue of the Kirkūk oil-fields, which they would like to see included in the territory of an autonomous Kurdistan. These claims are categorically refuted by the central Iraqi government. In October 1970 a plebiscite was to settle this point of contention, but it was adjourned indefinitely (E. O'Ballance, *The Kurdish revolt*, 161 f.). This at least in part provoked the outbreak of hostilities in

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March 1974, just as the Kurdo-Iraqi agreement of 11 March 1970 was being implemented. The law of 11 March 1974 awarding autonomy to the region of Kurdistan defined this region in terms of the 1957 census, carried out under the monarchy. At that time, the Kurds were afraid to declare themselves as such, and thus the census did not give a Kurdish majority to Kirkūk; hence the town and the *muḥāfaẓa* were accordingly excluded from the autonomous area.

A well-known personality of Kirkūk was the Kurdish poet Shaykh Riḍā Tālabānī (*ca.* 1840-1910). More-or-less an agnostic character, but at the same time fanatical also, he had gifts of satire and improvisation and a sometimes obscene verve, and composed poems in Kurdish, Turkish, Persian and Arabic. They were published in Baghdād in 1935 and 1946 and he is remembered as one of the most popular poets of Iraqi Kurdistan (cf. E. B. Sloane, *op. cit.*, 134-5; Edmonds, *op. cit.*, 57-8, 290-5; Edmonds, *A Kurdish lampoonist: Shaik Riza Talabani*, in *JRCAS*, xxii/1 (1935), 111-27).

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(J. H. KRAMERS - [TH. BOIS])

KIRMĀN, the name of a Persian province and of its present capital. The name goes back to the form Carmania, which is found in Strabo (xv, 2, 14), and which is said to be derived from the name of an ancient capital, Carmana (Ptolemy, *Geography*, vi, 8; Ammanianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 6, 48. See further Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 30, on the name Carmania, and Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i, 145, for the later popular etymology of the name).

The Province.—The province of Kirmān is situated to the south-west of the great central desert of Persia, the Dasht-i Lūt, which narrows to some 100 miles in width where it divides Kirmān from Sīstān. It is bounded on the north by Yazd and Khurāsān, on the east by Sīstān and Makrān (Balūčistān), which was regarded by most of the early geographers as separate from Kirmān, though Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it paid tribute (*kharādj*) to Kirmān (*Nuzhat*, 141), on the south by Makrān and Fārs and on the west by Fārs. Its boundaries have varied slightly from time to time. Ibn Rusta states that Fahradj was part of the tax district of Kirmān but that the ruler of Makrān claimed that it belonged to him (286). Khwāsh, which is today included in Balūčistān, and Rīgān were both reckoned by Iṣṭakhrī to belong to Kirmān, though the former was, he states, part of the tax district of Sīstān (162). Idrīsī, on the other hand, includes Khwāsh in Sīstān (417). Shahr-i Bābak was at various times included in Fārs, at others in Kirmān. In 1258/1842-3 it was placed, for revenue purposes, under Yazd (Aḥmad ʿAlī Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Parīzī, in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, xiv/1-4, 163). Bāfḳ, which had earlier belonged to Kirmān, was also placed under Yazd about the year 1774 (Wazīrī, 175), though Khināmān, one of its districts, continued to belong to Kirmān. During the reign of the Saldjūḳ *malik* of Kirmān, Arslān Shāh (494-536/1100-41), Yazd and Ṭabas appear to have been under Kirmān (Afḍal al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Kirmānī, *ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmirī Nāʾīnī, Tehran 1311, 76). Furg and Ṭārum, both placed in Fārs by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (129), were considered by Afḍal al-Dīn to belong to Kirmān (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 75). Ibn Balkhī states that Rūdān, which had belonged to Fārs, was put on the Kirmān side of the frontier in the reign of Alp Arslān (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 121), but according to Idrīsī, although it formed one of the dependencies of Kirmān, it was under Fārs for tax purposes (416). Hurmuz [*q.v.*] was sometimes counted as belonging to Fārs, sometimes to Kirmān, and has often been in different hands to its hinterland.

According to the Arab geographers, the western part of the province, which included Shahr-i Bābak, Sīrdjān, Urzūya, Aḳṭāʿ, Kushk, Ṣawghān, Isfandaḳa, Djīruft and Rūdbār, was in the third clime, and the eastern part, including Anār, Kūbanān (Kūhbanān) Zarand, Guwāshīr or Gawāshīr (also known as Bardsīr and later as Kirmān), Rāwar, Khabīṣ, Rāʾīn, Sardūya, Bam and Narmāshīr, in the fourth clime, while Hurmuz, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, was in the second clime (*Nuzhat*, 141).

In the variety of its topography the province is not dissimilar from Persia as a whole. A series of mountain ranges, with a general trend from north-west to south-east, runs through the province. Much is tangled broken country, but there are many fertile upland districts, pastures and mountain valleys with orchards, cultivated places, and many streams. Some of these have a high elevation: Saʿīdābād, near the site of the old city of Sīrdjān, lies at an elevation of 5,600 ft. and Pārīz at over 7,000 ft. There are also numerous arid waterless mountain districts and desert tracts. The main desert area is in the north and north-east on the borders of the Dasht-i Lūt, and is encroaching on the neighbouring fertile districts. The Lūt is defined in the south by the Bam-Zāhidān road and thus excludes Narmāshīr and the desert regions of south-eastern Kirmān and Rīgān, though physically these belong to the Lūt proper. There are also some stretches of arid land between the south-west highlands and the Djibāl Bāriz which run south-east from Sīrdjān to east of Djīruft. Salt swamps (*kafa*) are found in isolated depressions, notably the Kafa-i Ḳaṭrū near Sīrdjān (for a description of this, see K. E. Abbott, *Geographical notes taken during a journey in Persia in 1849 and 1850*, in *JRGS*, xxv (1855), 66-7). In some parts of the province the towns and villages tend to be separated from each other by broad stretches of uncultivated land (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 163, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 309). Along the nor-

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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thern littoral of the Persian Gulf and the Gulf of ʿUmān there is a narrow coastal plain.

The most northerly of the mountain ranges stretches from the neighbourhood of Yazd to Khabīṣ (the modern Shahdād) and south-eastwards towards Sarvistān. The fertile upland district of Kūbanān in the north, and, further south, the arid district of Rāwar lie along its eastern base. A second range, further to the west, which contains Mt. Djūpār (13,000 ft.) south of Kirmān city, and Mt. Hazār (14,500 ft.) to the south-west of Rāʾīn, runs towards Bam, while a third, still further west, runs south-eastwards from north of Shahr-i Bābak through Sīrdjān and Bāft, and contains Mt. Čihiltan (12,000 ft.) Mt. Čahārgunbad (13,000 ft.) and Mt. Lālazār (14,350 ft.). A lesser range, with Mt. Čāhhazār (9,480 ft.), lies to the south of Saʿīdābād, while the Mt. Dinā range of Fārs is prolonged in a south-easterly direction to near Bandar ʿAbbās. South of Sarvistān and to the east of Djīruft, lies the Djibāl Bāriz range [see DJABAL BĀRIZ in Suppl.], which also trends from the north-west to the south-east and rises to 13,000 ft. in the north and 12,450 ft. in the south. The Djibāl Ḳufṣ region of the Arab geographers (see Iṣṭakhrī, 164; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 124; al-Muḳaddasī, 471; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 309-10; C. E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian history*, in *Iran*, xiv (1976), 9-18) probably lay in the south-east in Bashākird, on the borders of Makrān and Rūdbār.

In the upland districts, notably in the Djibāl Bāriz, there exist remnants of a dry forest, consisting mainly of thin stands of pistachio trees, several species of almond, maple, celtis, juniper and other shrubs; stands of pistachio trees, almonds and other drought-resistant species are also found at lower levels. In the *garmsīr* the vegetation tends to be scattered trees and shrubs with a steppe-like ground cover. The *kunār* tree (*ziziphus spina Christi*) has a wide distribution, as also do several species of acacia, myrtle, tamarisk and oleander. Deforestation from charcoal burning and animal grazing has taken place, and present day cover, though in places still considerable, would appear to be appreciably less than the "forests" of both the early and mediaeval geographers and the 19th century writers.

There are no important rivers reaching the sea. The largest of them, the R. Mīnāb, rises in the hills of Bandar ʿAbbās. It has a considerable drainage and flows into the Persian Gulf some 30 miles east of Bandar ʿAbbās. The only considerable inland river is the R. Halīl, which is joined by its tributary, the R. Shūr, in the neighbourhood of Djīruft and disappears in the Djāz Murīān. According to Iṣṭakhrī, it had enough water to turn 20 (166), or, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, 50 mill wheels (ii, 311). The province relies, for the most part, on *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*] and mountain streams for water. In many districts the sub-soil water is brackish and the soil is often impregnated with salt. Rainfall is low and decreases towards the south-east, though the relief of the land gives rise to many local variations. The maximum precipation is in winter. Kirmān town has an annual average rainfall of 7.9 in., Bandar ʿAbbās 10 in, and Bam 3 in. Drought, sometimes accompanied by famine, has not been uncommon in the history of Kirmān. The *ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā* mentions one such in the *ḵharādjī* year 570 (97). In 1879 and 1880 Kirmān, like many other provinces, suffered severely from drought. Flash floods are also a hazard, such as the floods which occurred in Kirmān (and many other places) in 1001/1593 (Maḥmūd b. Hidāyat Allāh Natanzī, *Nukāwat al-āṯhār*, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāḳī, Tehran 1971, 531).

According to the Arab geographers, some three-quarters of the province belongs to the warm regions (*djurūm, garmsīr*) and one quarter to the cold regions (*ṣurūd, sardsīr*). In the *garmsīr* the districts bordering the central desert have a hot dry climate, but in the southern parts of the province, especially in the Persian Gulf littoral, the climate in summer is hot and unhealthy. Bam is thus reckoned to have a better climate than Djīruft (Iṣṭakhrī, 166). The latter is described by Afḍal al-Dīn as a paradise for four months of the year but as hell for the rest of the year (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 69). The 5th/10th century Persian translation of Iṣṭakhrī adds to the latter's text the statement that the climate of Hurmuz was noxious (ed. Iradj Afshār, Tehran 1340, 139). The upland country of Aḳṭāʿ and Sīrdjān has a temperate climate, while Kirmān, Rafsindjān, Zarand, Rāwar and Kūbanān have a hot summer and mild winter. Barley is harvested in Rūdbār at the Persian New Year (21 March) and wheat twenty days afterwards. In Aḳṭāʿ barley is not harvested until five months after the New Year and wheat a month later.

Outside the coastal area, where the annual range of temperature is lowest, the difference between the coldest month, January, and the warmest, July, is considerable. At Kirmān, with an elevation of 5,680 ft., the average maximum temperature in January is 55.4° F and the average minimum 33.8° F, with an absolute maximum and minimum of 75.2° F and -7.6° F respectively and a mean monthly average of 42.8° F. In July the average maximum and minimum temperature is 95° F and 64.4° F respectively with an absolute maximum and minimum of 105.8° F and 48.2° F and a mean monthly average of 80.6° F. At Bandar ʿAbbās the average maximum and minimum temperatures in January are 73.4° F and 57.2° F respectively with an absolute maximum and minimum of 86.0° F and 41.0° F and a mean monthly average of 66.2° F, while the comparable figures for July are 102.2° F and 87.8° F, 113.0° F and 82.4° F and 95.0° F. In some parts of the province, notably Kirmān, high surface winds are common at certain times of the year, especially in spring. In the Khabīṣ district a poisonous wind (known as *bād-i sīmūr*) blows in the desert in the middle of the day for about forty days in summer.

Ibn Rusta states that Kirmān was divided into five *kūras*, Bardsīr, Sīrdjān, Narmāshīr, Djīruft and Hurmuz, each *kūra* being called after its chief town (286). Muḳaddasī also states that the province had five *kūras*, but lists them differently, omitting Hurmuz and including Bam (460). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that it consisted of fifteen districts (*shahr*) (*Nuzhat*, 139). By the 8th/14th century the province was differently divided. In the 19th and 20th centuries there appears to have been a further proliferation of districts (*bulūkāt*), the names of which are variously given. Wazīrī in his *Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān*, written between 1874 and 1876, mentions the following districts: Guwāshīr (the modern city of Kirmān and its surroundings), Kūhpāya, Khabīṣ and Gawk (which two, he states, in reality formed one *bulūk*), Bam, Narmāshīr, Rāʾīn, Sardūya, Djīruft, Djibāl Bāriz, Isfandaḳa, Rūdbār, Kūshk and Ṣawghān, Bardsīr, Aḳṭāʿ (earlier known as the district of Bāft), Urzūya, Sīrdjān, Shahr-i Bābak, Rafsindjān, Bāfḳ, Zarand, Anār, Kūbanān (which, he states, had been administered with Yazd for revenue purposes for nearly a hundred years) and Rāwar. Later the boundaries appear to have been slightly redrawn: Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya were united into one district, as also were Bam and

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Narmāshīr; Bāfḳ was transferred to Yazd, the district of Khināmān only remaining with Kirmān, Pārīz and Rābur, which had formerly belonged to Sīrdjān and Aḳṭāʿ respectively, both became separate districts, while Rūdbār was now called Rūdbār and Bashākird (Houtum-Schindler, art. *Kerman* in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911, xv, 756). Under Riḍā Shāh the province was divided into six *shahristāns*: Kirmān (which included the sub-districts of Zarand, Kūhpāya and Kūbanān), Bam (which included the sub-district of Rāʾīn), Djīruft (which included the sub-district of Sardūya, which in turn included Isfandaḳa, and Kahnūdj, which in turn included Rūdbār), Bandar ʿAbbās (which included the sub-district of Rūdān), Sīrdjān (which included the sub-districts of Pārīz and Bāft, which in turn included Urzūya, Rābur, Kushk and Ṣawghān) and Rafsindjān (Ḥusayn ʿAlī Razmārā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, viii).

Agriculture and Livestock.—The Arab geographers describe Kirmān as a rich and prosperous province. The Persian translation of Iṣṭakhrī mentions that it produced all kinds of fruit (139), while Yāḳūt states that it was rich in date palms, cereals, cattle and beasts of burden and that it produced fruits belonging to both the cold and the hot regions in great variety, including an abundance of walnuts and dates (Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, 483). The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* notes that Djīruft, Bāft and the mountain country between Djīruft and Manūdjān, known as the Kūhistān-i Abū Ghānim, were prosperous and pleasant places (124). According to Muḳaddasī, the last-named district had many date palms (467). Rūdbār is described by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* as consisting of woods, trees, and meadows (124). The mountain region between Sīrdjān and Bardsīr was also very prosperous and pleasant according to the same authority, and contained 260 populous places. Muḳaddasī mentions a multitude of orchards and an abundance of fruit in Sīrdjān (464), and many orchards and citrus trees in Mughūn (467). Afḍal al-Dīn speaks of the excellence of the pastures of Rūdbār and states that animals thrived in them (70). He also praises the fertility of Narmāshīr and states that it produced the fruit of both the *garmsīr* and the *sardsīr* (72). Muḳaddasī notes the great quantity of fruit belonging to the *sardsīr* and the *garmsīr*—dates, walnuts and citrus fruits—in Djīruft (466; cf. Iṣṭakhrī 166). Plenty prevailed in the Djibāl Bāriz, which, like the Ḳufs Mts., were difficult of access (Iṣṭakhrī, 164; Ibn al-Ḥawḳal, ii, 310). Bam and Khwāsh had many date palms (Iṣṭakhrī, 166; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 313), which also grew in great profusion in Hurmuz (Iṣṭakhrī, 166; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 311) and in the Ḳufs Mts. Honey was also produced there (cf. Idrīsī, 429). Indigo and cumin were cultivated in Djīruft and the district which extended from Mughūn and Walāshgird to the neighbourhood of Hurmuz, and also sugar cane (Muḳaddasī, 467; Iṣṭakhrī, 167; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312). Idrīsī mentions the excellence of the quality of the indigo and states that the inhabitants of Mughūn and Walāshgird occupied themselves much in its cultivation and took a great deal of trouble over it because it was a source of considerable profit to them (424). Wheat and barley were grown in the *sardsīr*, but in Hurmuz millet was the staple crop and the food of the inhabitants (Iṣṭakhrī, 127; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 311; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 124, Idrīsī, 424). Cotton, as well as grain and dates, were grown in Sīrdjān and Shahr-i Bābak (*Nuzhat*, 141). Silk was produced in Bam (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 71). Asafoetida and gum tragacanth were found in parts of the province.

In the Middle Ages, apart from a period of prosperity under the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān, agriculture suffered a decline. There were temporary fluctuations and local variations, but in general the agricultural recession continued until the second half of the 19th century. At that time a wide variety of crops were cultivated. Wheat and barley, though grown in most parts of the province, were not important in terms of the amount grown and some districts had a deficit. In the province as a whole, the yield was low. Some millet, and a small quantity of rice was also grown. Pulses, roots and edible gums were also produced. Cotton was grown in Rafsindjān (which was later, in the 1930s, to turn much cotton land over to the cultivation of pistachio trees), Kūhpāya, Dārzīn (Dardjīn), Bam, Narmāshīr, Djīruft, Zarand and Anār. Dates were still one of the most important products of the province and came from Bāfḳ, Khabīṣ, Bam, Dārzīn, Rūdbār and to a lesser extent from Kūshk and Ṣawghān. Rāwar was noted for its figs, Bāfḳ for its apricots and Khabīṣ for its citrus fruits. Cumin was grown mainly in Kūshk and Aḳṭāʿ. Pistachios, almonds (mainly from Sīrdjān and Shahr-i Bābak) and walnuts (from Sardūya, Bardsīr and Aḳṭāʿ) were important products. Sugar and indigo were no longer grown except on a very small scale, though an attempt was made by Wakīl al-Mulk to re-introduce sugar cane together with indigo, pepper, ginger and various other Indian plants into Khabīṣ (Houtum Schindler, *Reisen im südlichen Persien 1879 . . .*, in *ZG Erd. Berlin*, xvi (1881), 357). Dye plants included henna in Narmāshīr, Khabīṣ, Djīruft, and Urzūya and madder in Sīrdjān, Rafsindjān, Bāfḳ, Kūbanān, Anār and Zarand. By 1880 the cultivation of henna in Bam had brought about in some measure a revival of prosperity in that district (Fīrūz Mīrzā Farmān Farmā, *Safarnāma-i Kirmān wa Balūčistān*, ed. Manṣūra Niẓām Māfī, Tehran 1963, 6). Silk, though a little was still produced in Bam, Rafsindjān, Bāfḳ, Djūpār, Bāghīn and Kūbanān, had also lost its importance, though some attention appears to have been given to the cultivation of mulberry trees during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48) (R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 354). Tobacco was grown in Zarand and Bāfḳ, and potatoes in the district between Sīrdjān and Pārīz. From the late 1870s opium cultivation became important in Māhān, Djūpār, Narmāshīr, Sīrdjān, Bāfḳ, Kūbanān and elsewhere. Honey came from Aḳṭāʿ, Bardsīr and Sardūya. (See further Wazīrī, who gives a list of the agricultural produce of each district (*bulūk*), and also references in E. Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, i, 184-238).

Sheep and goats were important throughout the province. There was much movement of flocks from the mountain districts to the plains in winter. Those from Rābur, Isfandaḳa and the neighbouring districts went mainly to Rūdbār and Djīruft. Much wool was produced, including a fine soft wool (*kurk*) produced by a special breed of goat. In Rūdbār there were also many herds of cattle. Buffaloes were found only in Djīruft.

Minerals.—Various minerals existed in the province and many of these were exploited. Ibn al-Faḳīh states that there were mines of gold, silver, iron, copper, sulphur, and zinc oxide (206), but their location is not clear from his account. Muḳaddasī describes how zinc oxide (*tūtiyā*) was mined and fired to produce tutty (459, 470). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes the process as carried out in "the village

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of the tutty makers" as follows: the crude ore was brought out from the mine, moistened and made into bars (*mil*) one gaz long, dried and put into a furnace, the action of the fire then causing the tutty to form in a thin film (*Nuzhat*, 205). Marco Polo, who locates the mines in Kūbanān, gives a somewhat similar account. Muḳaddasī also states that there were iron and silver mines in the province (470), the latter presumably located in the Silver Mine Mountains west of Djīruft (cf. also *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 65). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* mentions lead, copper and lodestone in the mountains between Djīruft and Bam (65). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that there was a turquoise mine and a lapis lazuli mine in Kirmān, but that the turquoises were immature and unformed and therefore not of much value (*Nuzhat*, 204, 206). Marco Polo also mentions turquoise in the mountains of Kirmān, while Wazīrī states that there was a turquoise mine near the mountains of Maymand in the Shahr-i Bābak district (164). He also mentions lead mines in Sīrdjān and Zarand, of which the former produced the best quality lead (156, 178). Abbott records the existence of a lead mine in the mountains of Zarand near the village of Tugradja and states that the government took 10% of its produce (*op. cit.*, 27). Wazīrī mentions a sulphur mine in Kūbanān, which was in operation when he was writing (175); he also states that there were copper mines in Sardūya (113), a copper mine in operation in the mountains of Bazindjān in Aḳṭāʿ (139), and many disused copper mines in the mountains of Rābur (142-3). Salt was obtained from deposits near Khabīṣ, Sīrdjān, Rāʾīn and elsewhere. Curzon mentions coal north of Kirmān city and in Kūbanān, manganese oil in Rāwar, borax in Shahr-i Bābak and asbestos in Kūbanān (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 518). Extensive mining operations are being carried on in various parts of the province at the present day. Coal and other minerals are mined in the mountains between Rāwar and Zarand and copper in the Pārīz district.

The cities of Kirmān.—The main city of Kirmān under the Muslims until the middle of the 4th/10th century was Sīrdjān (the form Shīradjān is also found), which was situated some five miles to the east of the modern town of Saʿīdābād (Le Strange, *Lands*, 300). It was here that the governor (*wālī*) resided (Ibn Khurrādhbih, 49). Ibn Rusta describes Sīrdjān as the greatest city of Kirmān (286), as also does Iṣṭakhrī (167), Ibn Ḥawḳal (ii, 312) and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*. The last-named states that it was the capital of Kirmān and the seat of the king (124), though by the time the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* was written, Ibn Ilyās, the Būyid governor, had, in fact, moved the capital to Bardsīr. Muḳaddasī states that it was the biggest town in the province (although no longer the capital) and more extensive than Shīrāz (464). Ḥāfiẓ Abrū refers to Sīrdjān as the second city of Kirmān (*Djughrāfiyā*, f. 140a), although it had, in fact, been destroyed in 798/1396 (before he wrote) after a long resistance by the armies of Tīmūr. After the city was laid in ruins, the name Sīrdjān was nevertheless still applied to the district of which it had been the centre. Towards the end of the 18th century Saʿīdābād was founded near the site of the old city. Abbott, who visited it in 1850, describes it as one of the most flourishing towns in Kirmān (*op. cit.*, 63). In 1881 it had some 8,000 inhabitants and appeared to be in a flourishing condition (Stack, i, 181; cf. also Wazīrī, 151). At the present day, the town of which Saʿīdābād is the centre is known as Sīrdjān.

Bardsīr (Bardasīr), which became the capital of the province under the Būyids, is the mediaeval name of the city now called Kirmān (Le Strange, *Lands*, 303). It was also known as Guwāshīr. The two names, Bardsīr and Guwāshīr, may represent the form Beh-Ardashīr, the name of the town built by Ardashīr, the founder of the Sāsānid dynasty (Ḥamza Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwald, 46; Ibn Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 303). Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm uses the names Bardsīr and Guwāshīr indifferently. The copyist of Ibn Ḥawḳal, writing in 550/1155, states that Bardsīr in his time was a small town. It was, however, very prosperous and its surroundings, which had been brought under cultivation, were more flourishing than the town itself (ii, 309). Afḍal al-Dīn, writing some decades later, states that it was a large city with a wall (*rabaḍ*) and a suburb (*shahristān*). Adjoining the city outside the wall and surrounding it were orchards and villages. It had a temperate climate, good soil and good water (72). By the 10th/16th century the name Bardsīr appears no longer to have been applied to the capital of the province, which, although still called Guwāshīr, was by this time more usually known as Kirmān. It had the *laḳab* of *Dār al-Amān*. The name Bardsīr, although it had thus ceased to designate the capital of the province, was still applied to a district (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, lith. Tehran n.d., 164). This, however, did not include the town of Kirmān or its environs, but was bounded on the north-west by Rafsindjān, on the west and south by Aḳṭāʿ and Sīrdjān, on the south-east by Rāʾīn and on the north-east by Kirmān (Wazīrī, 133). The main centre of this district, Māshīz, is also known as Bardsīr.

Bam (*q.v.*) was the second major city of Kirmān in the early centuries. The third, Djīruft (*q.v.*), was a prosperous, commercial centre, having trade with Sīstān and Khurāsān (Iṣṭakhrī, 166; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 311; Muḳaddasī, 466; Idrīsī, 422). According to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, when the Muslims conquered Kirmān, the region of Djīruft was wooded and occupied by wild animals. The Muslims cleared the country and made villages (140). Djīruft and its suburb Ḳamādīn flourished until the end of the Saldjūḳ period. Its buildings decayed during the reign of Malik Dīnār (582-91/1186-95), although the surrounding district continued to be cultivated (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 40). Subsequently the district decayed also. Abbott, who visited it in 1850, states that is possessed only four or five collections of huts which could be termed villages, each of which had a mud fort; for the rest tribal groups from the mountain regions resided in scattered groups over the plain in winter (K. E. Abbott, *op. cit.*, 46). Today the town which has grown up round Sabzawārān is also known as Djīruft.

The fifth of the great cities of Kirmān in early and mediaeval times was Hurmuz (*q.v.*), situated on the Persian Gulf. It was the emporium of Kirmān. Its merchants, perhaps because of its bad climate, lived in the surrounding countryside (Iṣṭakhrī, 166). In 700/1300, because of repeated raids by marauding tribesmen, the ruler of Hurmuz moved all the inhabitants to the island of Djarūn where he founded the town of New Hurmuz (see further, J. Aubin, *Le royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVI^e siècle*, in *Mare Luso-indicum*, ii, *Hautes études islamiques et orientales d'histoire comparée*, iv/5, Geneva 1973). Other important towns were Manūdjān, Zarand and Narmāshīr. Many of the towns and villages mentioned by the early and mediaeval geographers have disappeared or have not yet been identified.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Communications.—In the early centuries Sīrdjān was the main centre upon which the principal roads converged. This, no doubt, in part accounted for its importance until it was destroyed in the 8th/14th century. Three roads led from it to Fārs, one via Shahr-i Bābak, another through Ṣāhik and a third to Nayrīz. Other roads went south to Furg, Ṭārum and Sūrū on the Persian Gulf, south-east to Bāft, Djīruft, Manūdjān and Hurmuz, north to Unās in Rūdān, north-east to Māshīz, Bāghīn and Kirmān, north-north-east to Māhān, Khabīṣ and Khurāsān, and east to Shāmāt and Rā'īn. From Kirmān (Guwāshīr) two roads went north-west to Yazd, one via Zarand, Rāwar, Kūbanān and Bāfḳ, and the other via Rafsindjān and Anār. From Rāwar and Kūbanān roads went north-north-east across the Great Desert to Ṭabas and Khūr respectively. South-east from Kirmān a road went to Māhān, Rā'īn, Dārzīn or Dārdjīn, Bam and Narmāshīr, where it bifurcated, one branch going to Faradj and Zarandj in Sīstān and the other to Rīgān, where it again divided, one road going east to Khwāsh and the other south-west to Manūdjān. From Dārzīn another road went south to Djīruft (see further Le Strange, *Lands*).

In the 19th and early 20th centuries communications were still very backward. Generally speaking, the roads were fit for pack transport only. Moreover, many were often shut for months at a time owing to the activity of bandits. In 1901 a convention was signed between Britain and the Persian government for a three-wire telegraph line on iron posts from Kāshān to Balūčistān via Yazd, Kirmān and Bam. It was begun in December 1902 and finished in March 1907.

Manufactures and Trade.—In the early centuries, the province had manufactures of silk, cotton and woollen goods, which were important articles of local and long-distance trade. A cotton cloth (*baṭā'in*), which appears to have been used as lining for clothes, was produced in Zarand and exported to Fārs and ʿIrāḳ (Iṣṭakhrī, 167-8). Ibn Ḥawḳal states that it was called al-Zarandiyya and taken to Egypt and the most distant parts of the Maghrib (ii, 313). There was also trade in cloth made in Sīrdjan (Muḳaddasī, 470). The people of Bam were noted for their craftsmanship, and the cloths which were made in Bam were of great elegance and lasting quality. They fetched a high price and were exported to Khurāsān, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312; Muḳaddasī, 465; cf. also Iṣṭakhrī, 167-8). Idrīsī states that the cloaks of goat hair made in Bam equalled the best to be found anywhere in the world (423). Turbans of fine material were also made in Bam and were in demand in Khurāsān, Egypt and ʿIrāḳ (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 312). There had at one time been a royal workshop for *ṭirāz* in Bam (*ibid.*). Cotton cloths (*aḳmiṣha*) were still produced in Bam at the turn of the 8th/14th century (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Mukātabāt*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1945, 190). In the middle of the century it was apparently still an important trading centre with India, Sīstān, Khurāsān and Kābul (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. E. G. Browne, G.M.S., London 1910, 729). By the 9th/15th century, however, the textile industry appears to have no longer existed in Bam (J. Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XV^e siècle*, Wiesbaden 1956, 91-2).

Idrīsī states that there were leather workshops in Zarand and that girths were exported to ʿIrāḳ and Egypt (427). Marco Polo mentions the manufacture of saddles, bridles, spurs, swords, quivers and other arms in Kirmān. Al-ʿUmarī also states that swords were made in Kirmān (*Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. K. Lech, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). In the 17th century pottery (blue and white) was made in Kirmān. According to Du Mans, the best examples of this were difficult to distinguish from Chinese porcelain (*Estat de la Perse*, Paris 1890, 197).

There was considerable trade, local and long-distance, in agricultural produce. Indigo and cumin were exported to distant regions (Iṣṭakhrī, 167; Muḳaddasī, 470; Idrīsī, 424). Narmāshīr had trade with Khurāsān and ʿUmān, and was a collecting centre for dates, which were exported to different parts (Muḳaddasī, 463). Djīruft also had a large export of dates to Khurāsān. Muḳaddasī states that nearly 100,000 camels used to set out every year. The trade appears to have been carried out on a *munāṣafa* basis, i.e. the profit was divided equally between the producer and the camel-driver (469). Khabīṣ also exported dates to distant parts (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 74).

Afḍal al-Dīn states that much trade from India, Sind, Ethiopia, Zangibar, Egypt, the Arab countries, ʿUmān and Baḥrayn entered the port of Tīz (which he places on the frontier of Kirmān, though usually it is reckoned as belonging to Makrān). Imports included musk, ambergris, indigo, velvets, cloths, and other luxury articles. Hurmuz was also an important trading centre, to which merchants came from the most distant parts (71). Later, in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās (996-1038/1587-1629), Bandar ʿAbbās (Gombroon) [*q.v.*] became an important port, but this did not bring at first much additional trade to Kirmān, since goods appear to have gone into the interior mainly through Fārs rather than Kirmān. How early the long distance wool trade became important in Kirmān is not entirely clear, or when carpets became an article of export and carpet weaving became important. In the 17th century wool was being taken from Kirmān and Yazd to Europe. By the end of the century it was an important export of the East India Company from Persia and was used in feltings, suitings, and coverings for buttons, while in the 18th century Kirmān wool for hats and shawls was a commodity consistently sought after. This wool came from goats and in different colours, black, white and red. The last named was highly prized (see *Gombroon diary* for a discussion of the arrangements for obtaining Carmanian wool. See also A. A. Amin, *British interests in the Persian Gulf*, Leiden 1967, 126-7). During the reign of Nādir Shāh (1148-60/1736-47) wool for export was in short supply because it was used for the clothing of his army, and some of the Zand rulers appear to have prohibited the export of wool because they wanted it for the internal manufacture of shawls. The situation was not improved by the desolation which Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār carried out in Kirmān in 1794.

In the early 19th century, the main manufactures of Kirmān were shawls, carpets, felts, silk and cotton cloths, loaf-sugar, matchlocks and earthenware (Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 366). Macdonald Kinneir in his *Geographical memoir of the Persian empire* states that "the trade of Kerman is still very considerable, and it is celebrated for its manufactures of shawls, matchlocks, and carpets, which they chiefly export to *Khorassan* and the northern provinces, receiving in return drugs, skins (from *Bockhara*), furs, silk, steel, and copper. These articles as well as pistachio-nuts, carpets, rose-buds for preserves, and bullion, they send to *India*; and import from hence tin, lead, iron, chintz, wrought silk, spices, indigo, muslin, kheemkhob, gold brocade,

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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china and glass-ware, broad-cloth, hardware, etc." (London, 1813, 198-9). Abbott, on the other hand, states in a report made in 1849-50 that the commerce of Kirmān was much restricted, though its woollen manufactures thrived. Such little importance as it had was due to the manufacture and trade in shawls and other woollen fabrics. He estimated the number of looms for shawls in Kirmān city at probably 2,200 (though some put the figure at nearly double that number), for other coarser woollen fabrics some 220, and in addition some 325 looms in nine of the surrounding villages (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60, 165, *K. Abbott's report on commerce of the south of Persia. Trade report. Notes on the Trade, Manufactures, and production of various Cities and of Persia, visited by Mr. Consul Abbott in 1849-50*). Wazīrī, writing rather later, states that shawls were exported to Transoxania, Anatolia, Arabia and Turkistan and that there were nearly 12,000 workshops in Kirmān (*Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān*, 33). His editor states that there was a great expansion at the end of the 19th century in carpet weaving, which displaced the manufacture of shawls, but that carpet-weaving declined again very shortly afterwards (33-4). *Karbās* (a kind of coarse cotton weave) was woven in many parts of the province, and there was some export from Zarand for the local market. The *karbās* of Rafsindjān was reported to be of excellent quality (171, 178).

In the mid-19th century some of the transit trade between Central Asia and India passed through Kirmān, and there was also some direct trade between Kirmān and India. Gums, asafoetida, madder, roots, carraway seeds, silk, saffron (from Khurāsān), wool, cotton and dried fruits were exported to India and Arabia via Bandar ʿAbbās. There were also some imports of English goods via India, Tabrīz and Yazd (Abbott, *Notes on the Trade, etc.*). Abbott states that caravans from Bīrdjan reached Khabīṣ several times a year. They brought wool, grain, dried fruits, silk, saffron (from Ḳāʾīn), and clarified butter, etc., a great part of which went on to Bandar ʿAbbās for India. Returning caravans brought groceries, spices, indigo and English cotton manufactures for Khurāsān (*Geographical notes, op. cit.*, 34-5). Curzon states that Bandar ʿAbbās in 1889-90 was the start of the important caravan route running north to Kirmān and Yazd and ultimately to Khurāsān. Kirmān and Yazd were mainly supplied from India with piece goods, prints and yarn, copper sheets, iron bars, lead, tin, sugar, tea, dyes, spices, glass and china; and exported in return opium, wool, cotton, madder, almonds, pistachio nuts, etc. (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 571-2). According to Wazīrī, various districts of Kirmān took part in the long-distance trade. Among the articles which went to Bandar ʿAbbās and thence to India from Kirmān were cumin and wool from Aḳṭāʿ and Bardsīr (*op. cit.*, 136, 138), and a variety of dried and fresh fruit and nuts, namely pears and apples from Aḳṭāʿ and Rābur, quinces from Aḳṭāʿ, and raisins from Gawk; almonds from Shahr-i Bābak, Gawk and Aḳṭāʿ, walnuts from Sardūya and Aḳṭāʿ, and pistachios from Shahr-i Bābak; cotton from Sīrdjān (to Bombay) and Anār, peas from Aḳṭāʿ, and Bardsīr and sometimes wheat from Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya, and barley from the latter district also.

Abbott mentions exports from Kirmān to Yazd and other neighbouring towns and villages, which included shawls, woollens, wool, opium, lead, soap, henna, indigo leaves, figs, gums and wild asses' skins (*Notes on the Trade, etc.*). There was also, according to Wazīrī, some internal movement of wheat from Zarand to Yazd and Rāwar and sometimes from Urzūya to Kirmān; Sīrdjān also exported wheat to Yazd and Kirmān. Peaches were exported from Gawk to Kirmān and other districts, dried apricots and dried mulberries from Bāfḳ to Kirmān, and dried figs from Rāwar to Yazd, whence they were exported to other parts of the country as *andjīr-i yazdī*; dates from Khabīṣ to Yazd and Khurāsān; peas and lentils from Shahr-i Bābak to Yazd and Kirmān; henna and *rang* from Narmāshīr to Kirmān, whence they were distributed to neighbouring regions; sometimes henna was exchanged in Sīstān for clarified butter and swansdown.

Milk products were an important article of local commerce. Rūdbār exported clarified butter (*rawghan*) to Kirmān. Bardsīr also supplied Kirmān with clarified butter and *kashk* (a kind of whey). Shahr-i Bābak supplied Yazd, Rafsindjān, and Sīrdjān with clarified butter, *kashk* and cheese, while Kūbanān exported *kashk* to various districts beyond the bounds of Kirmān. Lastly, wood was exported from Aḳṭāʿ to the surrounding districts and to Fārs (see further Wazīrī).

In 1904-5 a British commercial mission visited south-east Persia in order to encourage British trade in the area. Russian efforts were also made to increase their trade, and Russian trade agencies were established in Kirmān, Bam and Rafsindjān.

Population.—The settled population appears to have been mainly of Iranian stock. Strabo states that the customs and language of the population of Kirmān were similar to those of the Medes and Persians (xv.2, 14). Idrīsī describes the inhabitants of Kirmān (apart from the tribal population) in favourable terms. He states that they were remarkable for the purity of their customs and the grace of their character and that the merchants especially were marked by an amiability, sincerity and docility greater than elsewhere (421). Stack, writing several centuries later, remarks on the quiet and orderly habits of the people (ii, 182). Bārfurūshī, on the other hand, gives an unfavourable account of the people of Kirmān and accuses them of being given to sedition (*Mufarriḥ al-ḳulūb*, B.M., Or. 3499, f. 198a).

The geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries mention a number of tribes as inhabiting Kirmān, namely the Ḳufṣ, (Kūfidjīs, Kūč [see KUFṢ], Balūṣ (Balūẓ, Balūč [see BALŪČISTĀN]), the Djibāl Bārizīs, and the Akhʷāsh, all of whom were harried and, to some extent, displaced first by the Muslim armies, and then by the Ṣaffārids, Būyids, Sāmānids and Saldjūḳs. When Masʿūdī refers to Kurds (*Akrād*) in the province it is probable that he meant semi-nomadic or nomadic tent dwellers rather than ethnic Kurds. The Ḳufṣ were a mountain people, as their name suggests. They possessed herds of cattle (*daraʿ*) and also practised agriculture. Their main occupation was alleged by Muslim sources to be highway robbery. The Ḳufṣ mountains in which they lived consisted, according to Iṣṭakhrī, of impregnable fastnesses. They were bounded on the south by the Gulf of ʿUmān on the north by Djīruft, Rūdbār and the Mountains of Abū Ghānim, on the east by Khʷāsh and the desert of Makrān and on the west by Manūdjān and Hurmuz. There were seven different mountains each of which had a chief. The early Muslim governments, unable to bring the region under their direct control, gave the Ḳufṣ leaders allowances to keep them quiet, but they nevertheless raided the surrounding districts up to Sīstān and Fārs. Iṣṭakhrī mentions that they were reported to

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have accumulated much wealth. He states that they were lean and swarthy; and that some said that they were, by origin, Arabs (163-4; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 471). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* adds that the government tax-collector (*ʿāmil-i sulṭān*) did not go into the Ḳufs mountains and that their chiefs were responsible for the collection and payment of the government tax, which would appear to have been assessed by a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract. It also states that they spoke a special language (65).

The Balūṣ were, according to Iṣṭaḵhrī, herdsmen and tent-dwellers living along the western base of the Ḳufṣ Mountains and were rich in flocks (164; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 471). Idrīsī, writing in the mid-6th/12th century, however, states that they lived at the base of the mountains to the north of the Ḳufṣ (429). They were the only people whom the Ḳufṣ feared. Iṣṭaḵhrī's claim that they were peaceable and did not commit highway robbery like the Ḳufṣ (164) is not born out by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (124) or Muḳaddasī, who couples them with the Ḳufṣ in the matter of brutality and bloodthirstiness and in their propensity to raiding the caravan routes (488-90). Muḳaddasī states that the Balūṣ had been very numerous until the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] destroyed them. The language of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, according to Muḳaddasī, was incomprehensible and resembled Sindhī (471).

It would seem that, in general, Muslim writers made no clear distinction between the two groups, and frequently mention them together. Miskawayh states that the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, together with the people of Manūḏjān, joined Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās when he attempted, with help from the ruler of Ḵhurāsān, to seize Kirmān from the Būyids. They were defeated by a Būyid force in 360/970, with heavy losses, and suffered further casualties when the Būyid forces pushed down to Hurmuz. The Balūṣ, however, did not remain quiet for long. Spreading into the districts of Sīrḏjān they made ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bārizī their leader, and began to commit disorders. ʿAḍud al-Dawla then marched against them in person. They retreated into the Ḏjibāl Bāriz, but were defeated in 361/972 (ii, 298 ff.). Miskawayh states that those who were not killed were removed from the mountains by ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who replaced them with peasants who received the land on a crop-sharing agreement and with persons who were not well-off (*al-akara al-muzāraʿīn wa 'l-mastūrīn min aḏjnās al-raʿiyya*) belonging to various races among his subjects (ii, 300). There is mention of a detachment (*ḏjayš*) of Ḳufṣ in ʿAḍud al-Dawla's army in 366/977 (Miskawayh, ii, 368, and see further C. E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian history*, 9-18).

The decline in the power of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ as a result of ʿAḍud al-Dawla's operations was only temporary. By the beginning of the Saldjūḳ period they were again in control of the *garmsīr* from Ḏjīruft to the Gulf of ʿUmān, though, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, their main location was in the Ḏjibāl Bāriz (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 66; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 6 ff.). They were reduced by Ḳāwurd b. Čaghrī Beg [*q.v.*] (Afḍal al-Dīn, *Badāyiʿ al-azmān wa waḳāyiʿ Kirmān*, ed. Dr. Mihdī Bayānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1326, 6 ff.). By the end of the 6th/12th century they were again operating in Ḏjīruft and the *garmsīr* of Kirmān (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 5 ff., 182; *Tārīḵh-i Afḍal*, 5 ff.). There are no references to the Ḳufṣ in the later Middle Ages, though there are, of course, many references to the Balūč, who were established in Makrān from the 5th/11th century and who may or may not have been the descendants of the Balūṣ [see BALŪČISTĀN].

Wazīrī claims that the Mihnī tribe were the descendants of the Ḳufṣ, but produces no evidence in support of this claim. When he was writing the Mihnī numbered some 700 families. They had a separate assessment, i.e. they were not included in the assessment of Ḏjīruft and Isfandaḳa, where they had their winter quarters—and this, perhaps, suggests that they had at one time been more important. Wazīrī states that up to fifty or sixty years before he was writing the Mihnī leaders had enjoyed a considerable degree of independence. In 1259/1843-4, the government seized Fatḥ ʿAlī Ḵhān, their leader, and confiscated the many estates which he held in Isfandaḳa and Ḏjīruft (*Ḏjughrāfiyā*, 56, 113-14, 121). According to a tradition current among the tribe, however, the Mihnī came originally from Ḵhurāsān to Isfandaḳa in Ṣafawid times, when a number of tribes formed a federation under their leadership. This would seem more probable, and would suggest that at most only some of those reckoned as Mihnī today are the direct descendants of the Ḳufṣ. Their leaders claim to be descendants of Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Ḵhayr [*q.v.*]. In 1969 the Mihnī consisted of the following eleven sub-tribes: the Sulaymānī, Lurī (who are alleged to have come to Kirmān from the Mamassanī in the reign of Nādir Shāh or, according to another account, in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās), the Bahr Āsmānī, the Markī, Muḳbilī, Sālār Barḵhwurī, Lurī, Rāhī Bārčī, Iskandarī, Kahhūrī, Puštkūhī, and Muẓaffarī. Wazīrī gives a list of twenty-three sub-tribes (199), which differs slightly from the above list.

The Ḏjibāl Bārizīs, according to Iṣṭaḵhrī, were even worse robbers than the Ḳufṣ. They did not adopt Islam until ʿAbbāsid times and he alleges that they persisted, in spite of their conversion, in their evil ways. They were eventually pacified by Yaʿḳūb b. Layth and ʿAmr b. Layth and their leaders destroyed. They too had a special dialect (Iṣṭaḵhrī, 164, 167; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 310; Muḳaddasī, 471). Whether as a result of the operations of the Ṣaffārids or because of the movements of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, they appear to have been pushed out of the Ḏjibāl Bāriz region. About the beginning of the 19th century the Manṣarī Tawakullī *tīra* of the Ḏjibāl Bārizī apparently moved to Bazinḏjān, where they numbered some 4-500 persons in 1960. Wazīrī mentions Djabal Bārizīs in Pārīz (199), but whether they were the direct descendants of the earlier Ḏjibāl Bārizīs is not clear. Wazīrī states that their prosperity and the numbers of their sheep, cattle and horses had decreased, especially from about 1860. They were engaged to some extent in trade, taking *kurk*, wool and cumin mainly to Bandar ʿAbbās for export to India and clarified butter and *kaškk* to Kirmān (120). The *Gazetteer of Persia* records the existence of 50 families of Djabal Bārizīs in Aḳṭāʿ in 1903 (iv [Calcutta 1910], 338). In 1960 there were a few families of Ḏjibāl Bārizīs who had summer quarters between Bāft and Rābur and winter quarters near Gulāshgird (Walāshgird).

The Akhwāsh, the fourth of the tribes mentioned by the early geographers, centred on Khwāsh, were said to be semi-nomads. They had camels and date palms and lived in houses made of reeds (Iṣṭaḵhrī, 168; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 313). They are not separately mentioned in later times.

Although there appears to have been some immigration of Arabs into Kirmān before the Islamic conquest (Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, 57)

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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there does not seem to have been widespread settlement by Arabs in the province during the early Islamic conquests. For the most part, the Arab armies pushed on through Kirmān into Sīstān and Khurāsān. So far as settlement took place, those who settled became, as in other provinces, largely assimilated to the local population. Small groups may also have been settled in the province after the period of the conquests. Yāḳūt records the existence of descendants of the Banū Azd [see AZD] and Banū Muhallab in Djīruft (Barbier de Meynard, 185). Wazīrī mentions the survival in Djīruft of a few families who still spoke Arabic (*Djughrāfiyā*, 119). The village known as Ḳaryat al-ʿArab, near the city of Kirmān, is believed to have been originally settled by the ʿĀmirī tribe, who came there from Simnān. In some of the coastal districts, such as Bandar ʿAbbās, however, much of the population was of Arab origin, though not necessarily Arab-speaking (cf. Houtum Schindler, *Reisen im südlichen Persien 1879*, 344).

Turkish tribes, Ghuzz and others, came into Kirmān from the 5th/11th century onwards. It is, however, difficult, if not impossible, to trace the changes in their locations and numbers. Whether the Salādjiḳa, who today are to be found in Rābur, are descendants of the Saldjūḳs is extremely doubtful. They do not appear to have any tradition among themselves of such an origin and are now Persian-speaking. They are mainly engaged in trade and for the past forty or fifty years have ceased to move from summer to winter quarters. The Khālū, centred on Rābur with winter quarters in Shastfīč, whom Wazīrī reckoned to be fifty families (*Djughrāfiyā*, 199), are related to the Salādjiḳa. They are so-called because Fatḥ ʿAlī (during the lifetime of his uncle Āḳā Muḥammad Khān) took one of their women, Fāṭima Khānum, to wife after he had defeated the tribes of Rābur. She in due course became his chief wife and was known as Sunbul Bādjī.

On the break-up of the Great Saldjūḳ empire there was a new influx of Ghuzz into Kirmān under Malik Dīnār. The Raʾīsī tribe claim to be their descendants. In the middle of the 19th century they numbered 200 families and lived in black tents in Narmāshīr, Rīgān and Rūdbār. Their *khāns* lived in the fortress of Kahnū in Rūdbār, which had been built by Malik Dīnār (Wazīrī, 108, 123). In 1903 they are recorded as comprising 700 families (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv (1910), 337). In 1960 their winter quarters were in Mīnāb and Rūdān and their summer quarters in Ustur, Balward, Sīrdjān and Čahārgunbad.

There was further movement of Turkish tribes into Kirmān during the Mongol, Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid periods. When exactly the Afshār [*q.v.*], who appear to have migrated westwards with other Ghuzz tribes in the 5th/11th century, settled in Kirmān is not known. There was already an Afshār presence in the province at the beginning of the 10th/16th century (cf. *ʿĀlamārā-yi Shāh Ismāʿīl*, ed. Aṣghar Muntaẓir Ṣāḥib, Tehran A.H.S. 1349, 326). Their *khāns* held governments there in the Ṣafawid period. On the death of Nādir Shāh, Shāhrukh Khān Afshār, who was settled in Zarand, temporarily extended his power over the whole province. In the 19th century the Afshār were the most important of the tribes of Kirmān. They consisted in Wazīrī's day of 52 subtribes (*tīra*) and *ca.* 1,000 families (*ibid.*, 145, 198-9). Sheil, writing rather earlier, put their numbers at 1,500 houses (*Note on the tribes by Sir J. Sheil*, in Lady Sheil, *Life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 398), which would suggest that Wazīrī's figures may be an underestimation. Today their summer quarters are between Bāft and Sīrdjān and their winter quarters in Urzūya and Dasht-i Bar. Their numbers in 1960 were estimated at *ca.* 20,000 and they were divided into 18-20 *tīra*s. Among other Turkish tribes in Kirmān in Ṣafawid times there were the Ḳarā Oghlānū, a branch of the Ḳaramānlu, whose *khāns* held governships in Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya towards the end of the period. By the time Wazīrī was writing, the tribe had become much weakened (*ibid.*, 143). A few Tekkelu are said to have fled to Aḳṭāʿ in the reign of Ṭahmāsp and to have been absorbed in due course by the Ḳarā Oghlānū (*ibid.*, 144). Of the various other Turkish tribes, the most important were probably the Ḳarāʾī and the Bučāḳčī. The former, according to Sheil, numbered 700 families (*op. cit.*, 398). Wazīrī put them at 800 (*ibid.*, 199), but by 1903 they appear to have declined to some 600 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv [1910], 337). The Bučāḳčī, according to a tradition current among themselves, were brought from Ḳarā Dāgh to Fārs in Ṣafawid times to act as wardens of the marches and later moved to Kirmān. According to Wazīrī they numbered 200 families, and many of them were settled in their summer quarters around Balward (*ibid.*, 154, 199). Some of them had winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Bandar ʿAbbās. By 1903 their numbers had changed little (*Gazetteer of Persia*, ix [1910], 337), but by 1960 they numbered some 2,000 families. Some of their *tīra*s were Turkī-speaking, others Persian-speaking, and some of them were settled. The Shūl, who formerly belonged to the Afshār federation, had by 1903 joined the Bučāḳčī and numbered some 90 families (*ibid.*). In 1960 there were some fifty families of Shūl Turks settled near Sīrdjān, who claimed that their forefathers had come from Fārs at the beginning of the 19th century. The *Gazetteer of Persia* mentions 150 families of Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu in Aḳṭāʿ in 1903 (iv, [1910], 338). It is possible that they were descendants of families left behind in Kirmān by the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu in the 9th/15th century. They appear to have been subsequently absorbed into the Afshār and in 1960 were reckoned among the Afshār *tīra*s.

In the early 18th century a number of Lak tribes moved from Fārs to Kirmān and established their winter and summer quarters in Urzūya and Aḳṭāʿ respectively (Wazīrī, *Djughrāfiyā*, 144). They numbered some 2,000 families in 1903 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv [1910], 338-9). Sheil put the ʿAṭā Ilāhī, whom he described as Laks, at 3,000 tents and houses (*Note on tribes by Sir Justin Sheil*, in *op. cit.*, 398). According to Wazīrī, the Atā Ilāhī had cultivated land and cattle in Sīrdjān and Shahr-i Bābak. They were Ismāʿīlīs and numbered some 150 families (*Djughrāfiyā*, 157, 199). In 1960 there were some 2,500 Laks in the neighbourhood of Bazindjān. There are, or were, various other tribes and sub-tribes in the province whose origins are difficult to establish. Most of them are semi-nomadic and their numbers very small.

The internal organisation of these various tribal groups appears to have been broadly similar. Most of the tribes had a *raʾīs* or leader, whose office appears usually to have been hereditary within a family. Larger tribes or federations, such as the Afshār, had an *ilkhānī*. Each tribe was composed of a number of *tīra*s, under a *kadkhudā*, whose office was sometimes hereditary but more often subject to election by the elders (*rīsh safīd*) of the *tīra*. The latter were composed of *ikhshām*, i.e. groups of, perhaps, 5-12 families, each under a *rīsh safīd*. The

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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number and size of the *īras* varied widely with the prosperity of the tribe. Success brought new followers, while failure or weakness caused the dispersal of its existing followers. The collection of taxes from the tribe and the decision of disputes were usually carried out by the *raʾīs-i īl*, though not infrequently an outsider became responsible for the payment of the taxes to the government. Thus Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, the grandson of Ẓahīr al-Dawla, became responsible for the taxes of the Mihnī tribe and for those of Isfandaḳa and Rābur (*ibid.*, 56), while Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī was charged with the collection of the taxes in the Afshār of about 1870 and had the title *īlbegī* (*ibid.*, 61). In recent years the tribal structure has largely broken down.

In the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to give a breakdown of the population at different periods. From time to time, conquest brought about a transfer of power from one group to another, a redistribution of land and the emergence of new factions, but we are ignorant of the details of these events. It would seem likely, in view of the flourishing trade of Kirmān in the early centuries that the merchants formed a prosperous community, but that their importance declined with the decrease in trade. Aubin in his monograph entitled *Deux sayyids de Bam au XVᵉ siècle* has studied the functions and influence of local religious leaders in the Tīmūrid period. Some information on the leading families in the 19th century is to be obtained from Wazīrī (*op. cit.*). In Kirmān, as elsewhere, in Persia, the *aʿyān* were composed of landowners, tribal leaders, religious dignitaries and merchants. The dividing lines were not always clearly drawn. Marriage alliances between them were common. Governors and local officials were also included in the *aʿyān*, and often used their official position to acquire wealth and land. In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries the leading officials of the bureaucracy were rich and influential. It is not always easy to decide what was the basis of a family's influence, whether it was government office, trade, landownership or religious leadership, for all might be combined in one family. But governors changed frequently and though they sometimes settled in the province, the government of which they had held, the system did not make for the emergence of families who retained their pre-eminence over a long period. Some of the local *sayyids* were among those who could perhaps trace their influence back furthest. Wazīrī states that there were families of *sayyids* in Bam and Narmāshīr who had held property there for over 400 years (*ibid.*, 102). One, the Ḳāḍī family of Bam, had held the office of *ḳāḍī* there from generation to generation (*ibid.*, 97). There appears also to have been some movement among *sayyids*. Thus, the Mīrzāʾī *sayyids*, who came to Bam about 1770, were by origin from Tabrīz. One of their number, Ḥadjdjī Sayyid ʿAlī Khān b. Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, was made *raʾīs* of Bam and Narmāshīr by Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk (who became governor of Kirmān in 1860) and put in charge of *dīwān* taxation and the *ḵẖāliṣadjāt* of Bam. This, however, proved disastrous for the family: he was a spendthrift and was dismissed, and all his estates and those of his nephews were taken in lieu of arrears. But their fall was only temporary, and when Wazīrī was writing they were again a rich and respected family (*ibid.*, 100-1).

As elsewhere, it was not uncommon for the religious classes and the merchants to be closely allied, either through marriage or by actual participation in trade. Thus, Ḥadjdjī Sayyid Muṣṭafā b. Ḥadjdjī Sayyid ʿAbi 'l-Maʿṣūm, a Riḍawī *sayyid*, who owned numerous villages and hamlets and many herds of camels and flocks of sheep and goats, had agents and partners in Bandar ʿAbbās, Yazd and elsewhere, who traded on his behalf (*ibid.*, 158-9). There was also movement from merchant families and craftsmen into the religious classes. Ḥādjdjī Āḳā Aḥmad b. Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Kirmānī, who belonged to a merchant family, studied *fiḳh* and became a *mudjtahid*. He owned much property in Rafsindjān and elsewhere (*ibid.*, 44-5).

Two families were especially prominent in Kirmān in the 19th and 20th centuries, those of Ẓahīr al-Dawla Ibrāhīm Khān b. Mihdī Ḳulī Khān b. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ḳādjār Ḳuwanlu and Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk Nūrī, both of whom had been governor of the province. Their fortunes illustrate the ease with which government officials were able to acquire wealth and property and become part of the local *aʿyan*. The first, Ẓahīr al-Dawla Ibrāhīm Khān (d. 1240/1824-5), who became governor of Kirmān in 1216/1801-2, settled in the province, where he and his descendants acquired property (*ibid.*, 54 ff.). He himself bought some of the estates of the heirs of Āḳā ʿAlī Wazīrī (see below) in lieu of arrears due from Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Āḳā ʿAlī (*ibid.*, 170). His grandson, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Khān, acquired villages in Isfandaḳa and Djīruft through marriage to a daughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Mihnī. He also founded new estates in those regions (*ibid.*, 56). Ḥādjdjī Mūsā Khān b. Ẓahīr al-Dawla's daughter married Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Āḳā Ibrāhīm of the Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān family. Wazīrī alleges that whoever in Kirmān married into the Ẓahīr al-Dawla family tended to become puffed up with pride because of the wealth of his wife (*ibid.*, 69-70). The second, Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Wakīl al-Mulk, whose family came from Nūr in Māzandarān, was sent as *pīsḵẖkār* to Kirmān and Balūčistān in 1275/1858-9. In 1277/1860 he became governor of the province, holding office until his death in 1284/1867-8. He exerted great efforts in the development of Kirmān and Balūčistān. He made a number of *ḳanāts* and gardens, and revived much *ḵẖāliṣa* land which had fallen out of cultivation or into a bad state of repair. He rented these for a lump sum, which transaction proved extremely profitable. He was also a great builder and made many caravansarais, *ḥammāms*, *ribāts* and other buildings. His son Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān Wakīl al-Mulk was governor from 1286/1869-70 to 1295/1878 (see further Asad Allāh Nūrī Isfandiyārī, *Tārīḵẖ-i Ḵẖānawāda-i Isfandiyārī*, Tehran A.H.S. 1329). Both Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān and Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān acquired extensive estates in the province and established links with the local *aʿyān* through marriage alliances. Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān gave one of his daughters to Mīrzā Ghulām Ḥusayn b. Āḳā Ibrāhīm, who owned estates round the town of Kirmān. This Ghulām Ḥusayn belonged to a family of *sayyids* originally from Djīruft (Wazīrī, *op. cit.*, 69), and his maternal grandmother was a sister of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Wazīr (see below).

In the local government offices there was often a hereditary tendency. For example, the office of *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] of Kirmān had been in the Kalāntarī family since the time of Shāh ʿAbbās. From towards the beginning of the 19th century they also held the office of *ḍābiṭ* of Khabīs and Gawk and from about the middle of the century the collection of taxes of the environs (*ḥawma*) of the town of Kirmān was also entrusted to them. Muḥammad Zamān Kalāntar

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and his father Mīrzā Kāẓim Kalāntar were blinded by Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī in 1251/1835-6. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Abu 'l Ḥasan b. Mīrzā Ḥasan Khān, a nephew of Mīrzā Kāẓim Kalāntar, was the *kalāntar* and *ʿāmil* of Sīrdjān, and also the head of the Niʿmat Allāhī order. Another member of the family, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān b. Mīrzā Yūsuf, acquired many *mazāriʿ* and gardens in Khabīṣ and Gawk, where he was for years in charge of the collection of *dīwān* taxes. Mīrzā Mihdī Khān b. Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān was also an overseer (*mubāshir*) in the tax administration in Khabīṣ, where he too acquired desirable estates. He was a capable man, but tyrannical in the matter of tax-collection (*ʿāmilī*) (*ibid.*, 63-5).

Another family which seems to have risen to prominence through the holding of government office was the family of Mīrzā Khalīl, who was made *mustawfī* of Kirmān in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. His son, ʿAlī Akbar, became *kadkhudā* and *dārūgha* of Kirmān city and *ḍābit* of Sīrdjān in 1258/1842-4. While holding the latter post he acquired riches and bought property in the environs of Sīrdjān and in Bardsīr, but dissipated much of his wealth towards the end of his life. His son, Yaḥyā, became *kalāntar* of Kirmān. Another branch of the family held the office of *kadkhudā* of Kirmān. When Wazīrī was writing, Mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn was *kadkhudā* and known as the *kadkhudā-bāshī* although he did not have any authority over the *kadkhudās* of the other quarters (*ibid.*, 65-8).

Among the oldest families of Kirmān was the Wazīrī family, who traced their origins back to the Ḳutlugh Khān, Barāḳ Ḥādjīb [see BURĀḲ ḤĀDJIB], the founder of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy or Ḳutlughkhānī dynasty [*q.v.*], who died in 632/1234 (see below). At the turn of the 18th century the family was mainly engaged in trade but also owned land, Āḳā ʿAlī, the head of the family at the time, having many estates in Aḳṭāʿ, Kushk and Khināmān. He was taken as a hostage by Karīm Khān Zand to Shīrāz, where he became acquainted with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān. On the death of Karīm Khān, Djaʿfar Khān gave money to Āḳā ʿAlī and sent him back to Kirmān on the understanding that he would bring Kirmān over to Djaʿfar Khān's side. After the death of Djaʿfar Khān, Āḳā ʿAlī threw in his lot with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and refused Luṭf ʿAlī entry to Kirmān. The latter, when he subsequently took Kirmān seized Āḳā ʿAlī's possessions, put two of his nephews, Hādī Khān and Ṣādiḳ Beg, in prison, and fined his son, Mīrzā Ḥusayn, heavily. He also took one of his daughters to wife and gave another to his uncle, Naṣr Allāh Khān. The former was later married to ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, the brother of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Shīrāzī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Āḳā ʿAlī, who had been sent to Tehran by Bābā Khān (later Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh), reported these happenings to Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and encouraged him to set out for Kirmān, which he did in 1208/1793-4, accompanied by Āḳā ʿAlī. When Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, after defeating Luṭf ʿAlī gave the town of Kirmān over to pillage, he exempted from this the residence of Āḳā ʿAlī, and several thousand persons are alleged to have taken refuge there and escaped slaughter. Āḳā Muḥammad Khān made Āḳā ʿAlī's son, Āḳā Muḥammad Taḳī, governor of Kirmān, which office he held until the death of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, and another son, Mīrzā Ḥusayn (d. 1270/1853-4), his treasurer (*ṣundūḳ-dār*). The mother of the latter, an Iṣfahānī, was a Mīr Muḥammad Rafīʿ *sayyida* on her father's side and a Ṣafawī *sayyida* on her mother's side. When Āḳā Muḥammad Khān returned to Shīrāz he took Āḳā ʿAlī and Mīrzā Ḥusayn with him. The former apparently died in Shīrāz shortly afterwards. Towards the middle of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, Mīrzā Ḥusayn was appointed *wazīr* of Kirmān, which office he held until about the middle of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh. He had many estates in Aḳṭāʿ, Urzūya and Kūshk. The office of *raʾīs* and *ʿāmil* (tax-collector) of the districts of Aḳṭāʿ, Urzūya, Kūshk and Ṣawghān remained in his family for many years, and his descendants owned villages, gardens, flocks and herds in these districts. Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān, Āḳā ʿAlī's grandson, was *ʿāmil* of the districts of Aḳṭāʿ, Urzūya, Kūshk and Ṣawghān and of the Afshār tribe for over twenty-five years. From about 1870 he had the title of *īlbegī*. In addition to the properties he inherited, Muḥammad ʿAlī founded many villages in Urzūya and Aḳṭāʿ. His position as tax-collector enabled him to usurp the estates of his uncle Mīrzā Ḥusayn Wazīr and his cousin ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān after their deaths (*ibid.*, 61). His brother, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khān also usurped some of the properties of ʿAlī Muḥammad in Aḳṭāʿ and Urzūya. He founded other properties as well and gradually became a wealthy man. A third brother, Murtaḍā Ḳulī, had numerous estates in Urzūya, Aḳṭāʿ, Kūshk and Bardsīr, some usurped, some bought and some founded by himself. He put money out with merchants and others. He owned herds of horses and flocks of sheep (*ibid.*, 5 ff., 58 ff., 62). A grandson of Āḳā ʿAlī, ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, married his cousin, Bībī Kūčik, a daughter of Mīrzā Ḥusayn b. Āḳā ʿAlī: their son was Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī, the author of the *Djughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān* and the *Tārīkh-i Kirmān*. ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān is said to have brought back six *ḳanāts* in Ṣawghān into a flourishing condition (*ibid.*, 12). Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī, unlike his forebears, did not enter government service, but occupied himself running his estates. He appears, however, to have received a government pension (*muḳarrarī*) (Wazīrī, *Tārīkh-i Kirmān*, ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran 1961, introduction).

Wazīrī mentions another old family, the Āḳāyān of Anār, who traced their origins back to Bahādur Idgū Barlās, who had been governor of Kirmān in the time of Tīmūr. For years this family had held the office of *raʾīs* of Anār, but by Wazīrī's time they had fallen on evil days and become poverty-stricken (*Djughrāfiyā*, 183). For the rest, most of the families mentioned by Wazīrī had risen to prominence in recent times.

In the middle of the 19th century, partly as a result of the increase in the price of agricultural produce and the revival of long-distance and local trade, there appears to have been a revival in the prosperity of the merchant class and also a strengthening of their links with the landowning class. This was notably the case in Rafsindjān. Wazīrī relates that a certain Ḥādjdjī Āḳā ʿAlī of Rafsindjān had landed estates worth over 100,000 *tūmāns* and partners and agents in Bombay, Yazd, Iṣfahān, Tehran, Mashhad, Tabrīz and Istanbul, whereas thirty years before he had not owned property worth 1,000 *tūmāns* (*ibid.*, 168-9, 172). Among merchant families in Kirmān city, Wazīrī mentions that of Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad ʿAlī Amīn al-Raʿāyā b. Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Ibrāhīm b. Ḥādjdjī Allāhvardī Kirmānī, who was the *raʾīs al-tudjdjār* of Kirmān. His father and grandfather had built many caravanserais, baths and mosques in the city of Kirmān and elsewhere. He himself had acquired many estates in the district of Khabīṣ and in Māhān. According to Wazīrī, he

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showed little care for the poor and the deserving (*ibid.*, 78).

Wazīrī asserts that between about 1844 and 1874 there was a great increase in the wealth of those holding land, due, he states, to the high prices for cotton and madder which had prevailed for several years in India and for grain in Persia. Persons whose property thirty years before he was writing had been worth 1,000 *tūmāns* were then receiving an income of 2,000 *tūmāns* from their estates, and those who had formerly been prepared to sell a hamlet or piece of cultivated land for a song to pay their tax demands would not then sell for 3,000 or 4,000 *tūmāns*. This was especially the case in Sīrdjān, Rafsindjān and Urzūya. He alleges that the condition of agricultural labourers had also improved, so much so that they were better off than had been the owners of hamlets formerly. Many of the agricultural labourers of Rafsindjān had become *ḥādjdjīs*. Flockmasters, because of the rise in the price of *kurk*, had also become rich men (*ibid.*, 168-9, 158).

Religion.—In Sāsānid times, there were in addition to Zoroastrians a number of Nestorian Christians in Kirmān. The bishop of Kirmān was under the metropolitan of Fārs. Conversion to Islam after the Arab conquest was slow. The province was exposed to Khāridjī influence in the 1st century and to some Ismāʿīlī activity in the late 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries (see below). Muḳaddasī states that the Khawāridj had a Friday mosque in Bam. According to his account, the dominant rite was the Shāfiʿī one except in Djīruft. The *fuḳahāʾ* were not numerous; among them the *ahl al-ḥadīth* formed the majority except in Hurmuz (468-9). Afḍal al-Dīn praises the good religion and orthodoxy of the people of Bardsīr. He alleges that Kirmān was free from every kind of heresy and that the people were either Ḥanafīs or Shāfiʿīs. Yāḳūt states that the inhabitants of Kirmān were virtuous, honest, and very attached to Sunnism and orthodoxy (483). Under the Ṣafawids, Kirmān, like the rest of the empire, accepted *Iṯna ʿashar*ī Shīʿism. In the 19th century the Shaykhīs [*q.v.*] gained many adherents in Kirmān, as also did the Bābīs [*q.v.*]. The office of *Shaykh al-Islām* in Kirmān was held in the middle of the 19th century by Riḍawī *sayyids*, who were Shaykhīs (Wazīrī, *Diughrāfiyā*, 52-3). Factional strife between the Shaykhīs and Bālāsarīs was common. Under the Tīmūrids the Niʿmat-Allāhī dervish order, founded by Shaykh Niʿmat Allāh Walī (d. 843/1431), gained many followers in Kirmān and elsewhere. Shaykh Niʿmat Allāh's shrine at Māhān, near Kirmān, has remained one of the main centres of the order.

Zoroastrians appear to have maintained themselves as a community in Kirmān city, though in greatly reduced numbers, until modern times. Tavernier puts their numbers at 10,000 in the middle of the 17th century. In the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1667-94) they were removed from the city at the demand of the *ʿulamāʾ*. They built a suburb to the north of the town. They were plundered by the Afghāns in 1133/1720-1 (Wazīrī, *Diughrāfiyā*, 28; *Tārīḵ-i Kirmān*, 294). Khanikoff states that there were 12,000 Parsi families in Kirmān before its destruction by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān in 1794. Thereafter, their numbers declined. According to Abbott, there were only 150 families in Kirmān in the middle of the 19th century. Of these some 40 families lived in the villages around Kirmān, and the remainder in the town (*Notes on the trade*, etc.). Wazīrī put the number at 200 families (*Diughrāfiyā*, 40). In 1903 the total number of Zoroastrians was said to be 1,700 persons (*Gazetteer of Persia*, iv (1910), 349). A small community of Hindus from Shikarpūr appear to have settled in Kirmān some time after 1810. They were engaged in banking and trade with Karachi, Bombay, Sind and the Punjab (Stack, i, 215; Curzon, ii, 244). The export trade of Kirmān was largely in their hands in the 19th century (W. M. Floor, *The merchants (tujjār) in Qājār Iran*, in *ZDMG*, cxxvi/1 (1976), 121).

History.—Kirmān in many ways developed along different lines from the rest of Persia. It was distant from the early capitals of the caliphate. Its mountain fastnesses could not be easily controlled and local leaders were often able to assert their independence. Thus each of seven mountains which constituted the Djabal Ḳufṣ region had a separate leader in early Islamic times. The Lūt prevented easy access from Khurāsān and Sīstān, while the inhospitable country to the north-west discouraged expansion from and into the Djibāl. It was ideal country for dissident groups and was one of the regions where the Azārīḳa [*q.v.*] carried on their resistance to the caliphate. Its abundant pastures attracted tribal groups, but the broken nature of the country militated against the formation of large tribal kingdoms. Lack of communications tended to isolate the province but trade with Central Asia, India and the Far East and with other parts of Persia was, nevertheless, important, though subject to interruption by local outbreaks of disorder.

The Arab conquest of Kirmān as recorded by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 315, 391 ff.) was begun about 17/638 by al-Rabiʿ b. Ziyād, who was sent by Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], then governor of Baṣra on behalf of the caliph ʿUmar. Al-Rabīʿ conquered Sīrdjān and made terms with the inhabitants of Bam. Another Arab expedition was sent about the same time by the governor of Baḥrayn, ʿUthmān b. Abi ʾl-ʿĀṣ al-Thaḳafī, who killed the *marzbān* of Kirmān in the island of Abarkawān. The conquest of Kirmān was not, however, completed. In 29/649-50 Yazdagird, the last of the Sāsānid kings, fled from Iṣfahān to Kirmān and thence to Khurāsān. Most of the Arab army under Mudjāshiʿ b. Masʿūd al-Sulamī sent by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir in pursuit of him perished in the snow at Baymand (in the district of Sīrdjān). Mudjāshiʿ, appointed governor of Kirmān by Ibn ʿĀmir, subsequently took possession of the chief towns up to the Ḳufṣ mountains. A counter-attack by the Persians from Hurmuz was defeated. Further details concerning the early conquests are uncertain and variously recorded (see al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 286).

Under the Umayyads, Kirmān became a theatre for the activities of the Khāridjīs. In 68/687-8 the Azārīḳa fled to Kirmān. About 73/693 they reassembled and under Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa [*q.v.*] seized Fārs and Kirmān, being joined by a number of the local inhabitants. They extended their activities to ʿIrāḳ. Harried by al-Muhallab, they withdrew again to Kirmān. By about 79/698-9 they had been exterminated by him. Kirmān nevertheless continued to be a hotbed of rebellions and a favourite asylum for rebels. Ibn al-Ashʿath [*q.v.*] took refuge there briefly *ca.* 82/701-2 or 83/702-3. In 101/719-20, the rebel Yazīd b. Muhallab, who, during his father's lifetime had for a period been governor of Kirmān, appointed a governor over Kirmān. After the failure of his rebellion, from about 102/720 the Umayyads (in whose name several coins struck at Kirmān survive) seem to have exercised control over the province, often through the governor of Khurāsān,

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who would administer the province through a deputy. In 120/738 Muḥārib b. Mūsā, a supporter of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya b. Djaʿfar, who had turned out Marwān's governors from Fārs, made inroads into Kirmān but was later routed by the supporters of Marwān. In 131/748-9 an Umayyad army set out from Kirmān to oppose the ʿAbbāsid army under Ḳaḥṭaba, which had advanced on Ray, and was defeated near Iṣfahān.

Under the early ʿAbbāsids, governors were appointed over the province, which continued for the most part to fall under the general control of Khurāsān. ʿAbbāsid coins struck in the province in the year 165/781-2 and 167/783-4 survive. During the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd rebellion spread to Kirmān when Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sharī occupied Harāt in 179/795 and extended his authority to Fārs and Kirmān, where there were still a considerable number of Khāridjīs, who appear to have recovered from the defeats inflicted on them in late Umayyad times (see further Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au II^e et au III^e siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, 54 ff.).

Ibn Balkhī gives figures for the revenue of Kirmān at this period. In 200/815-16 Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān were assessed at 2,600,000 *dīnārs*, a new assessment having been necessary because the registers had been destroyed in the civil war. Another assessment made by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā in the reign of al-Muḳtadir was rather lower, namely 2,331,880 *dīnārs*, of which Kirmān and ʿUmān accounted for 444,380 *dīnārs*. After various deductions the net sum going to the *dīwān* was 364,380 *dīnārs* (Ibn Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 171).

A succession of governors, some of whom from the time of al-Muʿtaṣim onwards were Turks, ruled the province until the caliphate of al-Muhtadī, when Muḥammad b. Wāṣil al-Tamīmī rebelled in 250/864-5 and seized Fārs and Kirmān. Al-Muʿtamid on his accession to the caliphate sent an army against him. The two armies met near Ahwāz and the caliph's force was defeated. About the same time Yaʿḳūb b. Layth moved into Kirmān and took possession of it. Some of the supporters of Muḥammad b. Wāṣil joined him, while the remainder set out for Fārs. Yaʿḳūb after spending some two months in Kirmān, marched into Fārs in 253/867. Both he and his brother ʿAmr after him appointed governors over Kirmān. The latter, after he was defeated by al-Muwaffaḳ in Fārs, retired to Sīstān in 274/887-8, but in 280/893-4 al-Muʿtaḍid made peace with him and re-appointed him over Fārs, Kirmān and Sīstān. After the death of ʿAmr, his grandson Ṭāhir governed Fārs and Kirmān until 295/907-8, when it passed into the hands of Subkarī (?Sebük-eri), who was defeated by a caliphal army in 298/911 or 299/912. In 317/929, however, the Ṣaffārid Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Layth was able to send a military force to Kirmān to collect revenue.

Meanwhile, the Sāmānid kingdom was in the throes of revolt. One of Naṣr b. Aḥmad's *amīrs*, Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ilyās, had seized Nīshāpūr. When Naṣr recovered the town in 320/932, Muḥammad b. Ilyās went to Kirmān and established himself there. In 322/934 Mākān b. Kākī drove Muḥammad out and took possession of the province on behalf of the Sāmānids. In either 323/935 or 324/935-6 Mākān left the province to undertake operations against Wushmgīr in Gurgān. Muḥammad b. Ilyās returned and attempted to restore his authority. Meanwhile Aḥmad b. Būya (later Muʿizz al-Dawla) had advanced on Kirmān and when he reached Sīrdjān in 324/935-6 the Sāmānid *amīr*, Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr, who was besieging Muḥammad b. Ilyās, withdrew to Sīstān while Muḥammad b. Ilyās retired to Khurāsān. Muʿizz al-Dawla then undertook operations against the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ, the details of which are variously recorded (see above). In 326/937-8 he was recalled to Baghdād. After the withdrawal of the Būyids, it appears that Muḥammad b. Ilyās returned to Kirmān. He acknowledged the Sāmānids in the *khuṭba* and received in 348/959-60 a banner and robe of honour from the caliph al-Muṭīʿ. Somewhat later, quarrels broke out between Muḥammad b. Ilyās and his sons, and he was finally persuaded to abdicate in favour of Ilyasaʿ. In 356/967 ʿAḍud al-Dawla took ʿUmān and invaded Kirmān. Bardsīr fell in Ramaḍān 357/August 968 and Ilyasaʿ fled to Khurāsān. ʿAḍud al-Dawla, having received a diploma for Kirmān from the caliph, then appointed his son Abu 'l Fawāris Shīrzīl (later Sharaf al-Dawla) governor and returned to Shīrāz. In 359/969-70 an abortive attempt was made by the Sāmānids to regain possession of Kirmān with the help of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī b. Ilyās. In 364/974-5 al-Ḥusayn b. (?) Muḥammad b. Ilyās placed himself at the head of a group of malcontents in the *garmsīr* but was defeated and captured (see further C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam*, ed. idem, Edinburgh 1971, 107-24). The period of the Banū Ilyās was a time of disorder during which the revenues of the province were dissipated (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 315). Under ʿAḍud al-Dawla the province appears to have been highly taxed compared to the reign of al-Muḳtadir. According to Ibn Balkhī, the total revenue of Fārs, Kirmān and ʿUmān, together with *ʿushr* levied at Sīrāf and Mihrūbān on goods imported by sea (*?ʿushr-i mashraʿa-yi daryāʾī*), in the time of ʿAḍud al-Dawla was 3,346,000 *dīnārs*, of which Kirmān, Tīz and the coastal districts of Fārs (*? bulūk*) accounted for 750,000 *dīnārs* (*Fārs-nāma*, 172). After the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla in 372/982-3, his descendants began to fight among themselves for the province and a period of some confusion followed. Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 407/1016-17 attempted to instal his nominee in the province but without lasting success and in 424/1033 Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd temporarily occupied it (C. E. Bosworth, *The political and dynastic history of the Iranian world*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 13; see also ABŪ KĀLĪDJĀR).

In 431/1040 the Saldjūḳs defeated Masʿūd at the battle of Dandānḳān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], and some two years later in 433/1041-2 Ḳāwurd Ḳarā Arslān Beg b. Čaghrī Beg b. Mīkāʾīl b. Saldjūḳ [*q.v.*] was sent by Toghrïl Beg to conquer Kirmān. This attack was repulsed by Abū Kālīdjār in 434/1042-3. A second expedition in 440/1048 was more successful, the governor, Bahrām b. Lashkar, surrendering the province without war. The Ḳufṣ, however, resisted but were defeated (see above). Ḳāwurd, who established his rule in Kirmān, made two attempts to usurp the sultanate. On the first occasion in 459/1066-7, Alp Arslān marched against him and defeated him, but reinstated him in Kirmān in his former position (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 36-7). After Alp Arslān left the province, Ḳāwurd went to Balūčistān, repaired the port of Tīz and appointed governors over Makrān. He also conquered ʿUmān, which remained in Saldjūḳ hands until the death of Arslān Shāh in 536/1141. When Alp Arslān died in 465/1072, Ḳāwurd made his second attempt to claim the sultanate. According to one account, he wrote to Malik Shāh stating that he was more fitted to succeed on the

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grounds that he was Alp Arslān's eldest brother (Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akẖbār al-dawla al-Salḏjūḳiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Iḳbāl, Lahore 1933, 56). According to another account, some of Malik Shāh's *amīr*s invited him to come (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 12-13). He was defeated near Hamadān, and taken prisoner and killed. The Salḏjūḳs of Kirmān did not, however, come to an end with Ḳāwurd: the dynasty founded by him was to last some 150 years, during which the province enjoyed, on the whole, prosperity and peace.

The Salḏjūḳs of Kirmān had a reputation for justice and caring for their subjects. Ḳāwurd took measures to establish security on the roads, and erected pillars at intervals along the Bam-Fahradj road so that travellers would not lose the way; he also built caravanserais and water tanks (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 10-11). Ḳawurd, Tūrān Shāh b. Ḳāwurd, Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh and his wife Zaytūn Ḵẖātūn, and Muḥammad b. Arslān Shāh were all great builders. The latter built a library for the Tūrān Shāh *ḏjāmiʿ*, which contained 5,000 books on different branches of learning. Some of them were also patrons of the religious classes. In the reign of Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh, the *ʿulamāʾ* are alleged to have come to Kirmān from far and wide. His son, Muḥammad, gave pensions to the *fuḳahāʾ* and during his reign there was, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, a spread of learning and a tendency for craftsmen to send their sons to study *fiḳh* (29). Some of the officials and *amīr*s of the Salḏjūḳs were also builders and patrons of the religious classes. The atabeg, Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān, made many charitable foundations and constituted *awḳāf* for their upkeep (*Tārīḵẖ-i Afḍal*, 36).

Although the Salḏjūḳs of Kirmān were familiar with city life, their existence was closely bound up with the well-being of their flocks. They habitually spent seven months of the year in Bardsīr and five (from Ādhar (Nov.-Dec.) to Urdī Bihisht (April-May)) in Djīrūft, their flocks moving with them. Their financial position seems to have been favourable until towards the end of the dynasty, and Bahrām Shāh b. Muḥammad, under whom the decline of the dynasty set in, succeeded to a well-filled treasury. Throughout Ḳāwurd's reign of 34 years the value of the coinage remained stable (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 4). Trade probably contributed to this favourable situation. Ḳamādīn, even towards the end of the period, was still an important centre of long-distance trade and was "a place where strangers from Anatolia and India and travellers by land and sea lodged, and was full of wealth" (*Tārīḵẖ-i Afḍal*, 41, 69). Some of the ministers and *amīr*s owned considerable estates. Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān appears to have let his money out to merchants and others, who presumably worked it for him (cf. *Tārīḵẖ-i Afḍal*, 40). The pay and allowances of the military following of the ruler (*ḵẖaṣẖam*) were controlled from the centre (cf. *Tārīḵẖ-i Afḍal*, 34). The troops were mainly Turks, but there were also some Daylamīs. They received allowances and *iḳṭāʿ*s, mainly, according to Afḍal al-Dīn, in the district of Sīrdjān, where "a great *amīr* with a large force was always stationed because it was on the frontiers of Fārs" (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 74). The total number of the military following of the rulers and their *amīr*s was not large. Ḳāwurd, when he came to Kirmān in 433/1041-2 had, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm a force of 5,000 or 6,000 (2). The rival groups who disputed supremacy in the province at the end of the period and during the period of Ghuzz ascendancy were on the whole not large. Malik Dīnār is said to have ruled over 20,000 men (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 20). Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm credits Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubāriz and Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Shabānkāra *amīr*s, with having a force of 10,000 men, horse and foot, when they came to Kirmān in 596/1199-1200 (179).

Ḳāwurd was succeeded by his son Kirmān Shāh, whom he had appointed to act in his stead during his absence on the campaign against Malik Shāh. Sulṭān Shāh, who had been taken captive with his father Ḳāwurd, escaped from captivity and was brought to Kirmān. His brother had meanwhile died, and in 467/1074 he ascended the throne in Kirmān. In 472/1079-80 (or according to some sources rather earlier), Malik Shāh went to Kirmān and besieged Sulṭān Shāh in Bardsīr. After some seventeen days the siege was raised, Sulṭān Shāh was confirmed in his government and Malik Shāh returned to Iṣfahān. Sulṭān Shāh was succeeded by his brother Tūrān Shāh in 477/1085. His reign was on the whole uneventful. In 487/1094 he made an abortive expedition into Fārs. He was followed by his son, Īrān Shāh in 490/1097. The latter appears to have been won over to the Ismāʿīlīs. A number of *amīr*s had recourse to the *Shaykẖ al-Islām*, the *ḳāḍī* Djamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī, who issued a *faṭwā* for his death. Īrān Shāh fled, but was overtaken and killed, and Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh placed on the throne in Muḥarram 495/October 1101 with the joint support of the *amīr*s and the *ḳāḍī*s. He reigned for 42 years and under him the dynasty reached its greatest heights. He married a daughter of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh. He appointed, as had his predecessors, *shiḥna*s over ʿUmān and attempted also to extend his dominion over Fārs. He defeated Čawlī Saḳāō in 508/1114-15, and on the death of the latter in 510/1116-17, Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh appears to have considered the threat posed by the Salḏjūḳs of Kirmān to Fārs to be a real one (Ibn al-Aṯīr, x, 365). Towards the end of Arslān Shāh's reign, disputes arose between him and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, the ruler of Yazd. Bahrām Shāh b. Masʿūd, the Ghaznavid, when he was defeated by his brother Arslān Shāh, sought the help of Arslān Shāh b. Kirmān Shāh. The latter treated him with favour, but refused to help him on the grounds that he did not wish to interfere in affairs which properly concerned Sandjar. In 537/1142, Muḥammad b. Arslān Shāh set his father aside because of his advanced age and seized the throne, in spite of the fact that another son, Kirmān Shāh had been appointed *walī ʿahd*. A third son, Salḏjūḳ Shāh, after making an abortive attempt to seize the kingdom, fled to ʿUmān, where he continued to constitute a potential threat to Muḥammad. The fact that the latter is said to have appointed *ṣāḥib ḵẖabar*s in the towns within his kingdom and to have had an excellent information service perhaps suggests that there was unrest or hidden opposition to him. However that may be, Kirmān continued to prosper under Muḥammad. He extended his rule over Ṭabas and his successors continued to appoint *shiḥna*s over that city for some years. There was also a proposal by Rashīd Djāmadār, the governor of Iṣfahān, to hand that city over to Muḥammad, but the death of both parties in 551/1156 brought the plan to nought.

Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Toghrīl Shāh, a somewhat frivolous character, and there was during his reign a decline in public morals. However, Kirmān still enjoyed security and prosperity under his rule (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 7; *Tārīḵẖ-i Afḍal*, 30; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 35). There was a total eclipse in the month of Urdī Bihisht 557 *ḵẖarādjī*/April-May

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1169 (*ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 8; *Tārīḵh-i Afḍal* 30). In the last years of Ṭoghrïl Shāh's reign, power was in the hands of the Atabeg Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān, who, on the death of Ṭoghrïl Shāh in 565/1170, placed the latter's son, Bahrām Shāh, on the throne, though not before Turkish troops had plundered Djīruft and carried off the cattle (*marākib wa sutūrān*) of the non-Turks and the bureaucracy (*Tārīḵh-i Afḍal*, 33, 36). His succession was disputed by his brother Arslān, who was joined by the Atabeg Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Buzkush, and a period of internecine strife ensued. A third brother, Tūrān Shāh, sought help from the Atabeg Zangī of Fārs and advanced on Sīrdjān, but was put to flight by Arslān, while Bahrām Shāh retired to Khurāsān to seek help from the Ghuzz leader, Malik Muʾayyid. A second attempt by Tūrān Shāh to seize the province was also defeated. Bahrām Shāh, having obtained reinforcements from Malik Muʾayyid, advanced in 566/1171 via Sīstān and Makrān on Djīruft and put Arslān's forces, which had been weakened by disease, to flight at Ḳamādīn, which the Khurāsān army then plundered. Subsequently, heavy impositions were laid upon the people of Bardsīr, who were reduced to misery. Arslān, meanwhile, with support from the Saldjūḳ ruler of ʿIrāḳ, Arslān b. Ṭoghrïl, returned and besieged Bahrām Shāh in Bardsīr. After six months, Bahrām Shāh and his supporters, who were short of supplies, made peace. Bardsīr, Sīrdjān, Djīruft and Khabīṣ went to Arslān and Bam and Makrān to Bahrām Shāh. Peace, however, did not last; Bahrām Shāh again appealed to Khurāsān for help while Arslān had recourse to ʿIzz al-Dīn Langar, the ruler of Yazd. Bahrām Shāh was put to flight and Arslān entered Bardsīr in 569/1174. Some years later, Bahrām Shāh retook Bardsīr. In 570/1174 he died. A further period of strife and disorder ensued, the main roles being played by the atabegs and *amīr*s acting in the name of one or other of the Saldjūḳ princes; inroads into the province were also made by the forces of the atabegs of Fārs, Yazd and ʿIrāḳ. Under Tūrān Shāh, who eventually defeated Arslān, the Muʾayyidī *ghulām*s (i.e. the followers of the Atabeg Muʾayyid al-Dīn Rayḥān) played a dominant role (cf. *Tārīḵh-i Afḍal*, 79). The Atabeg Rayḥān was persuaded to return to Kirmān from Yazd, to which he had withdrawn some seven years earlier, but retired again almost immediately because of his advanced age. By this time, the province had become impoverished. Afḍal al-Dīn describes its condition in the following words: "every year the unfortunate peasants used to take loans or sell their substance (*ḵẖān u mān*) to buy seed grain from Ṭabas or elsewhere. They would sow it only for another to harvest it and eat it" (81; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 99; cf. also *ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 13 ff., 77 ff.). All kinds of impositions and fines were meanwhile laid upon the population by the contending *amīr*s in order to support their forces. Little money remained in the treasury, and in 575/1179 the Turks rioted and killed a number of leading officials of the bureaucracy (*Tārīḵh-i Afḍal*, 86).

New disasters were meanwhile in store for Kirmān. About 574 or 575/1179, Sulṭān Shāh turned the Ghuzz out of Sarakhs and some 5,000, with their families and flocks, came to Kūbinān, plundered the countryside and went on to Zarand and Bāghīn. The Atabeg Tekelle of Fārs, who at the time held Sīrdjān and Furg, sent a force against them. Together with the Kirmān army, it was defeated in 575/1179-80 and the Ghuzz spread into the *garmsīr*, where they committed pillage and waste. In the years 575-6/1179-80 or 576-7/1180-1 there was a severe famine in Bardsīr (*Tārīḵh-i Afḍal* 91; *ʿIḳd al-ʿūlā*, 97). In the winter of 577/1181-2, the Ghuzz again set out for the *garmsīr*. Afḍal al-Dīn states that since they had now come to stay, they began to develop and cultivate the districts of Djīruft and Narmāshīr and paid some consideration (*murāʿāt*) to the peasants (*bāzyār*), and brought from Iṣfahān, Sīstān and Fārs goods, beasts and booty which they took from caravans and accumulated in the *garmsīr* and the *sardsīr*. (*Tārīḵh-i Afḍal*, 95). They also took several fortresses into which the remnants of the Turkish forces had retired. The *sardsīr*, however, to which the nominal rulers of the province were confined, remained in a state of distress. In 579/1183-4 Tūrān Shāh was killed by a group of *amīr*s, who released Muḥammad Shāh b. Bahrām Shāh from the fortress where he had been imprisoned and placed him on the throne. In 580/1184-5 famine again broke out in Bardsīr. In the following year 581/1185-6, Malik Dīnār came with some 80 men to Rāwar and Khabīṣ from Kūbanān, intending to join the Ghuzz in Narmāshīr. Some 300 men from Bardsīr set out to prevent his advance, but did not dare to join battle with him (*Tārīḵh-i Afḍal*, 105). In 582/1186 Muḥammad Shāh set out for ʿIrāḳ to seek help against the Ghuzz. The following spring, Bardsīr surrendered to Malik Dīnār. Muḥammad Shāh, who had failed to obtain help from either ʿIrāḳ or Tekkele in Fārs, returned briefly to Bam. He then went to Sīstān and from there to the court of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Takish. He finally took refuge with Shihāb al-Dīn, the ruler of Ghūr and Ghaznīn. In 583/1187-8 an abortive attempt was made to read the *ḵẖuṭba* in Bardsīr in the name of a Saldjūḳ princess, Khātūn Kirmānī, a daughter of Ṭoghrïl (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 146).

Malik Dīnār, having established himself in the district of Djīruft, struck coins and read the *ḵẖuṭba* in his own name. In Djumādā I 582/July-August 1186 he set out for Bardsīr, but lack of pasture and the ruin of the countryside appear to have prevented him from establishing himself there, and the town remained for some time in the hands of the Saldjūḳ forces until it surrendered on 5 Radjab 583/11 September 1187. During the next two years, Malik Dīnār was occupied in extending his power and putting down local pockets of opposition. He then made an expedition to the south, took Manūdjān and extracted 1000 *dīnār*s tribute from the ruler of Hurmuz (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 154). Revenue was also collected from the Makrānāt (*al-Muḍāf*, 5). Bam, which had been in the hands of an *amīr*, Sābiḳ ʿAlī, did not however submit until *ca.* 588/1192. In 589/1193 Malik Dīnār was again in the south and met the ruler of Ḳays, who promised him tribute. The death of Malik Dīnār in 591/1195 was followed by new outbreaks of disorder. He was succeeded by his son Farukh Shāh, who rapidly dissipated the contents of the treasury which Malik Dīnār had laboriously accumulated (*ibid.*, 164). Unable to establish himself, he had recourse to the Khʷārazm-Shāh for help, but died in 592/1196 before this could arrive. Meanwhile, on the one hand the Ghuzz began to commit disorders and pillage on an unprecedented scale while on the other the *amīr*s were rent by faction and disunity.

The period of Ghuzz ascendancy, was a time of misery and distress for the people of Kirmān. The province was subjected not only to the ravages of the Ghuzz, but also to incursions by the rulers of Fārs and Khurāsān, or their *amīr*s, who from time to time established a temporary ascendancy in different

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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parts of the province. Trade was brought to a standstill and agriculture to ruin, even though the members of the warring factions were small—to be numbered in hundreds rather than thousands. The Ghuzz flocks commonly grazed the crops of the settled people, and in addition they levied a quarter of the share of the crop remaining to the landlord, after the payment of government dues to provide for their followers, although certain persons, mainly belonging to the religious classes, were exempted from this levy (*al-Muḍāf*, 19-20).

For a time the situation was extremely confused, until the Shabānkāra *amīr*s, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubāriz and Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, defeated the Ghuzz in 597/1200, appointed a deputy over Kirmān and retired to Fārs. Shabānkāra rule proved no less harsh than that of the Ghuzz (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 183 ff., *al-Muḍāf*, 10 ff.). Finally, the population rose against them. Further disorders ensued until a group of the *amīr*s, townspeople and *imām*s of Bardsīr, fearing renewed attacks by the Ghuzz, decided to hand the town over to ʿAḍjam Shāh b. Malik Dīnār, who, after a period spent at the court of the Khʷārazm-Shāh, had returned to Bam and placed himself at the head of the Ghuzz in that district. New forces arrived from Fārs under ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zaydān, Saʿd b. Zangī's nephew, and they recaptured Bardsīr. About 601/1205 an expedition into Kirmān was made by Khʷāḍja Raḍī Zawzanī, a Khʷārazm-Shāhī *amīr*, who had been in Kirmān on several occasions and acquired many estates there. In 603/1207 another expedition came from Fārs. Later Saʿd b. Zangī came himself to Kirmān and undertook operations against the Ghuzz. They submitted in 605/1209 and Saʿd b. Zangī returned to Fārs. When he appointed officials over Bardsīr in that year, he is reported by Afḍal al-Dīn to have levied a quarter of the net income of the landowners by way of tax, but in 606/1210 this appears to have been increased to one-third and the exemptions formerly allowed by the Ghuzz to certain members of the religious classes and others withdrawn (*al-Muḍāf*, 20, 42). Waṣṣāf states that the taxes of Kirmān were not sufficient for the needs of the kingdom and the wages of the army, and so Saʿd b. Zangī issued a decree for an additional levy of one-tenth (*ʿushrī*) on landed estates, which was called *fiḍyat al-mullāk*. The people complained of this levy and it was abolished (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 151). According to Afḍal al-Dīn, Saʿd b. Zangī bought up much dead land and spent on its development whatever he received from the *dīwān* of Kirmān (*al-Muḍāf*, 42). Meanwhile, Khʷāḍja Raḍī Zawzanī's forces, who are alleged to have committed great oppression, came into conflict with ʿIzz al-Dīn Faḍlūn, Saʿd b. Zangī's representative, and returned to Khurāsān in 606/1210.

Zangid supremacy in Kirmān was fleeting. In 609/1213, a Khʷārazm-Shāhī *amīr*, Ḳiwām al-Dīn Muʾayyid al-Mulk, also from Zawzan, asked the Khʷārazm-Shāh Muḥammad b. Takash to give him Kirmān and in Ramaḍān of that year, having received the title of *malik*, he set out from Zawzan for Kirmān (Faṣīḥī Khʷāfī, possibly mistaking the *kharāḍj* year for the *ḥalālī*, appears to put these events in the year 603, *Muḍjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, ed. Maḥmūd Farukh, Mashhad A.H.S. 1239-41, ii, 281). Djiruft and Bam surrendered and also Bāfḳ and, finally Bardsīr in Ṣafar 610/June 1213. Muʾayyid al-Mulk then made an abortive expedition against Fārs, which he abandoned when part of his army deserted. In or about this year there was an outbreak of plague (? *wabā*) which spread from the south to Bardsīr and was accompanied by heavy loss of life (*al-Muḍāf*, 46 ff.).

Among the *amīr*s of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs was a certain Abu 'l Fawāris Ḳutlugh Sulṭān Barāḳ Ḥādjib (see BURĀḲ ḤĀDJIB), who had been in the services of the Gūr Khān of the Ḳara Khitāy [*q.v.*]. He rose to the position of *ḥādjib* to the Khʷārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad and became atabeg to his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr Shāh. The latter, after the fall of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, appointed him governor of Iṣfahān, but he, seeing the disorder into which the affairs of the Khʷārazm-Shāh had fallen, set off with his followers for Kirmān intending to proceed to India. Having reached Kirmān, he joined battle with the governor of the province, Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Abu 'l Ḳāsim, defeated him and besieged his son in Bardsīr. When Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubirnī returned from India some months later, Barāḳ Ḥādjib requested from him the government of Kirmān. Djalāl al-Dīn, having little choice in the matter, agreed and gave Barāḳ Ḥādjib the *laḳab* of Ḳutlugh Khān (for which reason, the dynasty which he founded is sometimes known as the Ḳutlugh-Khānid dynasty), and went himself to ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān. Barāḳ Ḥādjib later apparently demanded and received from the caliph the title of "sultan," and the sources refer to the rulers of the dynasty as *sulṭān* and their rule as *salṭanat*. When Ghiyāth al-Dīn subsequently came to Kirmān and sought to establish himself there, Barāḳ Ḥādjib, after first temporising, finally seized and killed him. He then sent an envoy to Ögedey offering submission and was in return confirmed in his possession of the province of Kirmān, which he held for fifteen years. He had four daughters, the eldest of whom, Sevinč Khātūn, was married to Čaghatay, while the other three were married into the family of the Atabegs of Yazd. His son, Rukn al-Dīn Khʷāḍjadjūḳ was sent to serve at the Mongol court and was with Ögedey at the time of his father's death, which took place on 20 Dhu 'l Ḥiḍjdja 632/6 September 1235 (the accounts of these events given by Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī Kirmānī, *Simṭ al-ʿulā*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran A.H.S. 1327, 22 ff., Djuwaynī, *Djahān-gushā*, and Nasawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal al-Din Mankobirti*, ed. and tr. O. Houdas, Paris 1891-5, vary somewhat).

After the death of Barāḳ Ḥādjib, the Ḳutlugh sultans, although their status was that of local rulers rather than governors, had no real independence. Mongol *amīr*s who had come as *basḳāḳ*s to Kirmān are mentioned at the court of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn in 655/1257 (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 38). All the contenders for power among them appear to have found it necessary to obtain the support of the Great Khān or the Ilkhān for their cause. Many of them made marriage alliances with the Mongols. Barāḳ Ḥādjib was succeeded by his nephew, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, who shortly after his accession, married Barāḳ Ḥādjib's daughter, Ḳutlugh Terken. However, when Rukn al-Dīn, who had obtained a *yarlīgh* for the province of Kirmān from Ögedey, approached the province, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn felt it necessary to set out himself for the Mongol court to seek support. Rukn al-Dīn, having reached Bardsīr in 633/1236, took possession of the province and ruled for some fifteen years. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, unable to oust his cousin, who was supported both by Ögedey and Čaghatay's wife, Sevinč Khātūn, remained for a while at the Mongol *urdū* and was then sent to Maḥmud Yalawāč, the Mongol governor of Khiṭāy. In 646/1248, when Mengü Ḳaʾān succeeded Güyük, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn obtained a *yarlīgh* for Kirmān

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Page 179 of 600

https://archive.org/details/bk1302/page/n181/mode/1up

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and set out for the province. On his approach, Rukn al-Dīn abandoned the province. After appealing in vain for help from the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim, he went to the *urdū* of Mengü Ḳāʾān, where the case between him and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was referred to the Mongol court (*yarghū*). After examination, Mengü handed Rukn al-Dīn over to his cousin, who killed him and then returned to Kirmān. Djuwaynī mentions that he saw Rukn al-Dīn in Almāligh in Ramaḍān 651/December 1253-January 1254 (*Djahān-gushā*, ii, 217). When Hülegü crossed the Oxus in 654/1256, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn came to his camp at Ṭūs and was given permission to return to Kirmān provided he came back with an army to join the Mongol forces in their march on Baghdād. He fell ill, however, in 655/1257 and died the following year.

Terken Khātūn, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's wife, was put on the throne in Kirmān amid general acclaim, and subsequently received, after she had had recourse to Hülegü in person, a *yarlīgh* authorising her to act for Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's sons, who were still children. She ruled some 25 years, during which time Kirmān prospered. Many learned men among the *ʿulamāʾ* and merchants resorted to Kirmān during her reign. It was then also that Marco Polo visited the province. When the Čaghatay horde crossed the Oxus in 668/1270 to attack Abaḳā's domains, Terken Khātūn sent Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn to Khurāsān with an army to support Abaḳā. She also tried to strengthen her position by marrying her daughter, Pādishāh Khātūn, to Abaḳā. However, when Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān came back to Kirmān he sought to curtail the influence of Terken Khātūn. She repaired to Abaḳā's court to complain of this and was well received. On her return to Kirmān, Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān retired to India, where he spent the next ten years. Finally, the sultan of Dihlī provided him with an army to retake Kirmān. He set out, but died en route and the army returned to India. (The *Simṭ al-ʿulā* gives 690/1291 as the date of his death. This is presumably an error.)

Djalāl al-Dīn Suyūrghatmish b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, Terken Khātūn's step-son, who governed the western part of Kirmān on her behalf, also apparently went, with her approval, to Abaḳā's *urdū* while he was in Khurāsān. On his return to Kirmān, Suyūrghatmish had his own name inserted in the *khuṭba* alongside that of Terken Khātūn. She complained to Pādishāh Khātūn, and received a *yarlīgh* forbidding the interference of Suyūrghatmish in the affairs of Kirmān. The latter then had recourse himself to the Mongol court. When Abaḳā died in 680/1281, Terken Khātūn immediately set out for Tabrīz to ensure her position. The new Ilkhān, Aḥmad Tegüder, however, dismissed her and appointed Suyūrghatmish in her stead. She was unable to secure her reinstatement, and spent the winter in Bardaʿa. The following summer, she went to Tabrīz where she died. Suyūrghatmish, who reached Kirmān in 681/1282, took possession of the province unopposed. After the accession of Arghūn (683/1284), Bībī Terken, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and Terken Khātūn's eldest daughter, whose son, Nuṣrat al-Dīn Yülükshāh, was powerful at the Mongol court, accused him of peculation in the collection of taxes. He was dismissed, his accounts demanded, and officials sent to Kirmān to collect the taxes. By the expenditure of considerable sums of money, Suyūrghatmish appears to have obtained permission to go to the Mongol court and there, by further expenditure, to have reached a compromise with the Mongol authorities. By this his half-sister, Pādishāh Khātūn (who had been married to Abaḳā) was given in marriage to Gaykhātū, while Suyūrghatmish was married to Kürdüdjin, the daughter of Mengü Temür b. Hülegü and Abīsh Khātūn, the daughter of Saʿd b. Zangī, and Suyūrghatmish undertook to pay an annual sum for Kirmān of 600,000 *dīnārs*, against which, however, he was allowed as expenses (*ikhrādjāt*) for his administration and military forces, etc. 390,000 *dīnārs* (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 57). During Suyūrghatmish's absence, there was apparently an outbreak of famine in Kirmān. The price of wheat rose and the Turkomans rioted and plundered the city. He restored order on his return. He then proceeded to expend considerable sums of money on charitable works: he built a *madrasa*, a *khānḳāh* and a hospital, and constituted *waḳfs* out of *khāliṣa* property for their upkeep. He also extended his patronage to the religious classes (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 58). During his reign, Makrān was reduced and tribute exacted. There were, however, renewed encroachments into the province by the Ḳarāwun (Nikūdārīs), who had already in 677/1278-9 invaded Kirmān from Sīstān. In 680/1281-2 they penetrated to the Persian Gulf and in 683/1284-5 plundered the neighbourhood of Bardsīr (see further P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 183-96 (art. *Caraunas*) and J. Aubin, *L'ethogenèse des Caraunas*, in *Turcica*, i (1969), 65-94).

On the death of Arghūn in 690/1291, Suyūrghatmish, taking advantage of the disorders which had ensued, asserted his independence. In the winter of the following year he went to the *garmsīr* and took Hurmuz. Returning to Bardsīr, he reassessed the kingdom and laid down that the taxes should be collected in three instalments (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 63). Meanwhile, Gaykhātū had sent Pādishāh Khātūn to Kirmān as governor. She immediately seized Suyūrghatmish and imprisoned him (691/1292). His wife Kürdüdjin contrived his escape, but he was recaptured and killed in 693/1294 (the sources differ in their relation of these events). In 694/1294-5 Kürdüdjin, encouraged by the rise of Baydū, laid siege to Bardsīr and captured and put to death Pādishāh Khatūn. Kürdüdjin then ruled the province, though there was beside her a Mongol *baskāḳ* (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 77).

Baydū was overthrown almost immediately by Ghāzān Khān, who while still in Khurāsān appears to have sent *ilčīs* to Kirmān to collect money for the Khurāsān army (*māl-i čirīk-i Khurāsān*) (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 78). Once Ghāzān had established himself as Ilkhān, he appointed Muḥammad Shāh b. Ḥadjdjādj Sulṭān, who had been at his court, over Kirmān. During the early years of Ghāzān's reign, Kirmān was the scene of internecine and factional strife between Muḥammad Shāh b. Ḥadjdjādj and Süyükshāh, one of the sons of Bībī Terken and brother of Nuṣrat al-Dīn Yülükshāh, and between rival *amīrs* and officials (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 79 ff.). Demands for ever more revenue, including taxes for the Khurāsān army, were made; on one occasion a *yarlīgh* was issued for the payment of two years' taxes from Kirmān (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 83). There were also renewed attacks by the Ḳarāwun in 698/1298-9. In the following year, Fakhr al-Dīn, who had been appointed *wazīr* of Kirmān by Ghāzān, proceeded to the province accompanied by a number of *amīrs*. His behaviour provoked an uprising and he and his followers were seized and killed. The revolt spread. The rebels took refuge in the town of Bardsīr and were besieged by the Mongol forces, which, although they received reinforcements from Fārs, Luristān and Yazd, were unable to take the town. Ghāzān, who at the time was in Diyār Bakr or the neighbourhood, summoned Muḥammad Shāh and sent

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him back to Kirmān as governor with a number of other officials. The siege continued for ten months. The defenders were reduced by famine and finally, according to Waṣṣāf's account, the city's defences were destroyed by siege engines brought from Fārs, where they had been made by experts summoned from Mawṣil, and the city fell. The ringleaders were put to death and Süyükshāh was sent to Tabrīz, where he was executed (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 85 ff.; Waṣṣāf, 426 ff.). The province was in a miserable condition and the treasury empty. The Ḳarāwun meanwhile renewed their attacks. A substantial remission of taxation was given (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 94), but the ensuing improvement was cut short by the death of Muḥammad Shāh in 703/1303-4 (Waṣṣāf gives the date of his death as 6 Djumādā I 702, 434). Shāh Djahān b. Suyūrghatmish, who was at the time at Ghāzān's court, was appointed to succeed him. At some time during the reign of Ghāzān or Öldjeytü, Rashīd al-Dīn's son Maḥmūd appears to have been governor of Kirmān and to have committed extortion against the people of Bam (cf. *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, 10 ff., and also 261). On the death of Öldjeytü, Shāh Djahān attempted unsuccessfully to establish his independence. He was dismissed after a reign of some two-and-a-half years, and with him the dynasty came to an end. He was replaced by Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Burhān, a descendant of Shihāb al-Dīn Ghūrī, in 704/1305 (Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Öldjeytü*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 43).

Kirmān was ruled for the next few years by Mongol governors until it was taken in 740/1340 by Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffar, who was married to Ḳutlugh Khān, the daughter of Shāh Djahān b. Suyūrghatmish. An attempt made by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn b. Djalāl al-Dīn b. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn to regain the city with the help of reinforcements from Harāt was repulsed and Mubāriz al-Dīn, who had temporarily withdrawn, retook the city in 741/1340. Bam, which was ruled by a governor appointed by Abū Saʿīd, held out and was not captured until three or four years later. Meanwhile, the Ilkhān empire was rent by war and faction. In 748/1347 Abū Isḥāḳ b. Maḥmūd Shāh, the Indjūʾid ruler of Iṣfahān, attacked Sīrdjān and destroyed the town, but left the citadel unreduced. After continuing his march on Kirmān, he then retired to Shīrāz without joining battle with Mubāriz al-Dīn. During a second expedition, he was defeated by Mubāriz al-Dīn and again retired to Fārs. Meanwhile the Djurmāʾīs and Ughānān, some of whom may possibly have been the descendants of the Mongol detachment which had been sent to Kirmān in or about 683/1284 under the leadership of Ughān (*Simṭ al-ʿulā*, 58), were committing renewed disorders in the south of the province. Mubāriz al-Dīn marched against them. The campaign was inconclusive and the Ughānān and Djurmāʾīs continued for many years to disturb the province, in spite of the fact that they frequently served in the ruler's army (in which they proved to be an extremely unreliable element). In 753/1352 renewed encroachments into Kirmān by the Indjūʾids were repulsed near Rafsindjān. Mubāriz al-Dīn then extended his power over Fārs and appointed his son Shudjāʿ al-Dīn governor of Kirmān in 754/1353-4 (though he did not reside permanently in the province, taking part in military expeditions in Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam). In 757/1356 Mubāriz al-Dīn was again briefly in Kirmān and undertook a campaign against the Ughānān and Djurmāʾīs, who had been committing disturbances. Mubāriz al-Dīn's death in 765/1364 was followed by a period of internecine strife and faction. In Kirmān, the governor Pahlawān Asad rebelled. After an inconclusive battle with Shāh Shudjaʿ near Kirmān, Pahlawān Asad retired into the city, but submitted after a siege of several months (Ramadān 775-Radjab 776/March-December 1374). On the death of Shāh Shudjāʿ (786/1384), his son, Sulṭān Aḥmad, went to Kirmān as governor. In 787/1335-6 he read the *khuṭba* in the name of Tīmūr. When the latter set out for Fārs in 789/1387, Sulṭān Aḥmad repaired to Tīmūr's camp, was favourably received and given the government of Fārs, ʿIrāḳ and Kirmān. Internecine strife, however, continued among the Muẓaffarids in Kirmān and elsewhere, until finally they were overthrown by Tīmūr in 795/1393 and Idgü Bahādur Barlās appointed governor of Kirmān (see further, the supplementary chapter on the Muẓaffarids in the *Tārīkh-i guzīda*). The province was in a state of disorder, and Idgü had to establish his authority by a series of military operations. On Tīmūr's death in 807/1405, he recognised Shāhrukh. The province was nevertheless subject to pillage and disorder in the struggles which ensued between the various Tīmūrid princes. Idgü died in 810/1407 and was succeeded by his son Saʿīd Sulṭān, who was assassinated almost immediately on the instigation of his brother, Sulṭān Uways. Disorders continued (see further, J. Aubin, *Deux sayyids de Bam au XVᵉ siècle*, 20 ff.). Agriculture declined; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū states in the *Zubdat al-tawārīkh-i Baysunghurī* that wherever the army of Mīrzā Iskandar (d. 818/1415-6) passed through, no building or cultivation was left, and in the *Djughrāfiyā* he says that wherever Mīrzā Iskandar went he sacked everything, destroying buildings, cutting down trees and sending troops into all districts so that there was not a single corner of Kirmān which was not devastated (quoted by Aubin, *op. cit.*, 35-6). In 819/1416 Sulṭān Uways was besieged in Kirmān by a Tīmūrid army, and in the following year there was a severe famine in Kirmān accompanied by a heavy loss of life. Shāhrukh then sent Sayyid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn to the province to restore agricultural prosperity. He devoted his efforts to the revival of *awḳāf* which had fallen out of cultivation. In the first year 250,000 *mans* of wheat were sown. Various tax reductions and remissions were also given to the peasants (Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Djughrāfiyā*, f. 173b, quoted by Aubin, 50). On the death of Shāhrukh in 850/1447, there was renewed anarchy until Djahānshāh b. Ḳarā Yūsuf, the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu, sent his son Abu 'l Ḥasan Ḳāsim Mīrzā to take possession of the province. Conditions showed little improvement (see Abū Bakr Tihrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyār Bakriyya*, ed. F. Sümer, Ankara 1964, ii, 334 ff., and Aubin, 58 ff.). Heavy taxes and dues were imposed on summer and winter crops and irregular levies made on the peasants; many properties were usurped by the government and *waḳf* revenues seized for the payment of the military (Aubin, 69-70). Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Mīrzā adopted the practice of billeting his followers on the province with all the attendant evils of such a practice (*Kitāb-i Diyār Bakriyya*, 302). On the death of Djahānshāh, confusion and disorder prevailed in Kirmān until the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu succeeded in establishing their rule. For a time Kirmān was governed by Zaynal, the third son of Uzun Ḥasan.

In 909/1503 the province came into the possession of Shāh Ismāʿīl. Some six years later, Kirmān, was invaded by the Uzbegs and suffered much damage (*ʿĀlamārā-yi Shāh Ismāʿīl*, 326 ff., 333). According to Wazīrī, the first Ṣafawid governor of Kirmān was Muḥammad Khān Ustādjlu (*Tārīkh-i Kirmān*, 265;

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see also K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 11). From 930/1524 to 1000/1592 the province was under governors belonging to the Afshār tribe (*ibid.*, 31, 37). According to the late Ṣafawid manuals, the *Taḏhkirat al-mulūk* and the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, Kirman was one of the thirteen *beglarbegi*s of the Ṣafawid empire (*Taḏhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, G.M.S. London 1943, 163; Muḥ. Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā-Rafīʿa wa taḏhkirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Samiʿa*, in *Rev. de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines*, Tehran, xvi/1-2 (1968), 75). For one or two years from 998/1590, however, part of the province, and from 1068-9/1658 to possibly 1106/1694 the whole of the province, was *kẖāṣṣa* (i.e. under the direct administration of the central government) (Röhrborn, 120, 122). From 1005/1596 to 1031/1621-2 it was under the governorship of Gandj ʿAlī Khān, though during that period he was frequently absent from the province with the Kirmān army on military campaigns with the shāh. During his government he built a number of caravanserais and bazaars in Kirmān city and elsewhere in the province.

During the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Kirmān was subject to renewed inroads by the Balūč. In or about 1133/1721 the Kirmānīs appear to have appealed to the Afghān Maḥmūd for help. He came to Kirmān and stayed for nine months, when he returned to Ḳandahār because of disturbances there. In the following year he came back, but it seems that the people were not prepared to receive him on this occasion and resisted his entry. He laid siege to the citadel, which fell. After plundering the countryside he continued his march to Iṣfahān (Mīrzā Mihdī Astarābādī, *Djahāngushā-yi Nādirī*, ed. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anwār, Tehran A.H.S. 1301, 12). In 1139/1726 Mīrzā Sayyid Aḥmad, who was descended from Shāh Sulaymān's eldest daughter, who had married Mīrzā Dāwūd Marʿashī, seized Kirman and assumed the title of *shāh*. From there he went to Fārs, where he was defeated. He came back to Kirmān, but whatever support he may have had there had disappeared, and so he went via Bam and Narmāshīr to Bandar ʿAbbās, which he temporarily occupied. Eventually, after further adventures, he was captured by the Afghāns and executed in 1140/1728 (J. R. Perry, *The last Safavids, 1722-1773*, in *Iran*, ix (1971), 59-70). After Nādir Shāh defeated Ashraf at Iṣfahān in 1141/1729, the Afghāns abandoned Kirmān.

Under Nādir Shāh, the province suffered further disasters. In the winter of 1149/1736-7 he marched through the province on his way to Ḳandahār and so denuded the people of supplies that there was famine for seven or eight years afterwards (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 112). Disturbances in southern Persia in 1156/1744 and in Sīstān in the spring of 1159/1746 brought the province into a state of confusion, and in the summer of that year a revolt broke out. It was on a small scale, and was speedily suppressed. In 1160/1747 Nādir Shāh again passed through Kirmān and treated the province with great severity (*ibid.*, 259). His death in that year was followed by anarchy and renewed encroachments by the Afghāns and Balūč.

It was not until 1172/1758 that Khudā Murād Khān Zand took possession of Kirmān on behalf of Karīm Khān Zand. During the period of his rule, Kirmān was less troubled by disorders and impositions by the government than had been the case under the Afshārs, and on the death of Karīm Khān in 1193/1779 remained little affected by the struggle between the Zands and the Ḳādjārs until 1205/1790, when Luṭf ʿAlī [*q.v.*], the last of the Zands, marched against Kirmān. Its governor, who had been appointed by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, agreed to submit but refused to come to Luṭf ʿAlī's camp. The latter thereupon besieged the town. Lack of supplies forced him to raise the siege and leave the district. Subsequently, having been defeated by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān near Shīrāz in 1206/1790-1, he fled to Ṭabas. Offers of support from some of the *kẖāns* of Narmāshīr induced him to return to Kirmān. He attacked the city and took possession of it in 1208/1793-4. Āḳā Muḥammad meanwhile advanced and laid siege to the town. After some four months, the population were reduced by hunger and a group of the defenders opened the gates on 29 Rabīʿ I 1209/24 October 1794. The surrender of the city was followed by a general massacre—the culminating disaster in the long series of calamities which the province had suffered during some four centuries. Luṭf ʿAlī escaped, but was captured in Bam and handed over to Āḳā Muḥammad Khān. Meanwhile Āḳā Muḥammad Taḳī b. Āḳā ʿAlī (see above) became governor of Kirmān and held office until the death of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān.

There appears to have been some fear that the disaffection caused by Āḳā Muḥammad Khān's brutality towards the people of Kirmān, coupled with the failure of the government to control raiding and disorder by the Balūč might give rise to a desire for secession from Persia. Because of this, and partly, perhaps, as an result of the influence of Sunbul Bādjī, Fatḥ ʿAlī's Kirmānī wife (see above), Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh appointed Ibrāhīm Khān Ẓahīr al-Dawla (see above) governor in 1218/1803. He held office until his death in 1240/1824-5 and was the first of a number of Ḳādjār princes to be appointed governor of Kirmān. Under him the province enjoyed for the first time for many years a period of security. He repaired *ḳanāts*, fostered trade and agriculture (acquiring many estates himself in the process), and encouraged a revival of learning, inviting to the province *ʿulamāʾ* from Baḥrayn, Khurāsān, Fārs and elsewhere (Shaykh Yaḥyā Aḥmadī Kirmānī, *Farmāndihān-i Kirmān*, ed. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran A.H.S. 1344, introd., 3). He also made a successful expedition into Balūčistān. This favourable situation did not, however, last. His son, ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān, who succeeded him as governor, attempted to throw off control, and in the succeeding years there were a number of disturbances and perennial outbreaks of disorder by the Balūč. In December 1831 ʿAbbās Mīrzā was sent to the province to restore order. His efforts were only partially successful. After he left the province there were renewed disturbances by governors and others, and in 1835 further inroads by the Balūč. Meanwhile, Muḥammad Shāh had succeeded Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and in 1835 or 1836 appointed Āḳā Khān Maḥallātī, the leader of the Ismāʿīlīs, as governor of Kirmān. On his withholding revenue from the central government, a force was sent to collect arrears. Unable to resist, Āḳā Khān fled in 1837 to Bam, where he was besieged by Fīrūz Mīrzā Nuṣrat al-Dawla. He surrendered and was sent to Tehran. Later he was allowed to return to Kirmān in 1840 and renewed his rebellion. After a number of skirmishes he was defeated, and took refuge in Afghānistān and later India, whence, it was alleged, he carried on a secret correspondence with his supporters in eastern Persia. His brother, Muḥammad Bāḳir, made a movement into Balūčistān in 1844 or 1845 but was repulsed. Balūčistān was

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meanwhile gradually reduced by the governors of Kirmān, and by the middle of the 19th century Persian control had been extended southwards from Bampūr over the Makrān east of Djāsk.

From about 1858 Kirmān once more had a period of security and good government, this time under Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Khān Nūrī Wakīl al-Mulk (see above), first as *pīshkār* during the nominal government of Gayūmarth Mīrzā, and then as governor from 1860 until his death in 1284/1867-8. His period of office was marked by an increase in prosperity which continued during the subsequent decade. During the government of his son, Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān Wakīl al-Mulk, who was governor from 1869-1878, Čāh Bahār was brought under the control of the Persian government. In 1877 there was an outbreak of factional strife between the Shaykhīs and the Bālāsarīs, which led to the resignation of Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān and the despatch of a force from Tehran to restore order. Towards the end of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh there appears to have been considerable intellectual activity in Kirmān, and when the movement for reform became overt towards the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, a number of Kirmānīs, notably Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Bardsīrī Kirmānī (who became the editor of *Akhtar*, the Persian newspaper published in Constantinople) and Nāẓim al-Islām, played an important part (see DUSTŪR, and also, Nāẓim al-Islām, *Tārīkh-i bīdārī-i Īrān*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Saʿīdī Sīrdjānī, Tehran A.H.S. 1349).

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Čahārdihī, *Shaykhīgarī Bābīgarī*, Tehran A.H.S. 1345. (A. K. S. LAMBTON)

KIRMĀNĪ, AWḤAD AL-DĪN ḤĀMID B. ABI 'L-FAKHR (not to be confused with Rukn al-Dīn Awḥadi of Maragha in Ādharbāydjān who was also called Awḥad al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and who died in 738/1337-8) was an eminent Iranian mystic (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn-i Nawāʾī, Tehran 1339/1960, 667-8; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Mahdī-yi Tawḥīdī Pīr, Tehran 1331/1962, 588-92). He was a pupil of Rukn al-Dīn al-Sidjāsī (Sindjānī), of the affiliation of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Abharī and Abū Nadjīb al-Suhrawardī. On his numerous travels, he came to Damascus where he became acquainted with Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī, who mentions him in his *Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* (ch. viii), and was deeply influenced by his ideas. Awḥad al-Dīn knew Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī (cf. B. Furūzānfar, *Risāla dar taḥḳīḳ-i aḥwāl wa zindagānī-i Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad mashhūr ba-Mawlāwī*, Tehran² 1333/1954, 53-5), and probably met also Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, ʿUthmān Rūmī, Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḳūnawī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī. He spent the last period of his life as a well-known mystical teacher in the neighbourhood of Baghdād and was honoured by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustanṣir in 632/1234-5. He died probably on 3 Shaʿbān 635/21 March 1238.

Awḥad al-Dīn belongs with Aḥmad Ghazālī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī to the representatives of *shāhidbāzī*, the contemplation of the divine beauty in earthly forms, preferably in beautiful boys. The basic concepts of his mystical philosophy are *ṣūrat* (outer form, image) and *maʿnā* (inner meaning, essence), in conformity with Ibn ʿArabī's key terms *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*. The famous *mathnawī* poem *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ*, often attributed to him, was actually written by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Bardasīrī Kirmānī. The poetical heritage of Awḥad al-Dīn is marked by short forms (i.e. only some *tarḏjīʿ bands* and a few *ghazals*, but a large number of *rubāʿiyyāt* which are grouped into 12 chapters), and is of a gnostic-mystical character. The *rubāʿiyyāt*, which are sometimes influenced by ʿUmar Khayyām, are not always of the best literary quality, but they show a deep mystical thought and experience, (as is found in verses of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Aḥmad Ghazālī, ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʿIrāḳī.

Bibliography: B. Furūzānfar (ed.), *Manāḳib-i Awḥad al-Dīn Ḥāmid ibn-i Abī al-Fakhr-i Kirmānī*, Tehran 1347/1969, with an extensive introduction on the life and writings of Awḥad al-Dīn; B. M. Weischer, *Auḥaduddīn Kirmānī und seine Vierzeiler*, in *Isl.*, lxi (1979); B.M. Weischer and P.L. Wilson, *Hearts's witness. The sufi quatrains of Awḥaduddīn Kirmānī* Tehran 1978; (cf. also H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 474-6). (B. M. WEISCHER)

AL-KIRMĀNĪ, ḤAMĪD AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH, was a prominent *dāʿī* of the Fāṭimids during the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh (386-411/996-1021) as well as the author of many works on the theory of the Imāmate and on Ismāʿīlī philosophy.

The life of al-Kirmānī is known only in its main outlines, which can be traced on the basis of statements contained in his own works. Some other details can be derived from unpublished Ismāʿīlī sources, as has been done notably by Muṣṭafā Ghālib (*op. cit.*, 41 f.) who, however, does not specify these sources. His *nisba* points to his origin from the Iranian province of Kirmān. It is evident from his works that he continued to be in touch with the Ismāʿīlī community in this area. It is not very likely that he was a pupil of the well-known *dāʿī* Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjzī [*q.v.*], as Ghālib states, for Abū Yaʿḳūb was not only al-Kirmānī's senior by half a century but there appears to have been a difference of opinion between the two on many doctrinal points as well. A great part of his life seems to have been spent in the service of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* in the missionary district (*djazīra*) of ʿIrāḳ. The title *ḥudjdjat al-ʿIrāḳayn*, which is often added to his name by way of an honorific rather than as a designation of his rank (cf. W. Ivanow, *Naṣir-i Khusraw and Ismailism*, Bombay 1948, 44; W. Madelung, *op. cit.*, 63 f., n. 117), implies that this district also included the parts of Iran known as ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī. At least one of his larger works (*Kitāb al-Maṣābīḥ*) was composed in Iran, while two shorter *risālas* (*al-Hāwiya fi 'l-layl wa 'l-nahār*, dated 399/1009, and *al-Kāfiya fi 'l-radd ʿalā 'l-Hārūnī al-Ḥasanī* were addressed to a subordinate in Djīruft (Kirmān). The title of his *Kitāb al-Madjālis al-Baghdādiyya wa 'l-Baṣriyya*, which has not been preserved, refers to his personal activities in these cities of ʿIrāḳ. Ghālib ascribes to him a part in winning over the ʿUḳaylids of Mosul to the cause of the Fāṭimids. In the early years of the 5th/11th century, al-Kirmānī came to Cairo, where a serious crisis had developed among the Fāṭimid *dāʿīs* concerning the nature of the imāmate as it was represented at that time by al-Ḥākim. Quite a few of them, among whom are the founders of the religion of the Durūz [*q.v.*], propounded the doctrine of the divinity of al-Ḥākim. Either at the request of the chief of the religious organisation, the *dāʿī al-duʿāt* Khattigīn al-Ḍayf, or of the caliph himself, al-Kirmānī interfered in the controversy. In 405-6/1014-15 he wrote the *risāla* called *Mabāsim al-bishārāt* upholding the tenet that the imāmate of al-Ḥākim was, in spite of its exceptionally blessed condition, of an ordinary kind and that the theory of his divine nature was incompatible with the Ismāʿīlī dogma of the absolute transcendence of God. The *risāla* called *al-Wāʿiẓa fī nafy daʿwa ulūhiyyat al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh* (ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, in *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb* (Cairo), xiv/1 (1952), 1-20), composed in 408/1017, was a reply to a pamphlet by al-Ḥasan al-Akhram al-Farghānī, one of the supporters of the extreme point of view. Apparently, al-Kirmānī returned afterwards to ʿIrāḳ where he completed his major work, *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl*, in 411/1020-1. The latter date provides also a dating *post quem* for his death.

Works. The fate of al-Kirmānī's work after his death has been determined by the further dogmatic history of the Ismāʿīliyya. While the later writers of the Fāṭimid period appear to be hardly influenced by him, he left a lasting imprint on the religious literature of the Ṭayyibiyya [*q.v.*] which continued a part of the Fāṭimid tradition in the Yaman and in India. This influence can be traced from the time of the second *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the sect, al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*], up to the present day (cf. e.g. R. Strothmann, *Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten*, Göttingen 1943). Thanks to this continuous tradition of Kirmānī studies, the main part of his works has been preserved, although all the copies that have been brought to light so far are very recent.

The defence of the theoretic basis of the Fāṭimid imāmate, which al-Kirmānī regarded as one of his most important concerns, was not only directed against deviations within the movement itself. He also attacked the claims of the ʿAbbāsids (in *Maʿāṣim al-hudā*, a refutation of al-Djāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-Uth-*

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māniyya) and those of other Shīʿī pretenders (in *al-Kāfiya*, being a warning against the propaganda of the contemporary Zaydī Imām Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Muʾayyad bi 'llāh al-Hārūnī). In his *Kitāb Tanbīh al-hādī wa 'l-mustahdī*, the polemics against these opponents are combined with a plea in favour of the validity of the religious law for anyone without exception, addressed towards the antinomian strain current in the Ismāʿīlī movement. His fullest treatment of the theory of the imāmate, constructed as a support of the claim of al-Ḥākim, is contained in *al-Maṣābīḥ fī iṯbāt al-imāma*. In the course of his argument, al-Kirmānī frequently resorts to Jewish and Christian scriptures, which he quotes in Hebrew as well as in Syrian (cf. Paul Kraus, *Hebräische und syrische Zitate in ismailitischen Schriften*, in *Isl.* xix (1930), 243-63, and A. Baumstark, *Zu den Schriftzitaten al-Kirmānīs*, in *Isl.* xx (1932), 308-13).

Of equal importance in the work of al-Kirmānī is his preoccupation with metaphysical speculation, to which his most important works are devoted. In the *Kitāb al-riyāḍ fī 'l-ḥikam bayn al-ṣādayn ṣāḥibay al-Iṣlāḥ wa 'l-Nuṣra* (ed. by ʿĀrif Tāmir, Beirut 1960), he attempts to settle the debate over a great number of philosophical questions which had been going on among the Ismāʿīlīs in Iran during the preceding generations. The starting-point of this discussion was the *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl*, a work by al-Nasafī (d. 331/942), to whom the introduction of neo-Platonism in the speculations of the Ismāʿīlīs has been attributed. Al-Nasafī had been criticised on several points, which according to al-Kirmānī are of fundamental importance, by Abū Ḥātim al-Warsinānī (*fl.* about 322-34/934-46) in his *Kitāb al-Iṣlāḥ*, but the tenets of the former had been defended by Abū Yaʿkūb al-Sidjzī (d. after 360/971) in a work entitled *Kitāb al-Nuṣra*. Kirmānī, who on most issues takes the side of Abū Ḥātim, approaches these problems from a point of view to which he attributes an authoritative weight and which he denotes as "the canon of the guiding mission" (*ḳānūn al-daʿwa al-hādiya*); see further W. Ivanow, *An early controversy in Ismailism*, Leiden 1948, 115-59; 2nd ed. Bombay 1955, 87-122.

The *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl* (ed. by M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, Cairo 1371/1952; ed. by Muṣṭafā Ghālib, Beirut 1967) contains a *summa* of Ismāʿīlī philosophy written for adepts who have prepared themselves for the study of the fundamental truths both morally, through the fulfillment of the commands of religious law, and intellectually, by the study of less abstract works of earlier Ismāʿīlī authors and of al-Kirmānī himself. The subject-matter has been arranged in chapters and paragraphs which have been styled "walls" (*aswār*) and "crossroads" (*maṣhārīʿ*) according to the allegory of a city of gnostic knowledge. By travelling along the fifty-six crossroads enclosed within the seven walls of this city, the searching soul acquires an awareness of the real structure of the universe, which consist of four separate but fully congruent worlds: the world of Divine creation (*ʿālam al-ibdāʿ*), encompassing the purely spiritual beings, the world of bodily existence or the realm of nature (*ʿālam al-djism, dār al-ṭabīʿa*), the world of religion (*ʿālam al-dīn*), which is the hierarchy of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*, from the *nāṭik* up to the lowest delegate (*maʾdhūn*), and, finally, the world of the *ḳāʾim* where this universe returns to its primordial one-ness in its second perfection (*al-kamāl al-thānī*). In complete analogy to this macrocosmic process, the individual human soul, which by origin is only a virtually-existing first perfection, through acquisition of this metaphysical knowledge, can realise itself completely as an intelligent being.

The *Rāḥat al-ʿaḳl* is the earliest attempt at a complete and systematic exposition of Ismāʿīlī philosophy. In comparison to older works, and even to al-Kirmānī's own *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*, it shows a profound influence of the metaphysical theories of the *falāsifa*. This is particularly evident in his concept of the world of creation as a decade of intelligent beings which has come into existence by way of "being sent out" (*inbiʿāth*) from the universal intellect, the first created being (see further ISMĀʿĪLIYYA. Doctrine).

Like many other Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs*, al-Kirmānī attacked the writing of the arch-heretic Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī. In the *Kitāb al-Aḳwāl al-dhahabiyya fī 'l-ṭibb al-nafsānī*, he supported the criticism of his predecessor Abū Ḥātim on al-Rāzī's ideas about the therapy of the mind expounded in the latter's *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* (cf. P. Kraus, in *Orientalia*, v (1936), 36 f.; idem, *Rasāʾil falsafiyya/Opera metaphysica*, i, Cairo 1939, *tawṭiʿa*, 7-13, and the excerpts from the first part of al-Kirmānī's treatise in the notes to the edition of *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*.

Bibliography: The editions of al-Kirmānī's works mentioned in the article all contain more or less extensive introductions to his life and work. Surveys of his works and of the manuscripts known to exist are given in W. Ivanow, *A guide to Ismaili literature*, London 1933, 43-6; 2nd ed. *Ismaili literature*, Tehran 1963, 40-5; Brockelmann, S I, 325-6; Mu'izz Goriwala, *A descriptive catalogue of the Fyzee collection of Ismaili manuscripts*, University of Bombay 1965, 37-57, nos. 51-65; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, Leiden 1967, 580-2. Fragments of some of the works of al-Kirmānī are contained in the great Ismāʿīlī compilations of ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs (d. 872/1468), *Kitāb ʿUyūn al-aḵhbar*, and Ḥasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharōčī, *Kitāb al-Azhār* (written 931/1525), which are still unpublished. Excerpts from his *al-Risāla al-lāzima fī ṣawm shahr Ramaḍān* have been edited and translated into Urdu by M. H. Aʿẓamī, *Niẓām al-ṣawm ʿinda 'l-Fāṭimiyyīn*, Karachi 1961, 18-60. A work of doubtful authenticity has been edited by ʿĀrif Tāmir, *Arbaʿ rasāʾil ismāʿīliyya*, Beirut 1952, 59-66. On the *Khazīnat al-adilla*, which is really the work of a pupil of al-Kirmānī, see W. Ivanow, *A creed of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1936, 10-2. See further: E. Griffini, in *ZDMG*, lxix (1915), 87; H. F. Hamdānī, in *JRAS* (1933), 372-5; idem and Ḥ. S. Maḥmūd, *al-Ṣulayhiyyūn wa 'l-ḥarakat al-Fāṭimiyya fi 'l-Yaman*, Cairo 1955, 258-61, and passim; W. Madelung, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 119-27; Henry Corbin, *Trilogie ismaélienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, passim; idem, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964, 130-1; S. H. Nasr, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 436, 440.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

KIRMĀNĪ, KAMĀL AL-DĪN [see KH**ĀDJŪ KIRMĀNĪ].

KIRMĀNSHĀH, a town and province in western Persia. The province is situated between lat. 34° N. and 35° N. long. 44° 5′ to 48° 0′ E. It lies to the east and north of ʿIrāḳ and Luristān-i Kūčik (or Pusht-i Kūh) and to the south and west of Kurdistān and Asadābād. In the early 20th century the province was divided into nineteen *bulūk*s. These were Bālādih, Wastām, Miyān Darband or Bīlawar, Pusht-i Darband or Bālā Darband, Dīnawar, Kuliyāʾī, Saḥna, Kanguwār, Asadābād, Harsīn, Čamčamāl, Durūd Faramān, Māhīdasht, Hārūnābād, Gūrān,

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Kirind, Zuhāb, Aywān and Hulaylān (Government of India, General Staff, Army Headquarters, Intelligence Branch, *Gazetteer of Persia*, ii, Simla, 1914, 358). At the present day it is bordered by Sanandadj on the north, Asadābād on the north-east, Shāhābād on the south, Nihāwand and Tūysirkān on the east, Khurramābād on the south-east, and Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn and Rawānsār-i Djawānrūd on the west, and contains the following districts: Sunḳur and Kuliyā'ī, Kanguwār, Saḥna, Harsīn, Sandjābī, Gūrān and Thalāth (Razmarā, *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, A.H.S. 1329-32, v). The town of Kirmānshāh (also known as Kirmānshāhān, a name which appears to be used first in the 4th/10th century) is situated approximately at lat. 34° 19 N. and long. 47° 5′ E. at a height of 1322 m. on the Ḳara Sū River, which runs to the north-east of the town in a south-easterly direction until it joins the River Gāmāsiyāb (Gawmāsa) (also known as the River Ṣaymara) which flows into the River Karkha. A series of mountain ranges, trending from north-west to south-east, run through the province. Between them there are extensive plains and valleys, containing pastures and cultivated lands. From Asadābād, with an elevation of 2,340 m., there is a gradual descent through a succession of peaks and valleys to Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn, which is at 575 m.

The climate is mild in summer but cold in winter, except in the Zuhāb district and the plains near the ʿIrāḳī frontier and in the lower parts of the Kalhur country (in the region of Mandalī) where it tends to be hot in summer. Snow on the mountains is heavy in winter and spring rains are normally plentiful. The maximum July temperature of the town of Kirmānshāh is 37.2° C. and the minimum January temperature −3.5° C. Annual rainfall is 372.7 mm (H. M. Ganji, *Climate*, in W. B. Fisher, ed., *Cambridge history of Iran*, Cambridge 1968, i, 247).

Parts of the province in the south, notably districts in Hulaylān, Bīlawar and Gūrān, are wooded. Oak, elm, sycamore and some coniferous trees and walnut trees are found in the mountains; willows, poplars and oriental planes are common throughout the province; palm trees are found in Sar-i Pul-i Zuhāb and Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. Fruit is abundant in some districts, especially in Kandūla, Harsīn and Saḥna; Kirind produces excellent seedless grapes, Rīdjāb is famous for its figs and Gahwāra for its apples. Gum tragacanth was formerly plentiful in the province, but indiscriminate tapping has caused supplies to diminish. Gum mastic (*saḳḳiz*) is obtained from Hulaylān and was formerly exported to Russia (Government of India, H. L. Rabino, *Gazetteer of Kirmanshah*, Simla 1907, 163, 163).

Dry farming is practised in most parts of the province. In the valleys river water is used for irrigation. *Ḳanāts* are not numerous. The province is rich in grain land. Formerly, in a normal year the province had a large grain surplus, though from time to time this would be cut by insufficient rainfall, ravages by locusts and other pests, and by disorders. Surplus grain was exported to other parts of Persia, Ottoman Turkey and, later, to ʿIrāḳ. The proportion of wheat to barley was usually two-thirds wheat to one-third barley. Both are grown as unirrigated crops. Grain land is left fallow in alternate years or in many districts for longer periods. Rice is grown in some of the river valleys, including Raziyān, Bīlawar, Dīnawar, Čamčamāl, Zuhāb and Kalhur. It is of inferior quality and mainly consumed locally. Peas (*nukhud*) are produced in quantity and exported to other parts of Persia. Sugar beet has been an important crop since the 1930s and is grown especially in Māhīdasht. Cotton, castor oil, tobacco, saffron, opium, the cultivation of which on a significant scale probably did not begin until the late 19th century (United Kingdom, Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular Reports, Annual series, 3189, *Report on the Trade of Kirmanshah and district for the year 1903-04*, 22, and see further G. G. Silbermann, *The Persian Constitutional Revolution: the economic background 1870-1906*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of London, 1974, 132 ff.), indigo, maize, clover, alfalfa, and vegetable crops, such as melons, water melons, cucumbers, egg plants and tomatoes, are, or were, grown for local consumption (see further Rabino, 153 ff.).

The province has rich pasture lands. Transhumance is widely practised. Formerly, nomadic tribes commonly migrated annually across the Ottoman-Persian frontier and later across the ʿIrāḳī-Persian frontier. Animal husbandry is of great importance, not only among the nomadic tribes but also among the settled peasants. After grain the most important product of the province is wool. Part of the spring wool crop was formerly exported. The autumn wool was less in quantity and inferior in quality and mainly used for the manufacture of felts (*namads*). Formerly, the manufacture of carpets was a thriving industry in the villages and among the tribes, but declined towards the end of the 19th century. By the 20th century it had virtually disappeared. Goat's hair was made into tents, saddle bags, ropes and yarn. Goat skins were dried and exported and were used for coverings for clarified butter and water skins. The markets of Tehran, Hamadān, Ḳumm and Baghdād were largely supplied with sheep from Kirmānshāh (see further Rabino, 158-9).

Mules and horses were bred in considerable quantities in the 19th century. The horses, which had much Arab blood in them and were well adapted for both draught and saddle, were highly esteemed (cf. J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys*, London 1856, 26; *Gazetteer of Persia*, 341).

The extensive oil belt extending from Kirkūk in ʿIrāḳ to Khūzistān passes through the south-western part of the province of Kirmānshāh, and the extraction of oil has been carried on at various centres since antiquity (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 343). Other mineral resources include marble, porphyry and lime.

The province is mainly inhabited by Kurds, nomadic and sedentary, and Lurs. Most of the tribes have their own winter and summer quarters (see further ILĀT). A rough estimate of their numbers in the early 20th century put them at some 60,000 families or some 300,000 persons. Among them were the Kalhur, partly settled and partly nomadic, who were estimated at 12,000 families. They owned large stretches of irrigated land in the fertile plains of Māhīdasht, Gīlān and Kalleh Shahīn, the two last-named purchased by the Kalhur chiefs from their Turkish proprietors at the beginning of the 19th century (United Kingdom Foreign Office, Diplomatic and Consular reports, Miscellaneous Series, 590 (1903) *Report on the trade and general condition of the City and Province of Kermanshah by Mr. H. L. Rabino*, 46). The Gūrān, also partly settled and partly nomadic, were estimated at 4-5,000, the Sandjābī at 4,000, the Kuliyā'ī, mostly sedentary in Sunḳur, at 4,000 and the Zangana, who were mainly settled in Māhīdasht, at 2,500 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 339; Rabino 171 ff.). Apart from some tribes near the ʿIrāḳī frontier, who are Sunnī, most of the Kurdish tribes of Kirmānshāh are Shīʿī. ʿAlī Ilāhīs are also

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found in considerable numbers (cf. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shīrwānī, *Bustān al-siyāḥa*, Tehran lith. 1315, 492; *Gazetteer of Persia*, 356).

The town of Kirmānshāh or Ḳirmīsīn (var. forms Kirmāsīn, Ḳarmāsīn, Ḳirmāsīn, Ḳarmashīn) as it was known by the early Arab geographers was founded in the Sāsānid period. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī attributes its foundation to Bahrām IV (388-99 A.D.) (*Nuzhat*, 108), who had acquired the title Kirmānshāh as governor of the province of Kirmān [*q.v.*]. The town founded by him was, however, more probably the small town of Kirmānshāh situated between Yazd and Kirmān (cf. Ṭabarī, in Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser u. Araber*, 71). Another tradition attributes the foundation of Kirmānshāh to Kawādh b. Fīrūz (488-531 A.D.; cf. esp. Muḳaddasī, 257 ff.). The Sāsānid kings often resided there, and their example was from time to time followed by later rulers, notably the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who built a palace there (Muḳaddasī, 393). The province is rich in monuments of the Achaemenians and Sāsānids, such as the sculptures of Ṭāḳ-i Bustān, three miles east of Kirmānshāh, the rock inscriptions at Bīsutūn [*q.v.*] and various remains at Kanguwār [see KINKIWAR].

Kirmānshāh was peacefully occupied by the Arabs after the capture of Ḥulwān in 21/640 (Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 301). It became part of the province of the Djibāl and was known, together with Dīnawar [*q.v.*] as Māh al-Kūfa. Although situated on the great Khurāsān road almost midway between Baghdād and Hamadān, it was less important in the early centuries than Dīnawar or Hamadān. Ibn Ḥawkal does not mention it among the best known towns of the Djibāl, though he describes it as a pleasant place with running water, trees and fruit, in which living was cheap, and as having abundant pastures, where numerous flocks grazed, and much water. Many articles of commerce were also to be found there (i, 359). Later, Kirmānshāh with Hamadān, Ray and Iṣfahān became one of the four great cities of the Djibāl, though it did not rival them in importance. It was ruled successively by the ʿAbbāsids, the Būyids, the Ḥasanūya [see ḤASANWAYH] and the Saldjūḳs.

In 594/1197-8 Kirmānshāh was laid waste by the Khʷārazmshāhī *amīr* Miyādjuḳ (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 398). After the Mongol conquest, the Djibāl appears to have been divided into two unequal parts, the larger in the east being known as Persian ʿIrāḳ and the smaller in the west, which included Kirmānshāh, as Kurdistān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that Kirmānshāhān (which, he writes, was known in books as Ḳirmīsīn) had been a medium-sized town (*shahrī wasaṭ*) but that in his time it was a mere village (*Nuzhat*, 108). Čamčamāl near Bīsutūn, because of its excellent pastures, was a regular camping ground of the Mongol establishments, and, according to Ḥamd Allāh, Öldjeytü b. Arghūn built a town (*ḳaṣaba*) there (*ibid.*, 107). It would seem from Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's account that there was a decline in production in Kurdistān as in the neighbouring provinces after the Mongol invasions (*Tārīḵh-i guzīda*, 371).

During the 9th/15th century Kirmānshāh lay outside the main course of events in Persia, but with the rise of the Ṣafawids Kirmānshāh became a frontier province facing the Ottomans. Many of the Kurdish tribes enjoyed a degree of local independence, and it does not appear that central control was established throughout the region in the early Ṣafawid period. The sources make little mention of Kirmānshāh, though there is mention of Ṣafawid governors in Dīnawar—Solugh Ḥusayn Tekkelu in the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl and Čirāgh Sulṭān in the reign of Ṭahmāsp (Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-nāma*, Tehran A.H.S. 1343, 410, 270). Intermittent warfare with the Ottomans kept the frontier regions of Kirmānshāh in a state of instability and often disorder, though the main theatre of operations was Ādharbāydjān. By the peace treaty made by Shāh ʿAbbās in 999/1590 the western provinces of Persia, including Kirmānshāh, were ceded to Turkey, and it was not until the campaign begun in 1011/1602 that Persian rights were reasserted and the lost provinces recovered in the following year. After the death of Shāh ʿAbbās an Ottoman expedition led by Khusraw Pasha penetrated up to Hamadān (1039/1630). When peace was again signed in 1048/1639, Sulṭān Murād IV recognised the frontier more or less along the line which it occupies at the present day.

About the middle of the 11th/17th century, the Zangana family began to emerge as the most powerful of the local leaders, and from then on frequently held the government of Kirmānshāh, which usually included Sunḳur and, from the reign of Shāh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42), Kalhur (K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 9). Shaykh ʿAlī Khān Zangana became governor under Shāh ʿAbbās II in or about 1058/1648 (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran, A.H.S. 1339, viii, 475). Members of the family also held important offices at court, which further strengthened their position. Shaykh ʿAlī Beg became *amīr āḵḵur* to Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1667-94). His son Shaykh ʿAlī Khān, who also held this office, became governor of Kirmānshāhān and finally Iʿtimād al-Dawla, which office he held for fifteen years. He died in 1101/1689-90 (*ibid.*, viii, 490).

After the fall of the Ṣafawids, Kirmānshāh was again occupied by the Ottomans in 1136/1723, the deputy-governor Ḥusayn ʿAlī Beg submitting without resistance. By the terms of the peace made by Ashraf with the Ottomans in 1140/1727 Kirmānshāh, Hamadān, Sanandadj, Ardalān and Nihāwand and various other places were allocated in perpetuity to Turkey (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 292). Kirmānshāh was retaken by Nādir Ḳulī (later Nādir Shāh) in 1142/1729-30 (Mīrza Mihdī Astarābādī, *Tārīḵh-i djahāngushā-yi Nādirī*, ed. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anwarī, Tehran 1962, 119 ff.), and when peace was again made in 1145/1732 Kirmānshāh remained with Persia. It was reoccupied by the Ottomans later in the year, but evacuated after a brief siege by Nādir. The Zangana *ḵḥāns* were still powerful, and in 1156/1743-4 Ibrāhīm Khān b. Ẓahīr al-Dawla Zangana was appointed *sipahsālār* of Kurdistān and Luristān-i Faylī (*ibid.*, 400). On the death of Nādir in 1160/1747, Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī, who had been made governor of Kirmānshāh by Nādir, took the part of ʿĀdil Shāh against his brother Ibrāhīm. The latter, sent an army to Kirmānshāh, which plundered the town and took temporary possession of the district (*ibid.*, 429), but when Ibrāhīm defeated and dethroned ʿĀdil Shāh, Muḥammad Taḳī made himself virtually independent. In 1179/1766 Karīm Khān took the town of Kirmānshāh after besieging the fortress for two years. The defenders were finally reduced by famine. ʿAlī Murād Khān was then made governor of Kirmānshāh. (See further Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Amīn Gulistāna, *Mudjmal al-tawārīḵh*, ed. Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran A.H.S. 1344.)

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In the 19th century the commercial and strategic importance of Kirmānshāh increased. It became the capital of Persian Kurdistān. The latter formed a separate province from Ardalān [*q.v.*]. The capital of Ardalān, which was also known as Kurdistān, was Sinna. Already in 1800, Sir John Malcolm noted the importance of Kirmānshāh as a mart for trade between Turkey and Persia (Melville papers, quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago 1971, 268). Sir John Macdonald Kinneir states that it was a flourishing town in 1801, containing about 12,000 houses (*Geographical memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, 132), which would have given a population of some 60,000 persons.

Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh appointed his eldest son, Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, as governor-general of Kurdistān and Luristān in or about 1806, and it became one of the most thriving provinces of Persia. Muḥammad ʿAlī disposed of a considerable army, mainly cavalry, composed largely of Kurds and trained by French officers, and under his rule Kirmānshāh formed a bulwark against the advance of the Ottomans. Because of the rivalry which existed between him and his brother ʿAbbās Mīrzā, the *walī ʿahd* and governor-general of Āḏharbāyḏjān, and the likelihood of a struggle between them in the event of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's death, he felt the need to attach the population to his interests. Ferrier states that he "administered the affairs of his government in a truly paternal manner. His charities enriched the town and the people lived in the enjoyment of plenty" (*Caravan journeys*, 24). Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn also comments on the expansion of the town under Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā's government. He states that the number of its buildings surpassed those of most other towns in Persia (*Bustān al-siyāḥa*, 492). In addition to buildings in the town, Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā surrounded the town by walls, flanked with loop-holed towers, and by a moat three miles in circumference.

Prior to the Turco-Persian war of 1821, the south-western boundary of Kirmānshāh had been some seven miles west of Kirind at Sar-i Mīl. Muḥammad ʿAlī, having embarked on successful operations against the Ottomans, annexed Zuhāb and advanced on Baghdād, but was forced to abandon his advance by an outbreak of cholera, to which he himself succumbed. The war continued until 1823. By the terms of the treaty then concluded, the districts acquired by either party during the war were to be respectively surrendered and the frontier line was to be restored to where it had been in Ṣafawid times. Zuhāb, although claimed by the Porte, nevertheless remained part of the province of Kirmānshāh. Having been acquired in war, it became *khāliṣa* [*q.v.*] and was farmed by the chief of the Gūrān tribe (H. Rawlinson, *March from Zohab to Khuzistan*, in *JRGS* ix (1839), 36).

After the death of Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, the town of Kirmānshāh decayed as a result of the extortion and tyranny of the governors who succeeded him. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, writing about 1832, states that there were then no more than 10,000 houses in Kirmānshāh (*loc. cit.*), while Ferrier, writing in 1845, states that its splendid bazaars were deserted, nine-tenths of the shops were shut and three-fourths of the population had emigrated, the townspeople to Āḏharbāyḏjān and the nomads to Turkey (*op. cit.*, 25). All sign of Muḥammad ʿAlī's fortifications had disappeared by the 20th century. Cholera, plague and famine added to the misfortunes of the town, notably the plague of 1830, which is said to have reduced the population to 12,000 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 355; cf. also Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, *loc. cit.*); and in 1832 floods washed away about one fifth of the populated area with heavy loss of life (*ibid.*). These disasters, coupled with the rapacity of the governors, reduced the province to a low ebb. Consul Abbott, writing in 1849-50 states that there were some 5,000 inhabited houses (United Kingdom, Public Record Office, F. O. 60: 165, *K. Abbott's report on the commerce of South Persia . . .*), which would have given a population of about 25,000. Another report written in 1868 estimated the population at 30,000 (*Report on Persia, accounts and papers 1867-68*, 19, quoted by Issawi, 28). By the end of the century there had been some degree of recovery, and in 1914 the population was put at 60,000 (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 355). This figure, which was probably a conservative estimate, was the same as that given by Sir J. Macdonald Kinneir rather over a century earlier.

Various Ḳādjār princes held the government of Kirmānshāh after Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā. The first was his son Muḥammad Ḥusayn Mīrzā Ḥishmat al-Dawla, who held office for some ten years. Another of his sons, Imām Ḳulī Mīrzā ʿImād al-Dawla, also held the governorship for some twenty-one years under Muḥammad Shāh and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. In 1842 relations with Turkey again became critical, and a mixed commission was appointed to delimit the frontier, an operation which was not finally completed until 1914 (see further C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds Turks and Arabs*, London 1957, 125 ff.). When Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh passed through the province on his way to Karbalāʾ and Nadjaf in 1871, a huge petition was presented to him complaining of the oppression of the governor. It was not answered. From 1881 to 1888 the province was included in the immense region coming under Ẓill al-Sulṭān, the governor of Iṣfahān [*q.v.*]. When he was deprived of all his governments except Iṣfahān, his nominees in Kirmānshāh and Kurdistān were dismissed. For some years after that the government of Kirmānshāh was given to the highest bidder, with the result that the people were greatly oppressed.

In the last quarter of the 19th century the volume of trade coming through Kirmānshāh markedly increased (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 343-4). With the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the establishment of a steamer service on the Tigris, it became the port of entry for all goods entering Persia from Baghdād and coming from England and India via the Persian Gulf and the Tigris. By the end of the century the province equalled, if it did not excel, any other province in its general state (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 336-7). Consul Preece wrote in 1899 that "There are but few towns in Persia which show to-day so flourishing a condition, from a trade point of view, as Kermanshah, and this in spite of oppression by the local Governor, and badness and unsafety of the roads radiating from it" (quoted by Rabino, 206). There was a customs post at Kirmānshāh, which was normally farmed. In 1881 the sum paid was 20,000 *krāns*. For the year ending 20 March 1897 the figure had risen to 480,000 *krāns* and for the year ending 20 March 1899 to 670,000 *krāns*. On 21 March 1899 the customs were taken over by the Belgians (see further *Gazetteer of Persia*, 350 ff.).

Kirmānshāh also benefited greatly from the pilgrim trade, lying as it did on the direct route from Persia to Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries it was estimated that 150,000 to 200,000 pilgrims passed annually through the town. They brought money to exchange or tried to pay their way by selling things, and so gradually

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added to the well-being of the town (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 344).

In 1914 there were about 200 merchants in Kirmānshāh dealing mostly in Manchester goods obtained direct from Manchester or through Baghdād, in sugar from Marseilles, and in opium, gums, goatskins, carpets and wool, which they exported to Baghdād and England. One of the most prominent of these was Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Wakīl al-Dawla, who combined trade with banking and landownership (for the career of his father and the rise of the family to wealth and influence, see Silbermann, 207). There were about twenty Ottoman Jews, who had in their hands the greatest part of the foreign and export trade. Kāshī merchants imported from Kāshān tobacco, native silk goods, copper-ware, to a total amount of some 100,000 *tūmān*s, which they covered by exports to Kāshān of prints and foreign goods received from Baghdād. Yazdī merchants imported henna and Yazdī silk from Yazd to the amount of 20,000 *tūmān*s, and exported an equal amount of foreign goods to Yazd. Iṣfahānī merchants imported native prints and cotton goods, such as *ḳalamkār*s, prints, *laḥāf*s, *ʿabā*s, etc., and *gaz* and *gīva*s from Iṣfahān, and exported to Iṣfahān Manchester prints, iron, tea, cowhides, wool and *gilim*s. Their imports came to 100,000 *tūmān*s, but were exceeded by their exports. Hamadān merchants imported naphtha, rice, Russian prints, glassware and hardware (coming from Rasht), and exported to Hamadān dates from Mandalī, gall-nuts, grease, ghee, raw hides, tea, spices, iron, lead, Manchester goods and window glass. The exports exceeded the imports. Some Hamadān merchants worked exclusively as commission agents for releasing goods from the customhouse and forwarding them to Hamadān (*Gazetteer of Persia*, 355-6). There were also a few Persian Jews, who lived by small trade and hawking, and a very small number of Chaldean Christians, some engaged in trade and some living by the manufacture of *arak*.

Kirmānshāh played little part in the constitutional revolution, but in 1911 Sālār al-Dawla entered Kirmānshāh in the name of the ex-shah Muḥammad ʿAlī. In the following year he advanced on Tehran with a force of Kalhurs, Sandjābīs and other Kurdish tribes. He was defeated near Hamadān and government troops retook Kirmānshāh. Operations continued until the autumn, during which time Kirmānshāh repeatedly changed hands. In the first world war Kirmānshāh was one of the centres of the *muhādjarat* movement. A local committee for national defence was set up (*kumīta-yi difāʿ-i millī*) and in December 1915 the central committee, which had retired from Tehran to Ḳumm and Iṣfahān in November of that year, withdrew to Kirmānshāh. A provisional government had barely been established when the *muhādjirīn* evacuated Kirmānshāh in March 1916 in the face of a Russian advance. Turkish forces later occupied the town but evacuated it in 1917 (see further Yaḥyā Dawlatābādī, *Ḥayāt-i Yaḥyā*, Tehran n.d., iii, 323 ff., Ḥusayn Samīʿī Adīb al-Salṭana and Amān Allāh Ardalān ʿIzz al-Mamālik, *Awwalīn ḳiyām-i muḳaddas-i millī*, Tehran A.H.S. 1332, 30 ff., 75 ff., P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*[3], London 1963, ii, 446 ff.).

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(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

KIRMĀSTĪ, chef-lieu of a *ḳaḍāʾ* in Anatolia, 15 miles south-east of Mikhalidj (cf. J. H. Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, lxv [1911], 101) and 40 miles S.W. of Bursa with about 16,900 inhabitants (1960). The town lies on both banks of the Edrenos Čay (Rhyndacus), now called the Mustafa Kemal Paşa Çay. The origin of the name, often wrongly written Kirmāslī, which points to a Greek *Κερμαστὴ or *Κρεμαστὴ, is uncertain, nor is it known what ancient town was here. Perhaps the Kremastis in the Troas (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, ii, 743) mentioned in Xenophon, *Hist.* iv, 8, is to be connected with it. In the Byzantine period Aorata is said to have been here, where the troops of Alexius Comnenus under Kamytzes were defeated in 506/1113 by the Saldjūḳs (cf. Anna Comnena, ii, 279 ff.). In any case there is close to Kirmāstī a Byzantine castle in ruins which resembles that 6 miles farther up the Edrenos Čay at Kesterlek and presumably was intended with similar defences at Ulubad (Lopadium) and Bursa to keep back the advance of the Ottomans. In the town, which has 6 mosques, including one large very old one with a *türbe*, and 14 *masdjids*, there are ancient remains (sarcophagi, inscriptions on the walls, ornaments) which do not seem yet to have been studied. The history of Kirmāstī under the Ottomans is quite obscure, as there are no records. Ewliyā Čelebi (v, 290) and European travellers (cf. W. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 77, 80, ii, 93) say practically nothing about it. The Muslim inscriptions have still to be studied and edited. Kirmāstī, which did not suffer from the Greek occupation, was in 1925 renamed Muṣṭafā Kemāl Paşha in honour of the Turkish President. Kirmāstī is the birth-place of Seyyid-i Wilāyet (d. 929/1522-3 in Istanbul), son-in-law of the historian ʿĀshīḳ-Paşha-zāde (cf. Taşhköprüzāde-Medjdī, *Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniya*, 352, 13), known from the *Menāḳib-i Tādj al-ʿĀrifīn* (i.e. Sheykh Ebū 'l-Wefā); cf. Pertsch, *Lat. Türk. Handschr. Gotha*, 137, No. 166 and Tornberg, *Cat. Uppsal.*, 211, No. cccvii.

Two hours' journey from Kirmāstī are two hot mineral springs, called Dümbüldak and Akardja.

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(F. BABINGER*)

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ḲIRMĪSĪN [see ḲIRMĀNSHĀH]

ḲIRSH [see SIKKA]

ḲĪRSHEHIR, modern Turkish KIRŞEHİR (formerly *Ḳīrshehri* "town of the steppes", incidentally also called euphemistically *Gulshehri* "town of the roses"), a town in central Anatolia, *ca.* 490 m. above sea level, situated at 37° 9′ N. lat., and 34° 10′ E. long., on a small river called the Ḳïlïč Ozü which flows into the Ḳïzïl Īrmaḳ [*q.v.*], the ancient Halys. The town, with a total population of 14,168 in 1950, lies on the road from Ankara (195 km. distance) to Kayseri (140 km. distance). Another road leads after some 15 km. to the Kesik Köprü, a long bridge over the Ḳïzïl Īrmaḳ of 13 pointed arches, built in 640/1248 by a Saldjūḳ vizier called ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad (see Taeschner in *Festschrift Ernst Kühnel. Aus der islamische Kunst*, Berlin 1959, 290-2, and A. Dietrich in *ZDMG*, cx (1961), 310-13). Close to the bridge, on the eastern bank of the river, is a *khān* or caravanserai, erected in 667/1268 by Nūr al-Dīn Djibrāʾīl b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Djadja, *amīr* of Ḳīrshehir (see K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Istanbuler Forschungen, xxi/1, Berlin 1961, no. 21, 74-7). In the neighbourhood of the town are medicinal springs.

Ḳīrshehir is certainly an old settlement, as may be deduced from the *hüyük* (a hill indicating ancient cultivation) in the centre of the town, which, however, has not as yet revealed its secrets. The ancient name of the town is not known; the denominations proposed for antiquity are disputed. So far as is recorded by inscriptions and architectural monuments, its history starts only in the early Turkish (Rūm-Saldjūḳid) period. Then and shortly afterwards, from the middle of the 7th/13th until the middle of the 8th/14th centuries, the town must have been an important cultural centre.

After the battle of Malāzgird (1071), the Turks took possession of great parts of Anatolia, and Ḳīrshehir became also Turkish, but the control of the city changed more than once: sometimes it fell to an *amīr* of the Danishmandids of north-eastern Anatolia (Sivas and Malatya), sometimes to a sultan of the Anatolian collateral line of the Saldjūḳids, the so-called Rūm-Saldjūḳids who resided in Ḳonya. Under sultan Ḳïlïč-Arslan II, the amirate of the Danishmandids was incorporated (*ca.* 1173) in the territory of the Rūm-Saldjūḳids, who remained the overlords of the town until the end of their power in 1307. Then governors of the Mongol Il-Khāns of Iran started to rule the whole region, including Ḳīrshehir, which served as a place of coinage for them until 728/1328. In his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (ed. G. Le Strange, i. Text, London 1915, 99, *ll.* 13 ff., ii. Tr. London 1919, 99, *ll.* 22 ff.), Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī designates Ḳīrshehir as "a big town with high sacred constructions (*ʿimārāt*), which enjoys a fine climate; the revenue of its *Dīwān* amounts to 57,000 *dīnārs*".

After the disintegration of the Il-Khānid state, Ḳīrshehir again became a controversial issue between independently-behaving governors, like those of the Eretnids [see ERETNA] and other dynasties, until it was taken by the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I. After the latter's defeat near Ankara in 1402, the town was at first added by the conqueror Tīmūr to the territory of the Ḳaramānids (Ḳonya and Laranda), but afterwards changed masters several times until it became definitely Ottoman when Selīm I incorporated the principal ty of the Dulḳadīr, to which Ḳīrshehir had belonged ultimately. As capital of a *liwā* (*sandjāḳ*), the town was attached to the *eyālet* (*wilāyet*) of Ḳaramān.

When the *wilāyet* system was reorganised in the middle of the 19th century, the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳīrshehir was assigned to the *wilāyet* of Ankara. The town became a *wilāyet* in 1924 when the former *wilāyet*s were abolished and the *sandjaḳ*s raised to *wilāyet*s. But in 1954 the *wilāyet* of Ḳīrshehir was suppressed; parts of its territory were added to the *wilāyet*s of Ankara and Yozgad, but the greater part was assigned to the newly-formed *wilāyet* of Nevşehir.

The heyday of Ḳīrshehir was the late-Saldjūḳid and Il-Khānid period between *ca.* 1240-1340. The town must then have been really important; there was in any case an active intellectual life of a mystical-religious character, as may be seen from imposing architectural monuments which have survived until today (see Ali Saim Ülgen, *Kırşehir'de Türk eserleri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii [Ankara 1942], 253-61, figs. 1-25; Halim Baki Kunter, *Kırşehir kitâbeleri*, in *ibid.*, 432-36, figs. 4-23; W. Ruben, *Kırşehir'in dikkatımızı çeken san'at abideleri. A*, in *Belleten*, xi [Ankara 1947], no. 44, 603-40, pls. CX-XCVI; idem, *B*, in *Belleten*, xii [Ankara 1948], no. 45, 173-93, pls. XXXVII-XLVI; idem, *Eigenartige Denkmäler aus Kırşehir*, in *ibid.*, 194-205; Cevat Hakkı Tarım, *Kirşehir tarihi üzerinde araştırmalar*, Kırşehir 1938; idem, *Tarihte Kırşehri - Gülşehri ve Babailer - Ahiler - Bektaşiler*, Istanbul 1948).

The oldest cultural institution in Ḳīrshehir is possibly the *madrasa* of Malik Muẓaffar b. Bahrāmshāh, called Malik Ghāzī, of the Mangūčekdynasty, whom sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I had invested with Ḳīrshehir as compensation for the principality he had taken away from Ghāzī's family. Of the *madrasa* allegedly built in 644/1246, only the relatively simple portal has been preserved. When the ruins of the *madrasa* were carried away, the portal was used in 1312/1893 for the reconstruction of the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mosque on the hillock of the town. The still-standing graceful mausoleum of Malik Muẓaffar, the Malik Ghāzī Kümbedi, constructed by his consort in the style typical for the high-Saldjūḳid period, indicates the original site of the *madrasa*.

For the next period, the *madrasa* of the *amīr* Nūr al-Dīn Djabrāʾīl b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Djadja served as a centre of intellectual life. It belonged to an extensive foundation on which a deed of foundation (*waḳfiyye*) in Arabic and Mongol, dated 670/1272, provides information (see Ahmed Temir, *Kırşehir emiri Cacaoğlu Nur el-Din'in 1272 tarihli Arapça Mogalça vakfiyesi*, Ankara 1959). Of the constructions belonging to this foundation, only a group of buildings in the centre of the town has survived. It consists of the *madrasa*, built in 671/1272-3 and presently used as the Friday mosque, its minaret and the tomb of the founder. The tomb is included in the north-eastern angle of the *madrasa* and can only be reached from the inside; on the outside, it is only marked by a window in the northern wall, of the same style as the portal of the *madrasa*.

To the north-west of the Malik Ghāzī Kümbedi, at a distance of *ca.* 200 m. from the Djadja Beg Madrasa, lies the Lâla Cami ("Tulip mosque"). A tale has it that its name is derived from a tulip of particular beauty, which the builders received from a pupil of the Djadja Beg Madrasa; proceeds of its sale then allegedly enabled him to build the Lâla Cami. The building, which lies in ruins and does not bear any inscription so that nothing is known about its construction and original use, apparently was not a mosque at the outset; during the Il-Khānid period it served as the mint, but was used as a mosque later,

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probably still in the 14th century, as is shown by its *miḥrāb* built in Saldjūḳid style.

In the north-eastern part of the town, on a hillock in the Imaret ward, lies the tomb of Shaykh Süleymān-i Turkomānī, who is said to have introduced to Ḳırshehir the Mewlewī order, and to have built a Mewlewī khān, nothing of which has survived. The tomb has no inscription and so nothing is known about its construction or about the death of the man who is buried there. A wooden panel on the tomb gives 693/1294 as the year of his death, but this can not be correct since there exists a foundation deed (*waḳfiyye*) of Shaykh Turkomānī, dated Muḥarram 697/October-November 1297 (see C. H. Tarım, *Kırşehir tarihi*, 82-5).The biographical work *Nafaḥāt al-uns* of the Persian poet Djāmī (Turkish tr. Lāmiʿi, Istanbul 1289/1872, 652; M. F. Köprülüzāde, *Türk edebiyyātında ilk mütaṣawwıflar*, Istanbul 1918, 236, n. 1) mentions 714/1314 as the year of his death; this seems more probable. Until recent times, descendants of Shaykh Süleymān-i Turkomānī have been known in Ḳırshehir, as may be seen from *inter alia* their tombs, all of which carry Mewlewī characteristics. It seems probable that the dignity of Shaykh of the Mewlewī community in Ḳırshehir was hereditary in their family.

The poet Gülshehrī in all probability also originated from Ḳırshehir. He was one of the first to write poetry in Rūm Turkish, and by doing so was largely instrumental in this language's, the later Ottoman-Turkish, finding its place among the literary languages of Islam. Nothing is known about his life, nor is there any trace of his tomb in Ḳırshehir or elsewhere. But on the basis of his pen-name (*maḵhlaṣ*) Gülshehrī [*q.v.*] there can be no doubt that he originated from Ḳırshehir. Because his *Mantiḳ al-ṭayr* contains many references to the prophet Süleymān (Solomon), it has been supposed that Gülshehrī can be identified with Shaykh Süleymān-i Turkomānī. The identification, however, is in no way proved and remains controversial.

From an artistic point of view, the most important building in Ḳırshehir is the *türbe* of the poet ʿĀṣhıḳ Paṣha [*q.v.*; see also M. Fuad Köprülü, in *İA*, s.v.], born at Ḳırşehir in 670/1272. His grandfather Bābā Ilyās had been the founder of the Bābāʾī sect, and one of his followers, Bābā Ilyās, had been the leader of the great dervish revolt which had been crushed with great difficulty in 1242 on the Māliyye plain near Ḳırshehir. ʿĀṣhīḳ Paṣha, himself a dervish also, died in the odour of sanctity on 13 Ṣafar 733/3 November 1333; his tomb at Ḳırshehir became a highly-visited place of pilgrimage. The magnificent *türbe*, which guards the mortal remains of the poet, was built after his death and has a style of architecture all of its own. It has nothing in common any more with the Saldjūḳid tombs, generally called *kümbed* ("cupola"), but it departs also from the customary style of the Ottoman *türbes*. A characteristic feature of ʿĀṣhīḳ Paṣha's *türbe* is that before it extends a closed entrance hall which is accessible at the side through a grand portal.

From an historical point of view, the most remarkable monument of Ḳırshehir is perhaps the modest sanctuary of Aḵhī Ewrān which consists of the saint's *türbe*, a *tekiyye* and a mosque. On the role of this sanctuary in the economic life of Ḳırshehir, see AḴHĪ BABA and AḴHĪ EWRĀN. When in 1925 the dervish monasteries were closed, the role of the *tekiyye* of Aḵhī Ewrān came also to an end, and so Ḳırshehir was reduced to the status of a provincial town.

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ḲIRṬĀS stands for 1. papyrus, papyrus roll, 2. parchment, and 3. later also rag paper; from the Arabic texts, it is not always clear which material is meant. The word *ḳirṭās*, *ḳarṭās*, *ḳurṭās*, or *ḳirṭas*, *ḳarṭas*, has been adopted from the Greek word χάρτη through the Aramaic; from the Arabic, it has been adopted by the Spanish as *alcartaz* meaning "bag", and by the Portugese as *cartaz* meaning "paper, permit; placard". In the Ḳurʾān, it is mentioned in the singular, *ḳirṭās* (Sūra VI, 7), and in the plural, *ḳarāṭīs*, meaning "[written] papyri" (Sūra VI, 91). Sometimes a genuine Arabic word is used: *waraḳ al-ḳaṣab*, "reedy sheet", and *waraḳ al-bardī* or *al-abardī*, "sheet made of the papyrus plant" [see ḲAṢAB, PAPYRUS]. The Arabs attribute the invention of the *ḳirṭās*, "papyrus", to the biblical Joseph (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, Göttingen 1850, 274, etc.). Nothing is said about its production. Only in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990), 21, and in al-Bīrūnī's *India*, 81, completed in 421/1030, are there two statements: that *ḳirṭās* is obtained from the reed of the papyrus (*ḳaṣab al-bardī*), or else from its pulp (*lubb al-bardī*). Only in the 7th/13th century after the termination of the production of papyrus in the 5th/11th century, Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248) related in his *Djamiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdhiya*, Cairo 1291/1874-5, i, 87 from his teacher Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī (d. 637/1239), that the Egyptians, in former times, used to split the stalk of the papyrus in two parts, cut [the pulp obtained thereby] into strips, put them [crosswise, in two layers] on an even pad made of wood, spread size on them which they had obtained from the seeds of the blue lotus (*Nymphaea coerulea* Sav.), dry [the strips combined thereby], and beat them carefully with a beetle until they got an even [piece].

Ḳirṭās was not usually sold as pieces, but rather as rolls of pieces stuck together. From these rolls, pieces could be cut, irrespective of the glued joints which were usually not visible. The smallest piece used in trade was a sixth of a roll, which was called a *ṭūmār* (Greek τομάριον) or *ṭūmār ḳirṭās* (Greek τομάριον χάρτου). On the front surface (*recto*), the strips of the papyrus ran horizontally, hence parallel to the writing, while on the reverse-surface (*verso*), the strips ran vertically. In the early ʿAbbāsid period several sheets were, sometimes, bound into a booklet (*kurrāsa*). Because of the high price of the material, it was usual to write on the reverse surfaces as well or to wash the written papyri and write on them again (thus forming an opistograph or palimpsest). The sizes of the sheets were probably generally the same as those of the Ancient World. The usual size was 30-40 cm. high and 20-30 cm. wide, but the width later was increased. The manufactories producing the different kinds of papyrus were run by the government or were under governmental supervision; it seems that this governmental control was certified by an official note on the back side of the first sheet of a roll.

The word *ḳirṭās* did not remain confined to

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"papyrus", "roll of papyrus", but was used for "bag" and, in medical science, for "dressing", "a kind of absorbent gauze", and things like that (cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, *op. cit.*, i, 87, and his sources, sc. Dioscorides, Galen, Ibn Sīnā, etc.), or else was applied to writing paper obtained from other materials, e.g. "parchment" [see DJILD, RAḲḲ] and "rag paper" [see KĀGHAD].

Bibliography: A. Grohmann, *Arabische Papyruskunde* (Handbuch der Orientalistik, erste Abt., Ergänzungsband ii, erster Halbband, Leiden-Cologne 1966), 49-118 (with bibliography); idem, *Arabische Paläographie*, i (Österr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, phil.-histor. Kl., Denkschriften, 94. Bd., 1. Abhdlg., Vienna 1967), 66-93 (with bibliography). (R. SELLHEIM)

AL-KISĀʾĪ, ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. ḤAMZA B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. BAHMAN B. FAYRŪZ, *mawlā* of the Banū Asad, well-known Arab philologist and Ḳurʾān-reader (*ca.* 119-89/737-805). Descendant of an Iranian family from the Sawād, he was born in Bāhamshā, Dudjayl, north of Baghdād (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, i, 458 s.v.; M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden 1901, ii, 226) and when still a boy, came to al-Kūfa (Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 138; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, 535). It is related that he had difficulties with the *ʿarabiyya* and therefore sought to attach himself to the grammarian Muʿâdh al-Harrāʾ (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 404). Al-Khalīl's [*q.v.*] authority in the field of Arabic philology allegedly caused him afterwards to go to al-Baṣra; at his advice, al-Kisāʾī is said to have stayed for some time among the Bedouins in order to become fully conversant with the secrets of the *ʿarabiyya* by direct association with them. As is shown by the explanations and interpretations of details which are to be found in grammars and lexicographical works of the native philological literature and which are to be traced back to al-Kisāʾī, it is in any case certain that he attributed more importance to linguistic usage then to learned systematisation, as was aspired to by Sībawayh [*q.v.*], another pupil of al-Khalīl, who laid this down in his voluminous *al-Kitāb*. Even if al-Kisāʾī, in his discussions and investigations, made use of the generally accepted method of analogy (*ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]), he nevertheless, in his learned observations, left, as was fitting, wide space to the anomalous ways of speech as presented especially by colloquial speech or dialect; he took care not to squeeze into a system such anomalies, exceptions and discrepancies from the general rule (against Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 190; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 336). In this way, he and those who followed him in this method preserved for us vestiges of the everyday language, which was not acknowledged by other scholars and therefore concealed and suppressed. Three or four generations later, in connexion with the controversies between al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab [*q.vv.*] in Baghdād, the more independent treatment of the Arabic language by al-Kisāʾī, and not least that of his pupil al-Farrā [*q.v.*], became straightaway the method of the grammatical school of Kūfa; *ex eventu*, he and his teacher al-Ruʾāsī [*q.v.*] have entered the history of Arab philology as the real founders of that school. In his introduction to Ibn al-Anbārī's *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* (Leiden 1913), G. Weil pertinently characterised this method as the "anomalous" one, in opposition to the strictly "analogous" one of the school of Baṣra, which has generally prevailed among the Arab grammarians. Apart from the material preserved in the *Kitāb al-Inṣāf* with respect to the school of Kūfa and in particular to al-Kisāʾī's teachings, see also Thaʿlab, *Madjālis Thaʿlab*², Cairo 1960, index; al-Zadjdjādjī, *Madjālis al-ʿulamāʾ*, Kuwait 1962, index; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*⁴, Cairo 1958, i-ii, index; idem, *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*², Ḥaydarābād 1360/1941, iii, 15, 18, 42; al-Sayyid Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Kanghrāwī (?) al-Istanbūlī (1278-1349/1861-1931; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam*, v, 17, 292), *al-Mūfī fi 'l-naḥw al-kūfī*, ed. M. Bahdjat al-Bayṭār, in *MMIA*, xxiv (1949), 417-32, 560-82; xxv (1950), 223-46, 399-414, 511-34; xxvi (1951), 85-100, 199-222, 407-22, 577-89 (cf. too A. al-Ḥimṣī, Ẓāhiriyya, Naḥw, 519: al-Kanghrī).

Al-Kisāʾī's learned studies, more concerned with a description of reality than with scholastic systematisation, apparently sprang from a basic attitude, which must also have enabled him to maintain for many years those manifold good and close relations with the ʿAbbāsid court in Baghdād, where he had moved. There the scholar, as original in knowledge as he was in ideas, was all the more welcome as teacher of the princes since he was also able to act as a Ḳurʾān-reader (Azharī, *Tahdhīb*, 15). The caliph al-Mahdī had entrusted to him the education of the young al-Rashīd, who in his turn later caused his sons al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn to be taught by al-Kisāʾī (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 186, 194 ff.). Al-Rashīd promoted his teacher al-Kisāʾī among his personal companions and confidants (*al-djulasāʾ wa 'l-muʾānisīn*) and requested him to accompany him on the *ḥadjdj* and other journeys (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 183, 186), thus manifesting the intimate relation between pupil and teacher. During one of these journeys, probably the road to Khurāsān in 189/805 (Ṭabarī, iii, 701 ff.), al-Kisāʾī died at the age of seventy (Ḳiftī, *Inbāh*, ii, 269), probably in Ranbūya in the neighbourhood of Rayy. Fragments of an elegy on him and on the jurist Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] by his antagonistic colleague Yaḥyā al-Yazīdī [*q.v.*] have survived (Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 290; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 142; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 413 ff., and ii, 182; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 824 f.; idem, *Udabāʾ*, v, 183, 199; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, 540); for the *laḳab* "Kisāʾī", see *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 404 f.; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 445; etc.; O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur arabischen Poesie*, 1963-4, viii/1, 108.

It is evident that the opinion of al-Kisāʾī's colleagues on a man who seemed to be favoured personally by fate because of his good relations with the court of the caliph, was not always positive (Abu 'l-Ṭayyib, *Marātib*, 74), all the more so because—as indicated above—in controversial questions he preferred to rely on the reality of the spoken language rather than on speculative assertions of the learned (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 180). It was the Bedouins, undisputed authorities on the current language, who assisted him at the famous discussion with Sībawayh on the so-called *al-masʾala al-zunbūriyya* (Zadjdjādjī, *op. cit.*, 8-10; Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 288; Ḳiftī, *Inbāh*, ii, 358 f., etc.; A. Fischer, in *A volume of oriental studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 150-6). He is also reproached with being a pederast and fond of date-wine (*nabīdh*) (Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 284, 289; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 185, 194, 198).

Al-Kisāʾī's authority as a Ḳurʾān-reader was generally recognised, both at the court and among the public of Baghdād, al-Raḳḳa and elsewhere (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 403). At first, he represented the reading of his teacher Ḥamza al-Zayyāt [*q.v.*], but in the course of time he developed his own (*Fihrist*, 30). How highly al-Kisāʾī's reading was appreciated is shown by the fact that it became the seventh of the seven canonical readings [see ḲIRĀʾA].

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Probably his reading was as little established by its reader, al-Kisāʾī, as were the others by their readers. This was first done by al-Kisāʾī's pupil Abū ʿUbayd [*q.v.*], when he compiled 32 *ḳirāʾāt*. As in parallel cases, the *Mufradat al-Kisāʾī*, which exists in Ms. Tehran University 4867,1 (M. T. Dānish-Pazhūh, xiv, 3897), could be a later extract from the *Shāṭibiyya*, the *Taysīr* or a similar work (see R. Sellheim, *Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1976, i, 38 f.).

Of al-Kisāʾī's 14 or 15 works enumerated in the *Fihrist*, 65 ff., 165—for some of them, see Azharī, *Tahḏhīb*, 15 ff. and Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 278 (or should we read Sībawayh here instead of al-Kisāʾī?)—nothing apparently has come down to us. According to the titles, they were devoted to questions of grammar, lexicography and the Ḳurʾān, and also of poetry, of which he allegedly did not have much knowledge (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, v, 193; Ibn Khallikān, ii, 457). According to Brockelmann, I, 118, S I, 178, three other treatises which are connected with his name and are lacking in the enumeration of the *Fihrist*, have been preserved: *Risāla fī laḥn al-ʿāmma* (ed. Brockelmann, in *ZA*, xiii (1898), 29-46; cf. Th. Nöldeke, *ibid.*, 111-15, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī, Cairo 1925, and R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, *Laḥn al-ʿāmma*, Cairo 1967, 111 f.); *Kitāb al-Mutaṣḥābih fī 'l-Ḳurʾān* (other mss. e.g. in Ẓāhiriyya [ʿIzzet Ḥasan, Ḳurʾān, 391], Chester Beatty [A. J. Arberry, 3165,1] or Baghdād, Awḳāf [ʿA. al-Djubūrī, i, 144, no. 433]; a remark on the *ṭalāḳ* formula in a verse (British Museum [Ch. Rieu, Supplement 1203, 12]), preserved in detail in Zadjdjādjī, *op. cit.*, 338-42 (for similar traditions, see e.g. Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 285, *Taʾrīḵh Baghdād*, xi, 406).

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KISĀʾ [see LIBĀS].

KISĀʾĪ, Madjd al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan, a Persian poet of the second half of the 4th/10th century. In some later sources his *kunya* is given as Abū Isḥāḳ, but the form given above can be found already in an early source like the *Čahār makāla*. The *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* by al-Bākharzī contains a reference to the "solitary ascetic" (*al-mudjtahid al-muḳīm bi-nafsihi*) Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Kisāʾī of Marw who might very well be identical with this poet (cf. A. Ateş, *giriş* to his edition of *Kitāb Tarcumān al-balāġa*, 97 f.). The pen name Kisāʾī would, according to ʿAwfī, refer to the ascetic way of life adopted by the poet, but it can also be explained otherwise, e.g. as a *nisba* derived from the trade of tailoring. From the very beginning the title *al-Ḥakīm* has been attached to his name.

His origin from Marw is confirmed by the early sources. It is also certain that he made at least a part of his career as a poet in that city. In one of his poems, a lament of old age, he has inserted a precise dating of his birth: Čahārshamba, 26 Shawwāl 341 (Wednesday, 16 March 953) as well as the statement that he had reached the age of fifty. From this poem, the conclusion has been drawn that he must have died in or shortly after the year 391/1000-1. The actual date of his death is, however, unknown.

The *dīwān* of Kisāʾī was still extant in the 6th/12th century. After that time, its transmission appears to have been discontinued. Hardly any complete poem has survived. The fragments that have been collected so far from a great variety of sources are generally not longer than a few lines. It is, therefore, difficult to assess the statements concerning the nature of his work that have been made both by ancient and modern writers. It can be regarded as certain, anyhow, that Kisāʾī did enjoy a great reputation as a religious poet during the two centuries following upon his death as well as in his own lifetime. ʿAwfī describes him in the first place as a poet who practised the genres of devotional poetry (*zuhd*) and religious admonition (*waʿẓ*), and quotes a few specimens of his eulogies (*manāḳib*) on the members of the House of the Prophet. The *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ*, an apology of the Imāmī Shīʿa written about the middle of the 6th/12th century, establishes Kisāʾī with some emphasis as a Shīʿī poet.

The Ismāʿīlī poet Nāṣir-i Khusraw (died *ca.* 465/1072), who cultivated the same genres as Kisāʾī, acknowledged his indebtedness to this predecessor, indirectly, by using a claim to the superiority of his own poems over those by Kisāʾī as a *topos* of the epilogue in a number of *ḳaṣīdas*. As E. G. Browne has pointed out, these instances of poetical *fakhr* need not be taken as evidence of a sectarian controversy between these two poets (as it had been suggested by Saʿīd Nafīsī—namely, that they both belonged to the same branch of the Shīʿa—is equally untenable. The exchange of poems between Kisāʾī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw quoted by Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat from the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār* by Taḳī Kāshī, is an anachronistic forgery made up from poems that actually belong to the *dīwān* of the latter only.

The paucity of the primary sources available now does not permit us to estimate how far Kisāʾī specialised in the writing of religious poetry. It is also impossible to define the social groups to which he addressed himself in these poems. It is evident, on

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the other hand, that he did not stay aloof entirely from the profane practice of poetry. He was patronised by a minister of the Sāmānid *amīr* Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, and in his later days he wrote at least one panegyric ode to Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna. ʿAwfī praises his descriptions and quotes several specimens which show that Kisā'ī used all the poetical themes current in his age.

Bibliography: The fragments of Kisā'ī's poetry were collected for the first time by Ethé, *Die Lieder des Kisā'ī*, in *SB Bayr. Akad.* (1874), ii, 133-53. This collection, based on manuscripts of a number of *tadhkiras*, is now outdated. More material has come to light from various other sources, such as dictionaries and *madjmūʿa*-manuscripts. New collections have been published, in particular by M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, *Gandj-i bāz-yāfta*, ii, and *Pīshāhangān-i shiʿr-i pārsī*, Tehran 1351/1972; see also *Lughat-nāma*, no. 182 (1351/1972), s.v. *Kisā'ī*. The most important primary sources on his life and work are of Naṣīr al-Dīn, al-Ḳazwīnī al-Rāzī, *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddith-i Urmawī, Tehran 1331/1952, 252, 628; Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān al-balāgha*, ed. A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949, printed text 13, 22, 46, 47, 104; Asadī, *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāḳī, Tehran 1336/1957, passim; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Dīwān-i ashʿār*, ed. Naṣrat Allāh Taḳawī, Tehran 1348/1969, passim; Nizāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, Tehran 1955-6, *matn* 44, *taʿlīḳāt* 89-97; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, ed. E. G. Browne, ii, 33-9; ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 270-4, *taʿlīḳāt* 660-8; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, Tehran 1340/1961, ii, 7-9; Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, lith. Bombay 1299 A.H., 136; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā'*, lith. Tehran 1295 A.H., i, 482-5. See further Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 281 f.; Browne, *LHP*, ii, 160-4; B. Furūzānfar, *Kisā'ī-yi Marwazī*, in *Armān*, i (1309/1930) 27-34 (= *Madjmūʿa-yi maḳālāt wa ashʿār*, Tehran 1351/1972, 1-7); idem, *Sukhan wa sukhanwarān*², Tehran 1350/1971, 38-42; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Īrānshahr*, i (1340 A.H.), 337-41; ʿAlī Ḳawīm, *Armaghān*, xxiv (1328/1949) 241-51; Dh. Ṣafā, *Ta'rīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*⁴, i, Tehran 1342/1963, 441-9.

(J. H. KRAMERS-[J. T. P. DE BRUIJN])

AL-KISĀ'Ī, ṢĀḤIB ḲIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀ', unknown author of a famous Arabic work on the lives of the prophets and pious men prior to Muḥammad. Some small passages of this book were first edited in 1898 by I. Eisenberg in his thesis on Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisā'ī. A complete edition was published in 1922.

In his thesis, Eisenberg tried to prove that the author of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* was the well-known philologist al-Kisā'ī, to whom Hārūn al-Rashīd had entrusted the education of his sons al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn. But what renders this identification impossible is that Ibn an-Nadīm in his *Fihrist* does not make any allusion to any book of the philologist, the contents of which could have been the legends of the old prophets; furthermore, the name of al-Kisā'ī the philologist is Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ḥamza, and not Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, as indicated in the text edited by I. Eisenberg. Thus the identity of the author of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* remains an enigma.

Moreover, recent enquiries into the subject have proved that the legends of the prophets as written down in the numerous manuscripts of al-Kisā'ī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* belong to the popular narrative tradition of mediaeval Islam and can be compared with works such as the romance of ʿAntar, so far as the narrative style is concerned. So it would be of little use to search for an individual author al-Kisā'ī who could have compiled the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* at a certain date; he is as vague a figure as the narrator al-Aṣmaʿī in the romance of ʿAntar. The mediaeval story-tellers (*ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see ḳāṣṣ]) apparently held al-Kisā'ī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* in high esteem; but they were not anxious to preserve one standardised text of the legends. It is for this reason that the manuscripts, the oldest of which date from the early 7th/13th century, differ considerably in size, contents, and even arrangement of the stories.

The legends of the pre-Islamic prophets as related in these compilations under al-Kisā'ī's name, or handed down unto us in many other anonymous manuscripts, must be considered as the vivid expression of the religious feeling of the average mediaeval Muslim. It is in this respect that al-Kisā'ī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* are sources of great value for scholars who want to carry out further investigations of the popular religious life of the Islamic world, a task which has been somewhat neglected up till now.

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(T. NAGEL)

KISANGANI, the former Stanleyville, is a city now of well over 250,000 inhabitants, the third city in Zaire, and the capital of the province of Upper Zaire, formerly Province Orientale. The most important urban centre in north-eastern Zaire, it is situated on the bend of the river Zaire, formerly called Lualaba (upstream) and Congo (downstream from the city), just where it turns west and a few miles north of the equator.

In 1877, Henry Morton Stanley set up camp here to rest from the exhausting weeks during which he negotiated the seven cataracts still called Stanley Falls. In 1882, Hamed Muhammad al-Murjebi, better known as Tippu Tibb [*q.v.*], founded a town on the northern shore of the island in the Zaire river that was formed by a creek called the Abibu. The new settlers, about 1500 in number and all nominal Muslims, called their town Kisangani, Swahili for "On the sandbank". In 1883, Stanley returned with instructions from King Leopold II to found a government station at the upper end of the navigable part of the Congo river. This became Stanleyville, with its centre on the right bank just north of the original Kisangani. By that time the Muslims (called "Les Arabisés" by the administration) had settled on the left bank, calling their new town Kisingitini, Swahili for "On the threshold". Their language of culture and literature is Swahili; their tribal background is mainly Kusu, Tetela and Genia, the Genia (Wagenia) being the original inhabitants of Wanie Rusari or Wanye Lesali, the island of which Kisangani formed part. Stanleyville became an important trading centre, exporting coffee, cocoa, palm oil, timber and ivory. Modern Kisangani has a university; it was part of the policy of authenticity of President Mobutu to replace the name Stanleyville by Kisangani as the name for the whole city.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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The Muslims flourished with the city. More adaptable to urban culture and more conscious of their cultural dignity than the tribal peoples, they were more self-confident in their attitude vis-à-vis the Europeans, since their religion claimed equality with Christianity. The Belgian Congo government tried to restrict the activities of the Muslim missionaries, but could not prevent Islam from spreading to the country districts south of the city. The Muslims called themselves Waungwana "free men", the name by which all the Swahili peoples once called themselves. Their language is called Kiungwana, a dialect of Swahili [*q.v.*]. This Swahili became the lingua franca of the entire country east of the Lomami river.

Always rebellious against the colonial administration, the Muslims were among the first groups to form a nationalist party about the time of independence, sc. the Mouvement National Congolais, from which the late Patrice Lumumba drew an important part of his support (he was a Tetela himself). No longer isolated, the Muslims in Kisangani, although they number only some 10,000, are in contact with, and receive support from, those in Egypt, Arabia and Pakistan. Two neighbouring states, Uganda and the Central African Empire, have been ruled by Islamic governments until 1979.

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ḲIṢĀṢ (A.), synonymous with *ḳawad*, retaliation ("settlement", not "cutting off" or "prosecution"), according to Muslim law is applied in cases of killing, and of wounding which do not prove fatal, called in the former case *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* (blood-vengeance) and in the latter *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs*.

1. For *ḳiṣāṣ* among the pagan Arabs see Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 186 ff.; Procksch, *Über die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr*; the collection of essays *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvolker. Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung, gestellt von Th. Mommsen*, Sections v-vii; and Juynboll, *Handbuch des islämischen Gesetzes*, 284 ff.

2. Muḥammad takes it for granted that the bloodvengeance of Arab paganism—in which in contrast to the unlimited blood feud, definite retaliation, although not always on the person of the doer himself, forms the essential feature of the vengeance (cf. Procksch, *op. cit.*, 6 and n. 5)—is a divine ordinance with the limitation assumed to be obvious, that only the doer himself can be slain: Ḳur'ān XVII, 35; XXV, 68; VI, 152 (cf. ḲATL, i, 1; in these passages only the *jus talionis* can be understood by the right to kill another; already in XVII, 35 the avenger of blood is forbidden to kill any one other than the guilty one); II, 173 ff. (before Ramaḍān of the year 2): "To you who are believers the *ḳiṣāṣ* is prescribed for the slain, the freeman for the freeman, the slave for the slave and the woman for the woman; but if anyone is pardoned anything by his brother, he shall be dealt with equitably . . . and pay him compensation as best he can. This is an indulgence and mercy from your Lord. But he who commits a transgression after this shall be severely punished. In *ḳiṣāṣ* you have life, you of understanding . . ." (the first verse says that a free man can only be slain for a free man, a slave for a slave and for a woman only a woman [but probably a slave or a woman for a free man, but this is not expressly stated and must be deduced], naturally, of course, only the guilty one, and that in all other cases the payment of compensation (*diya*) takes place. This is an extension of what is presumed in the earlier passages: the treatment of the free man in relation to the slave is a matter of course, according to old Arab views, and that of the woman, which cannot be completely explained from them, represents an independent decision of Muḥammad's based on them (there is quite a different interpretation of the verse in Procksch, *op. cit.*, 75 n. 5). The commentators had difficulty in reconciling the passage with later developments (cf. below, 4). Only one explanation, thrust into the background and later completely abandoned, interprets the verse quite correctly, but makes it abrogated by v. 49 (see below). By "prescribed" is meant not a duty but a rule not to be transgressed; pardon is the abandonment of *ḳiṣāṣ* with a demand for compensation instead; the law is described as an indulgence and mercy and life-giving in contrast to the often unlimited blood-feud of pagan times, because only the guilty one is slain and the life of the innocent thus preserved); v. 49 (after the first encounter with the Medinan Jews, but before the outbreak of open hostilities): "and we have prescribed for them (the Jews) in it (the Torah): a life for a life, an eye for an eye, a nose for a nose, an ear for an ear, a tooth for a tooth, and *ḳiṣāṣ* for wounds; but if anyone remits it, it is an atonement for him (i.e. for his sins) . . ." (this verse of course does not cancel II, 173). In the years 3-5, with IV, 94 ff. there came the distinction between deliberate and accidental killing (cf. ḲATL, i, 1); in this the application of *ḳiṣāṣ* is excluded. In II, 190 (before the campaign of the year 6), *ḳiṣāṣ* is used metaphorically in the sense of retaliation of like with like (in the case of disregard for the holy territory and month by the enemy).

3. The facts gathered from the *Sīra*, the records of the life of Muḥammad, are in agreement with this. In the so-called constitution of the community at Medina, which belongs to the early Medinan period, it is laid down that if any one slays a believer and is convicted (proof of guilt in a trial before the authority —Muḥammad—is therefore required as a condition for the carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*), talion takes place even if the avenger of the blood of the slain man declares himself satisfied; all believers must be against the

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Page 195 of 600

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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murderer and must take an active part against him. Here the *ḳiṣāṣ* is brought from the sphere of tribal life into that of the religious-political community (*umma*), which finds an echo in the law, not however to be taken literally, that believers are one another's blood-avengers for their blood spilt for the sake of Allāh; but it is also throughout recognised as a personal vengeance, as is also laid down in the case of the Medina Jews, and no-one is to be prevented from avenging a wound. A limitation of *ḳiṣāṣ*, logical from the standpoint of the *umma*, lies in the fact that the believer is forbidden in the ordinance of the community to kill a Muslim on account of an unbeliever. On two occasions, when Muslims had killed heathens who had however treaties with Muḥammad, he did not allow *ḳiṣāṣ* to be made "because they were heathen" (this does not in any way follow from the ordinance of the community), and even paid the compensation himself; his utterance regarding the possibility of *ḳiṣāṣ* à propos of the second of these cases is, however, illogical. On two occasions, also for political reasons, he obtained the acceptance of compensation when the avenger of blood undoubtedly had the claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*, but in one case he cursed the murderer—again an illogical attitude. Muḥammad in his turn after the capture of Mecca, in keeping with the regulation of the ordinance of the community, abandoned his claim to compensation for the slaying of a nephew of his, which had taken place during the heathen period. In this connection, he is said to have laid down the principle that any blood-guilt attaching to a Muslim dating from the period of heathendom was to be disregarded (cf. ḲATL, i, 2). But Muḥammad also intensified the operation of *ḳiṣāṣ*, and on two occasions had the murderer executed, when there were aggravating circumstances, without offering the avenger of blood the choice between *ḳiṣāṣ* and compensation; the proscription and execution of murderers who were also *murtadds* [*q.v.*; cf. ḲATL, ii, 5], is however to be interpreted differently; from everything, it is clear that Muḥammad also supervised the carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*.

Taking the evidence of the Ḳur'ān and the *Sīra* together, it is evident that Muḥammad did not recognise the blood-feud, but allowed *ḳiṣāṣ* to survive as personal vengeance. Moreover, he subjected its application to certain limitations and endeavoured to free it from tribal customs of pagan times, all important advances by which it was brought nearer in character to a punishment. That Muḥammad at the same time, according to the demands of the individual case, sometimes gave decisions deviating from his own rules, is intelligible.

4. Among the traditions (*ḥadīṯhs*) is one that must be genuine, according to which Muḥammad had a Jew, who had smashed the head of a Muslim *d̲j̲āriya* (slave girl or young woman) with a stone, killed in the same way, because in this case there was no question of an avenger of blood. At a later period when Ḳur'ān, II, 173 (cf. 2. above) was interpreted in a new way, the attempt was made to see in it evidence that a man might be killed as *ḳiṣāṣ* for a woman, without observing that the tradition referred to an unbeliever while the Ḳur'ān passage was only concerned with Muslims. But this Ḳur'ānic prescription regarding the woman was very early neglected and interpreted differently; it is true that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Azīz, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, ʿAṭāʾ and ʿIkrima are quoted as representatives of the Ḳur'ānic view that a man cannot be put to death for a woman (al-Zamak̲h̲sharī on Kur'ān, II, 173) but Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, al-Sh̲aʿbī, Ibrāhīm al-Nak̲haʿī and Ḳatāda had held the opposite view (*ibid.*), and the latter opinion prevails in the law-schools without any opposition (al-Zamak̲h̲sharī's statements on the point are not quite accurate); at the same time it is remarkable that traditions expressing the rejected view are hardly to be found. From the point of view of the difference of opinion in the law-schools, the following is important. For the view that *ḳiṣāṣ* could be inflicted on several, on account of one individual, if they had committed the crime jointly, no unambiguous tradition could be found. Those who held this opinion had therefore to rely on a tradition which does not at all prove what it is said to, and were only able to quote in support (alleged) decisions of old authorities. Their opponents naturally pointed out this flaw. The question how the *ḳiṣāṣ* is to be executed is also disputed; the champions of the view that it is to be inflicted in the same manner as the slaying, quote the tradition mentioned above, while those who insist upon execution with the sword in every case rely upon a saying of Muḥammad's. There are also varying opinions as to whether a man can be put to death on proof by *ḳasāma* (cf. 5. below), and ancient authorities are quoted for both; the historical truth is perhaps that Muḥammad wished to apply *ḳasāma* in a case of bloodshed and when it could not be managed, paid compensation himself; besides it is said (certainly wrongly) that he confirmed *ḳasāma* as it existed in the period of heathendom. Among other traditions, mention may be made of the story that among the children of Israel there was only *ḳiṣāṣ* and no possibility of paying compensation (this is wrongly cited in explanation of Ḳur'ān, II, 174) and that Muḥammad granted the blood-avenger's request to abandon claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*, laid great stress on forgiveness, and even asked him to do so (cf. above 3.—in these historically certain cases, however, his attitude was influenced by purely political considerations); finally, we are told that he who raises a claim for blood without cause is one of the men most hateful to God. Other traditions agree with the regulations mentioned and still to be mentioned, and need not therefore be quoted, especially as the *ḥadīṯhs* on this subject are collected in Guillaume, *The traditions of Islam*, 107 ff.

Summing up the results of the traditions as the expression of opinion of authoritative circles of Islam in the early period, we must notice in contrast to Muḥammad's period the important change in the treatment of women, which marks an undeniable advance, just as the request for forgiveness is evidence of a loftier point of view.

5. The *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* according to the *Sh̲arīʿa*. In the cases of illegal slaying noted in the article ḲATL, i, 5-7, *ḳiṣāṣ* comes into operation, i.e. the next-of-kin of the slain man, who in this capacity is called *walī 'l-dam* ("avenger of blood") has the right to kill the guilty man under certain conditions. From what has been said above, it is obvious that this punishment still partakes for the most part of the character of personal vengeance; this is also clearly seen in the regulations—disputed in points of detail—prescribed for the case when the avenger in any way mutilates the murderer and only occasionally the idea of punishment by an authority for the sake of justice crops up. (Thus in all cases of culpable, illegal slaying in which *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot take place, *taʿzīr* intervenes; the competent authority is therefore regarded as the *walī* of one who has no *walī*; therefore anyone who kills a *d̲h̲immī*, *muʿāhad* (an unbeliever connected with the Muslim state by a treaty) or a *mustaʾmin*

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(an unbeliever who enters a Muslim country after being given a safe conduct) must, according to Mālik, be put to death and the *walī* has no right to abandon claim to *ḳiṣāṣ*. On the other hand, however, it is laid down that anyone who kills a *waḳf* slave goes scot-free). But that this point of view is found at all is a step forward, for Muḥammad's decisions in this connection (cf. above, 3) were only dictated by the demands of the individual case; in other matters also, in certain points we see a loftier attitude adopted, at least in some of the schools.

For the application of *ḳiṣāṣ*, the fulfillment of the following conditions is necessary: (1) The life of the person slain must be absolutely secured by the Sharīʿa; this is the case with a Muslim, *dhimmī* and *muʿāhad*, at least so long as they are in the *Dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*], and *Dār al-Ṣulḥ* [*q.v.*] (in the case of the slaying of a Muslim prisoner in the *Dār al-Ḥarb* [*q.v.*], it is unanimously agreed that there is no *ḳiṣāṣ*, and for the slaying of another Muslim there is no *ḳiṣāṣ*, according to the Ḥanafī school; there are corresponding regulations for the *dhimmī* and *muʿāhad*) in contrast to the *mustaʾmin*, *murtadd* and *ḥarbī* (but *ḳiṣāṣ* may be inflicted on a *murtadd* if he kills another *murtadd*, and Mālik makes *ḳiṣāṣ* the general rule if anyone kills a *murtadd*, without the authority of the Imām). This point of view is to be distinguished from the conception of the illegality of the slaying (cf. ḲATL, i, 5) although the two ideas have a certain amount in common; the killing of a *mustaʾmin* is illegal, but there is no *ḳiṣāṣ* (apart from the special case just mentioned). (2) The slain man must not be a descendant of the slayer, nor the slave of the slave of one of his descendants, nor must there be a descendant of the slayer among the heirs of the slain man. (3) It is further taken for granted that the man when he committed the deed was of years of discretion and was in full possession of his faculties. (4) The further conditions are disputed (cf. below).

Any alteration in these relations of the doer after the deed makes no difference to the old blood-guilt (it is, however, to be noted that the adoption of Islam by a *ḥarbī* wipes out all previous blood-guilt) with the exception of lunacy (in which case *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot be inflicted), nor does, for example, an alteration in the relations of the slain man after the doer has decided on the deed but before it is actually committed (but there are various views on this point). If one of several men who have slain someone jointly cannot be put to death for one or other of these reasons, the others also escape *ḳiṣāṣ*; this is also the case if a further reason for killing leads to the action of the slayer. If the slayer dies before *ḳiṣāṣ* is carried out, all claim by the avenger of blood ceases according to Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik; according to al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, compensation can still be claimed.

Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal further demand, before *ḳiṣāṣ* can be allowed, in addition to the conditions mentioned, that the slain man is at least the equal of the slayer as regards Islam and liberty, so that they certainly uphold Muḥammad's intentions, while the Ḥanafīs—of course interpreting differently the evidence cited—take no account of this, and therefore occupy an undoubtedly higher position. A particular view of Mālik's has already been mentioned. According to Mālik, the slayer can further be put to death, if he has deliberately slaughtered his descendant, and this view is also admitted in the Shāfiʿī school. Several may be put to death for the killing of one, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, if they have done the deed together, provided the part taken by each was such that if he had acted alone, the result would have been the same (Mālik alone excluded *ḳasāma* (cf. below) on the basis of which, according to him, only a single individual can be put to death). There is unanimity on the point that anyone who has killed several people is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*; on the question whether compensation has also to be paid there are different views.

Ḳiṣāṣ can only be applied after definite proof of guilt is brought. The procedure of proof in a murder trial is essentially the same as in another case; in *Ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* there is however also the old Arab institution of the *ḳasāma* (cf. ḲASAM and Goldziher, *Zeitschr. für vergl. Rechtswissenschaft*, viii, 412 ff.; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], 187 ff.) which Islam allowed to survive (cf. above); according to Mālik, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and al-Shāfiʿī's earlier opinion, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be inflicted on the accused (but according to Mālik on one only) if the *ḳasāma* is performed and the other conditions are fulfilled; according to Abū Ḥanīfa and the later view of al-Shāfiʿī, which became predominant in his school, he has only to pay compensation; among the Shāfiʿī's, with the limitation that he may be put to death if in the course of the trial the accuser swears to his guilt twice with fifty oaths each time. If the person entitled to inflict *ḳiṣāṣ* does so without previous judicial proof he is punished with *taʿzīr*.

The execution of *ḳiṣāṣ* is open to the avenger of blood, and according to Abū Ḥanīfa consists in beheading with the sword or a similar weapon; if the avenger slays in another fashion he is punished with *taʿzīr*, but not imprisoned. According to Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī, the guilty person, with certain limitations, is killed in the same way as he killed his victim; both views are given by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

Ḳiṣāṣ takes place—among other conditions—only when the next of kin (*walī*) of the slain man or the owner of the slain man, if he was a slave, demands it. If there are several (equally nearly related) avengers of blood, all must express this desire; if one of them remits *ḳiṣāṣ*, the refusal affects all. Views are divided on the case where the avenger of blood (or one of several) can give no definite expression of opinion. The *walī*, or the wounded man before he dies if the case occurs, is permitted to remit the *ḳiṣāṣ* and he is even urgently recommended to do so, either in return for the payment of compensation or for another equivalent or for nothing. There are many special regulations on detailed points and many differences of opinion between the schools of law.

6. *Ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* according to the Sharīʿa. If any one deliberately (with *ʿamd*, opposite of *khaṭaʾ*; cf. ḲATL, i, 5) and illegally (this excludes the wounding of one who tries to murder or injure or rob a fellow-man, if it is not possible to repel him otherwise; it is for example permitted to strike someone in the eyes or throw something in the eyes of a man who forces his way into another's house without permission) has inflicted an injury, not fatal, which could be inflicted on the doer's person in an exactly similar way (what is meant by this is very fully discussed in the *Fiḳh* books), he is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* on the part of the wounded man, (except that Mālik makes it be inflicted by an expert), if the conditions necessary for carrying out the *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs* are present with the following modifications: according to Abū Ḥanīfa, *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* is not carried out between man and woman or slaves among themselves, but it is accord-

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ing to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik further allow no *ḳiṣāṣ fī-mā dūn al-nafs* between free men and slaves. According to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, this *ḳiṣāṣ* is inflicted for one on several, but not according to Abū Ḥanīfa. A sound limb may not be amputated for an unsound one; if the guilty person has lost the limb, there can of course be no *ḳiṣāṣ*. In the case where he loses it after committing the deed, there is a corresponding difference of opinion, as in the case of his death before the execution of *ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-nafs*.

The further regulations correspond to those quoted in section 5.

7. If retribution is not permitted or if the person entitled to *ḳiṣāṣ* voluntarily remits his claim, compensation may nevertheless be demanded; for an unlawful slaying, the blood money (*diya* [*q.v.*]) is to be paid to the avenger(s) of blood, in an unlawful but not mortal wounding, according to the particular case either the full *diya* or a definite part of it or a contribution defined by the law (*arsh*) or a percentage of the *diya* laid down by the judge (the so-called *ḥukûma*) to the injured person; all this, of course, on the supposition that the slain or wounded man was a free man. If he is a slave, his value must be made good. If the culprit is a slave, his owner has to pay these contributions for him; he can however escape by handling over the slave (parallel in the Romano-Celtic institution of *in noxam dedere*; cf. e.g. Girard, *Nouvelle Revue Historique* (1887), 440 ff.).

8. Of the regulations of the Shīʿa *fiḳh* books, which need not be gone into fully here as they are essentially the same as the Sunnī, we need only mention that among the Twelver Imāmīs, for example, it is taught that if a man has killed a woman, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be carried out if the *walī* of the woman pays the relatives of the man the difference between the bloodmoney on each side; an isolated interpretation explains Ḳurʾān, II, 173, in this way. Here we can scarcely have a late effect of the Ḳurʾānic rule regarding woman, as similar calculations are also made in other cases.

9. On the practical carrying out of *ḳiṣāṣ*, cf. ḲATL, ii, 10, in which we may note that breaches of his regulations are recorded of even the Prophet's companions.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see T. P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, s.v. "Qiṣāṣ"; Schacht, in *G. Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, Berlin-Leipzig 1935, index s.v. *ḳiṣāṣ*; idem, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 205-8 and index s.v. "Penal law"; J. N. D. Anderson, *Homicide in Islamic law*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1951), 811-28; Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 181-7; Aḥmad Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *al-Ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1944; Aḥmad Fatḥī al-Bahnasī, *al-Ḳiṣāṣ fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1964; Aḥmad Muʿāfī, *Bayn al-djarāʾim wa 'l-ḥudūd fi 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya wa 'l-ḳānūn*. i. *al-Ḳatl shibh al-ʿamd, al-djarḥ wa 'l-ḍarb, al-sariḳa*, Cairo 1966; Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Djarīma wa 'l-ʿuḳūba fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, i. *al-ʿUḳūba*, Cairo 1966; al-Bahnasī, *al-Djarāʾim fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī, dirāsa fiḳhiyya muḳārina*, Cairo 1968. (J. SCHACHT)

ḲIṢAṢ AL-ANBIYĀ', the "legends of the pre-Islamic prophets", is the title of several works relating the lives of the prophets of the Old Testament, the story of Jesus, and some other events into which pious heroes or enemies of God are involved (on the etymology of *ḳiṣṣa* = "story", see ḲIṢṢA). Very famous and widely-spread books on this subject were the *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis* by Abū Isḥāḳ Aḥmad al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1036) and the different versions of the *Ḳiṣaṣ* written down in the name of a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kisāʾī [see AL-KISĀʾĪ].

The origins of this type of literature must be traced back to pre-Islamic Arabia. Knowledge of the tales of the Old and New Testaments and the apocrypha must have been transmitted to the Arabs through the Jewish influence in Yathrib and through Christian missionary work, the effect of which can be ascertained not only in the regions close to the Byzantine and Sāsānid empires, but also on the shores of the Red Sea and in South Arabia (see Baumstark, in *Islamica*, iv (1931), 562 ff.; Altheim and Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt*, iv, 306 ff.; v/1, 316 ff.). Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt [*q.v.*], a poet of al-Ṭāʾif and contemporary of Muḥammad, seems to have made use of some of these oral traditions; there are pieces of poetry ascribed to him dealing with Abraham, Isaac, the Deluge, etc., though their authenticity remains doubtful.

It was the Prophet of Islam who gave to these legends an entirely new meaning, finding the events of his own life reflected in them; his vocation for prophecy, his being rejected by his own people, the impending punishment, which might have meant the destruction of his own people. All these psychological implications of the Ḳurʾānic legends, and their didactic aspects, were studied at length by Khalafallāh in his book on the Ḳurʾānic art of story-telling. From the Muslim point of view, the lives of the pre-Islamic prophets are awful examples (*ʿibar*) warning against the evil fate of those who are disobedient to God and His messengers. Thus the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* became part of universal history, as history in general was often considered as a series of *ʿibar* (cf. Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, preface and pre-Islamic period).

The edifying character of the legends became even more stressed when they were separated from historiography; this was, so far as we know, first done by Thaʿlabī. Moreover, Thaʿlabī's narrative is mainly based on the *tafsīr*-literature. It must be mentioned that even in modern times the legends retained their importance for edifying sermons, as is proved by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb an-Nadjdjār's compilation, which was published in Egypt in the thirties of this century. The wide-spread and various versions of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* which were written down in the name of al-Kisāʾī show another form of this type of literature; they are the result of the imaginative art of story-telling cultivated by the popular narrators (*ḳuṣṣāṣ* [see ḲĀṢṢ]), and they are an abundant source for the study of the religious feeling and thinking of the average mediaeval Muslim.

The historical sources allude to the activities of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* since the first Islamic century, but the oldest manuscripts of the popular legends date from the 7th/13th century. In certain circumstances, the activities of *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and the legends of the prophets could acquire a political significance; thus the story about Moses and Pharaoh was used in the anti-Umayyad propaganda, and the early Shīʿīs held that the history of the Muslim community was similar to that of the Israelites during Moses' lifetime, the Shīʿīs being the equivalents of those few who did not apostatise from the true faith when Moses was up on Mount Sinai.

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KISH, Kishsh, the later Shahr-i Sabz, a town of mediaeval Transoxania, now in the Uzbekistan SSR and known simply as Shahr, but in early times in the region of Soghdia (Ar. Ṣughd [*q.v.*]). It lay on the upper reaches of the landlocked Khashka Daryā in an area where several streams came down from the Sayām and Buttamān Mountains to the east, forming a highly fertile valley, intersected with irrigation canals. The town lay on the Samaḳand-Tirmidh high road, two days' journey from Samarḳand; after passing through Kish, this road continued for four more days' journey to the famous Iron Gate, the Bozgala defile [see DAR-I ĀHANĪN] which guarded the approaches to the Oxus. Further down the Khashka Daryā lay Nakhshab or Nasaf or Ḳarshi [see ḲARSHI], a town with which the fortunes of Kish were often linked.

Kish was clearly an important town in pre-Islamic Soghdia, and had its own prince. According to Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 299, tr. Wiet, 122, at the time of the Arab conquests in the early 2nd/8th century, Kish was the chief town of Soghdia and was accordingly, by the common process of applying the name of a district to its main urban centre, actually known as Ṣughd also. It appears in several Chinese sources, e.g. in the travel account of the early 7th century Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang as Kie-siang-na; cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1888, i, 82, and Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 55, 303-4, giving various Chinese renderings of the town's name.

When the Western Turks were defeated in Central Asia by the Chinese invasion of 645-8, the Chinese forces are said to have penetrated as far as Kish and the Iron Gate, after which the whole of Transoxania was nominally annexed to the empire and placed under the viceroyalty of Fīrūz, son of the last Sāsānid Yazdigird III. The raid across the Oxus of the Arab general Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān in 56/676, when according to Ṭabarī, ii, 179, the Arabs defeated the Soghdians and captured their city, may well have reached to Kish rather than to Samarḳand (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 19-20, 22). When Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] became governor of the East, al-Ḥadjdjādj ordered him to "crush Kish, destroy Nasaf and drive back [the local Soghdian ruler] Wardān" (Ṭabarī, ii, 1199). But he was unable in 88/707 to make headway against the Soghdian defending forces and had to fall back on Marw. It was not until 91/710 that he returned to subdue a revolt by the local ruler of Shūmān in upper Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*], and then marched through the Iron Gate and reduced Kish and Nasaf. The Arabs seem thereafter to have held on to Kish during the period of the Turkish revanche in Central Asia, but the town did rebel in 133/750-1, at the time of the final appearance of a Turkish army west of the Altai, in the expectation of Chinese aid. However, Abū Muslim's general Abū Dāwūd Ḵhālid b. Ibrāhīm killed the local prince or Ikhshīd (*al-Iḵẖrīd* in the text of Ṭabarī, iii, 79-80) of Kish at Kandak just north of the Iron Gate, looted his treasures (which included many luxury goods from China) and appointed his brother Ṭārān in his place (Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 196; Gibb, *op. cit.*, 38, 96).

Two or three decades later, in the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), the Kish district figured prominently in the anti-Muslim religious movement of Hāshim b. Ḥakīm, known as al-Muḳannaʿ, "the Veiled Prophet of Khurāsān". The revolt began in the Sayām Mountains just to the east of Kish, and it was in the Kish and Nasaf district that al-Muḳannaʿ drew strong support. Narshakhī states that the first village to join the rebel leader was Sūbakh in the Kish district (cf. Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ed. Margoliouth, f. 316b) under a local leader ʿUmar Sūbakhī, who killed the Arab *amīr* there. Kish welcomed al-Muḳannaʿ and supplied him with much wealth, and it was in a nearby fortress that al-Muḳannaʿ finally shut himself up against the Arab general Saʿīd b. ʿAmr al-Djurashī, dying there in 163/779-80. Even two centuries later, the common people of the Kish and Nasaf districts were still accounted Mubayyiḍa "wearers of white" and awaiters of the messianic return of al-Muḳannaʿ (Narshakhī, *Taʾrīḵẖ-i Bukẖārā*, ed. Mudarris Riḍawī, Tehran *ca.* 1939, 77-89, tr. R. N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge Mass. 1954, 65-75; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 304, tr. 131-2; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 199-200; E. G. Browne, *Lit. hist. of Persia*, i, 318-23; Gh.-H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au II^e et au III^e siècles de l'hégire*, Paris 1938, 163-86).

The geographers of the later 3rd/9th and the 4th/10th centuries give good descriptions of Kish. The town, whose buildings were of clay and wood, had the typically eastern Islamic tripartite division of a citadel (*ḳuhandiz*), an inner city (*madīna dākẖila*), in which lay the prison and Friday mosque; and an outer city or suburb (*rabaḍ*) called al-Muṣallā, where was situated the *Dār al-Imāra* or government headquarters. In Ibn Ḥawḳal's time (mid-4th/10th century) the citadel and inner city were both ruinous. The *madīna* had four gates, and the *rabaḍ* two. The whole administrative region or *ʿamal* of Kish contained 16 rural districts or *rustāḳs*, stretching up river to the mountains. It was watered by two constituent streams of the Khashka Daryā, sc. the River of the Fullers or the Butchers (Ḳaṣṣārīn or Ḳaṣṣābīn; on this ambiguity, present in both the Arabic and the Persian sources, see *Turkestan*, 134, n. 2) and the Asrūdjh, and was highly productive, its early fruits and vegetables being exported to Khurāsān. Also stemming from the region were manna; therapeutic substances found in the mountains; red salt (the red rock-salt of the Oxus lands was known since the time of Pliny, see Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1938, 76-7); and mules and other livestock. Mukaddasī nevertheless comments on the unhealthiness of the place, a judgement endorsed by later travellers. The salaries (*ʿiṯrīniyya*) of the *Ṣāḥib-Barīd*, the Ḳāḍī and other officials of the Sāmānid administration there amounted to 300 *dirhams* each per annum. The ruinous state of the inner parts of the town show that under the Sāmānids, Kish had declined in status and given place to Bukhārā and Samarḳand, so that only the *rabaḍ* was occupied and a new town was being built on to it (see ISTAKHRĪ, 324; Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 470, tr. ii, 452-3; Mukaddasī, 282; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 113, § 25.15; *Turkestan*,

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134-6; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 469-70).

In the period of the Ḳarakhānids and Saldjūḳs, little specific is heard about Kish, which seems to have continued its decline into secondary status. In spring 1222 the Taoist holy man and traveller Čʿang-čʿun passed through what he calls Kie-shi on his way from Samarḳand to Čingiz Khān's encampment south of the Oxus; and in autumn 1255 Hülegü met Arghun, governor of Khurāsān, and certain Persian magnates, and spent a pleasant month at Kish (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 521; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 115, 147; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 452, 483).

Kish revived, however, under the Čaghatayids and Tīmūrids, and Tīmūr himself was born in the Kish district in 736/1336. (according to Ibn ʿArabshāh, at a village called Khōdja-Ilghān). Since the mid-7th/13th century, the region had apparently been occupied by the Barlās tribe of subsequently Turkicised Mongols, from whom Tīmūr sprang and from whom he derived much support in his struggles to achieve power in Transoxania (cf. Barthold, *Ulugh Beg*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 14-16). He seized control of Kish from the chief Ḥādjdjī Barlās in 761/1360, and used it and the Barlās tribesmen for further expansion. Tīmūr's fondness for the Kish district perhaps depended less on a sentimental feeling for his birthplace than on his need to draw on the support of the Barlās there; after Tīmūr's death, these were a numerous element in Ulugh Beg's army during his campaign into Moghōlistān of 824/1425. In 781/1380 Tīmūr made Kish his summer residence and the second capital of his empire after Samarḳand. He rebuilt the town, constructing a *madrasa* and a mausoleum for his dead first-born son Djahāngīr, and above all, a splendid white-walled palace, the Aḳ Sarāy. This new importance of Kish doubtless accounts for the detailed description of Kʿo-shi in the Chinese Ming annals, which expatiate on its fine palaces and mosques; and the Spanish traveller Clavijo, who passed through Kish in 1404, mentions the still-unfinished mosque of Tīmūr there (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1887-8, i, 4, ii, 18, 28; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 273-4; *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 83-4).

It is in the post-Mongol period that the old name Kish was gradually supplanted by that of Shahr-i Sabz "the green city". The 8th/14th century was the transition period; the Čaghatayid usurper Būyān Ḳulī Khān struck *dīnārs* at Shahr-i Sabz in 752/1351, whereas other coins of his have Kish as the mint named on them. But the old name still persisted in literary usage for some time, since Bābur uses Kish as the primary name for the town (*Bābur-nāma*, *loc. cit.* and *passim*). The new name must derive from the greenness of the whole oasis, as Yazdī states, and was applied by the local people to the whole area, as well as to the town; local legend also gives other, fanciful explanations for the name. The identification of the recent Shahr-i Sabz with the older Kish seems fairly conclusive.

In the time of the florescence of the Özbeg Khāns, the towns of Shahr-i Sabz and Kitāb just to its north were often semi-independent under a *beg* of their own. It was therefore the constant ambition of the Khāns of Bukhārā in the 18th and 19th centuries to bring Shahr-i Sabz under their own control, although the desert to the west and the mountains to the north acted as effective barriers against attacks from the directions of Bukhārā and Samarḳand respectively. In the 19th century, the Mangit Khāns Ḥaydar Tūra, his son Naṣr Allāh and the latter's son Muẓaffar al-Dīn all repeatedly tried to reduce Shahr-i Sabz, and in 1856 temporarily captured it. It only lost its virtual independence in 1870, when the Imperial Russian General Abramov was sent by Kaufmann against it. He besieged Shahr-i Sabz, and captured it after fierce resistance. The Beg fled to Khoḳand, and the Russians handed over Shahr-i Sabz to the Khān of Bukhārā. See E. Schuyler, *Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 243 ff., ii, 62-76 (who estimated the population of Shahr-i Sabz at approximately 20,000 and that of Kitāb at 15,000), and F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates from the earliest times*, London 1899, 214-15, 219-20, 256.

In the 20th century, Imperial Russian and then Soviet scholars have shown considerable interest in the place and its antiquities, and a full-scale archaeological and architectural survey was commissioned in 1942; special attention has been directed to the imposing ruins of Tīmūr's Aḳ Sarāy, to a mosque built by Ulugh Beg and to the two buildings known as the Dār al-Siyāda and the Dār al-Tilāwa. For a detailed account of these and the other surviving monuments, see M. E. Masson and G. A. Pugačenkova, *Shakhri Syabz pri Timure i Ulug Beke*, in *Trudī Sredneaziatskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, xlix (Tashkent 1953), 17-96, Eng. tr. J. R. Rogers, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, xvi (1978), xvii (1980), and also *BSE*[2], xlvii, 557-8.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲİSHLAḲ (T., < *ḳïsh* "winter"), winter quarters, originally applied to the winter quarters, often in warmer, low-lying areas, of pastoral nomads in Inner Asia, and thence to those in regions like Persia and Anatolia into which Türkmens and others from Central Asia infiltrated, bringing with them their nomadic ways of life; Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 464-5, defines *ḳïshlaḳ* as *al-mushattā*. Its antonym is *yaylaḳ* "summer quarters" (< *yay* "spring", later "summer"), denoting the upland pastures favoured by nomads for fattening their herds after the harsh steppe or plateau winters (cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 837-8; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 670, 672-3, 980-1).

The basic terms *ḳïsh* and *ḳïshla-* "to spend the winter" are ancient Turkish ones, appearing in the Orkhon inscriptions. In the Čaghatay Turkish of Central Asia, the sense of *ḳïshlaḳ* evolved from that of "the Khān's residence, winter quarters of the tribe" into the additional one of "village". Within the Iranian world, the word spread into such tongues as Kurdish, Pashto and the Pamirs languages; through Ottoman Turkish, it spread into Balkan languages, but here with the derived Ottoman sense of "barracks" and the form *ḳïshla* (G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersische. iii. Türkische Elemente im Neupersische*, Wiesbaden, 1967, 479-81, No. 1496). This meaning has in fact passed into the Arabic colloquials of Syria and Egypt, as has also that of "hospital, infirmary", so that in Egyptian Arabic we have both *ḳushlāḳ* "barracks" and *ḳashla* "hospital" (S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English vocabulary of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, 488, cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 351).

In Arabic, we find such terms for "winter and summer quarters" as *mashtā* and *maṣīf*, e.g. in the 4th/10th century geographers (the original sense of

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the name for the Umayyad palace in Jordan, Mshatta [*q.v.*], is presumably that of "winter residence", *mushattā*).

In Persian, approximate synonyms to *ḳishlaḳ* and *yaylaḳ* are *sardsīr* (lit. "cold region") and *garmsīr* ("hot region"). But as well as denoting the seasonal pasture grounds of nomads, these Persian words were early used as geographical terms to denote, on the one hand, cooler, temperate highland regions, and on the other hand, hot, desert-type or sub-tropical lowland climates. Already by the time of the classical Arabic geographers, these topographical terms had been borrowed into Arabic, e.g. by Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasī. Thus the geographers use *garmsīr* or its arabised form *djarm*, pl. *djurūm*, for the hot, coastal region of the Persian Gulf shores and the regions bordering on the great central desert, and *sardsīr*, arabised form *ṣard*, pls. *ṣurūd* and *maṣārid*, for the mountainous Zagros hinterland of Fārs and Kirmān (cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 249). This distinction is carried further into the realm of their characteristic products, called by e.g. Muḳaddasī *al-aṣḥyā' al-mutadāḍḍa* "products of the two opposing regions" (cf. A. Miquel, *Aḥsan at-taḳāsīm ... traduction partielle*, Damascus 1963, Glossary 390, 404-5), and of local populations (cf. the Djurūmiyya, inhabitants of the part of Kirmān bordering on the Straits of Hormuz, attacked by ʿAḍud al-Dawla's forces in 360/970, Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ii, 299, 359, tr. v, 321, 392).

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲISHM (Djazīra-yi Ḳishm, or in Arabic, Djazīra al-Ṭawīla, "the long island") is the largest island in the Persian Gulf. It lies off the southern (Lāristān) coast of Persia between Linga and Bandar ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], and is separated from the mainland by Clarence Strait, the width of which varies from three to twelve miles. The island measures nearly 70 miles in length, from north-east to south-west, and an average of seven miles in breadth (20 miles at its widest point). Its general formation is that of an eroded, sloping plateau, inclining northwards from a sharp, rocky scarp onthe seaward side. The highest point, almost in the centre of the island, is 1,300 feet.

Ḳishm now is virtually a desert, though it once produced grain, vines, fruit and vegetables in quantity. Salt is still mined from the great salt caverns, and there are workable deposits of sulphur and ferrous oxide, along with some naphtha springs on the south coast, near Salākh. The population, some few thousand souls, mostly Arab and Sunnī, lives by fishing, limited cultivation and salt-mining. Ḳishm town, at the north-eastern tip, is the only populated centre of any size.

The fleet of Alexander the Great, under the command of Nearchus, anchored at Ḳishm on its voyage from the Indus to the Euphrates in 326 B.C. The sporadic references to Ḳishm that appear in the next dozen centuries or so tell us nothing of its history. By the middle ages it was a dependency of the kingdom of Hurmuz [*q.v.*], and it remained so until Hurmuz fell to Portuguese in 921/1515. When the Portuguese were driven from Hurmuz by Shāh ʿAbbās I, with the assistance of ships of the English East India Company, in 1031/1622, Ḳishm was incorporated in the Ṣafawid empire. It was occupied in *ca.* 1132/1719-20 by Masḳaṭ Arabs who were in turn expelled by Nādir Shāh in 1150/1737-8. Sometime after his death in 1160/1747, Ḳishm fell under the control of the Banī Maʿīn (or Muʿayn) Arabs, who held it, along with Bandar ʿAbbās, in farm from Karīm Khān Zand (regn. 1163-93/1750-79). They retained possession of the island, despite attempts by the Ḳawāsim [*q.v.*] of Raʾs al-Khayma and Linga to dislodge them, until 1208/1793-4 when Ḳishm, together with Bandar ʿAbbās and Hurmuz, was conquered by the Āl Bū Saʿīd ruler of Masḳaṭ, Sulṭān b. Aḥmad. He was afterwards confirmed in possession of Bandar ʿAbbās by a *firmān* from the Ḳādjār court, granting him the lease of the town and its dependencies in return for an annual rental.

In 1219/1804-5 the Masḳaṭ garrison was evicted from Ḳishm by the Banī Maʿīn and the Ḳawāsim in combination. Subsequently, the Banī Maʿīn joined the Ḳawāsim in piratical attacks upon British-Indian shipping, and in reprisal their stronghold at Lāft, on the northern coast of Ḳishm, was attacked and destroyed in Shawwāl 1224/November 1809 by the British expeditionary force sent from India to subdue Raʾs al-Khayma and the other Ḳasīmī ports. After the reduction of Lāft, Ḳishm island was returned to the authority of the ruler of Masḳaṭ, now Saʿīd b. Sulṭān (1221-73/1806-56).

Ten years later, after the second expedition to the Pirate Coast, a British military detachment was stationed on Ḳishm, from Shawwāl 1235/July 1820 to Rabīʿ II 1238/January 1823, to keep watch on the Ḳawāsim. The Persian government objected to its presence on the grounds that Ḳishm was Persian territory. Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, however, maintained that his father, Sulṭān b. Aḥmad, had acquired title to Ḳishm by right of conquest, and that the island had passed to him in full sovereignty. It was not listed among the dependencies of Bandar ʿAbbās in the original *firmān* granting the lease of the town to Masḳaṭ; nor was it mentioned in any of the annual receipts for the rental of Bandar ʿAbbās. When the British detachment was withdrawn from Ḳishm—because of the island's unhealthiness and the danger of the detachment's becoming involved in military operations on the Arabian mainland—the sovereignty issue was left unresolved. In Rabīʿ II 1239/December 1823 a stores depot for the Gulf squadron of the Bombay Marine was established at Basidū, at the western end of Ḳishm, without protest from the Persian government.

The Masḳaṭ lease of Bandar ʿAbbās and its dependencies was renewed in Shaʿbān 1272/April 1856, shortly before Saʿīd b. Sulṭān's death. Ḳishm and Hurmuz were declared to be Persian islands, and were classed as "dependencies" of Bandar ʿAbbās. The lease, which was restricted to Saʿīd and his sons, was terminated in 1283/1866-7 after Saʿīd's successor, Thuwaynī b. Saʿīd, had been murdered by his son, Sālim. A new lease of eight years' duration was awarded to Sālim in Djumādā I, 1285/August 1868, only to be rescinded two months later when Sālim was overthrown. Despite attempts by Turkī b. Saʿīd after his accession in 1288/1871-2 to renew the lease, it was never granted again.

The British stores and coaling depot at Basidū fell into gradual disuse, and it was finally abandoned in Muḥarram 1354/April 1935 to humour the wishes of Riḍā Shāh.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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(J. B. Kelly)

ḲISHN, a small town on the south coast of Arabia, some 40 miles west of Raʾs Fartak. Formerly it was the mainland capital of the Mahrī sultanate of Ḳishn and Suḳūtra (Socotra), which up to 1387/1967-8 formed part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. After that date it was designated the sixth governorate of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

The inhabitants of Ḳishn live mainly by fishing, pastoralism and trading, the principal exports being frankincense, dried fish and salt. The ruling family, now dispossessed, was the Bin ʿAfrār clan of the Mahra. The reigning sultan, from the senior branch of the family, traditionally resided on Suḳūtra, while the head of the cadet branch acted as his deputy at Ḳishn.

Ḳishn was several times raided by the Portuguese during their operations off the Ḥaḍramī and Mahrī coasts between *ca.* 929/1522-3 and *ca.* 956/1550-1. The period of Portuguese activity coincided with a successful war of conquest by the Kathīrī sultans of Shihr against the Mahra, which culminated in the capture of Ḳishn in 952/1545-6. The Bin ʿAfrār appealed for help to the Portuguese, who responded by expelling the Kathīr from Ḳishn, reputedly in Safar 955/April 1548.

A revival of Ottoman interest in South Arabia after 1287/1870-1 led the British authorities in Aden to secure an undertaking from the sultan of Suḳūtra and Ḳishn in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1292/January 1876 not to alienate Suḳūtra or its island dependencies to any foreign power. A treaty of protection followed in Radjab 1303/April 1886, which was extended in Shaʿbān 1305/May 1888 to include Ḳishn and the mainland dependencies. The treaties lapsed when British rule over Aden colony and protectorates ended in 1387/1967-8.

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ḲISMA (A.), Ḳismet (T.), a term used for "fate, destiny". In Arabic, *ḳisma* means literally "sharing out, distribution, allotment", and one of its usages is as the arithmetical term for "division of a number". It later came to mean "portion, lot", and was then particularised to denote "the portion of fate, good or bad, specifically allotted to and destined for each man". It is in this final sense, and especially via Turkish, that *ḳismet* has become familiar in the West as a term for the fatalism popularly attributed to the oriental (the first attestation in English being, according to the Oxford English Dictionary, in 1849; see also K. Lokotsch, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Europäischen ... Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs*, Heidelberg 1927, 95, No. 1187).

As noted by H. Ringgren, the noun *ḳisma* does not occur in the Ḳurʾān in this sense (*Studies in Arabian fatalism*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1955, 106), but only in its basic sense of "division, apportionment" (IV, 9/8; LIII, 22; LIV, 28). In a verse like XVII, 14/13, the word *ṭāʾir*, originally "bird of ill omen", seems to convey the idea of a man's personal destiny as decreed by God (elsewhere in the Ḳurʾān, this word means rather "evil augury"), cf. Ringgren, *op. cit.*, 87-9; and T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 218, 436-8, 518). Concerning the more usual terms of early Islamic theology and philosophy for "determinism, predestination", see ḲAḌĀʾ and AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA 'L-ḲADAR; however, it should be noted that *ḳisma* makes an appearance in Arabic poetry of the 1st century A.H. (ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, Djamīl) in the sense of "the share of human life allotted to a man by God" (Ringgren, *op. cit.*, 151, 156).

By Ottoman Turkish times, *ḳismet* was less a theological and philosophical term than one denoting a general attitude of fatalism, the resigned acceptance of the blows and buffetings of destiny (the same concept being often expressed in Persian and Turkish poetry by words like *falak*, *gardūn* and *čarḫ* in reference to the blind, irrational influences of the heavenly bodies of mankind). The climate of popular belief in fate and chance is well seen in many stories of the *Thousand and one nights* [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA] and in much of the Perso-Turkish moralistic literature; thus these attitudes loom large in the stories in chs. v and vi of Saʿdī's *Bustān*, on *riḍā* "acceptance" and *ḳināʿat* "contentment" respectively.

Also in Ottoman usage, *ḳismet* was a technical term of the *ḳassāmlīḳ*, the official department of state responsible for the division of estates between the various heirs, the military branch of this being the *ḳismet-i ʿaskeriyye maḥkamesi*. For this service, a fee called the *resm-i ḳismet* was exacted; for further details see ḲASSĀM.

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KISRĀ, Arabic form of the Persian name Khusraw, derived from Syriac *Kesrō* or *Kōrsrō* by the 6th century A.D. The consonant and vowel changes occurred because ﻫ was used for both *k* and *kh* in Syriac, and used here for the Persian *kh*, became *k* in Arabic. The first *u* became *i* by vowel dissimilation in Syriac, and the final vowel became an *alif maḳṣūra* by approximation to the *fiʿlā* form. Arabic lexicographers said there was no Arabic word ending in *wāw* with *ḍamma* after the first consonant, so Khusraw was put in the *fiʿlā* form and the *kh* became *k* to show that it was Arabicised.

Although Khusraw occurs in Arabic, Kisrā was usually employed for proper names, especially for the Sāsānid rulers Kisrā Anūshirwān (531-79 A.D.) and Kisrā Aparwīz (591-628 A.D.). Because these two Kisrās dominated the late Sāsānid period and Arab memories of it, their name was identified with the dynasty. Arabs came to regard Kisrā as the name (*ism*), surname or title (*laḳab*) of Persian kings, the Sāsānid dynasty as the house of Kisrā (*āl Kisrā*), and crown lands in ʿIrāḳ as *arḍ Kisrā*. Women of the royal family were called "daughters of Kisrā". By the 2nd/8th century, the tendency to call all Sāsānid rulers Kisrā produced the broken plurals *akāsira* (the one most commonly used), *kasāsira*, *akāsir*, and *kusūr*, all contrary to analogy.

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Kisrā personified Sāsānid royalty for the Arabs, who viewed him with an ambivalent combination of envy, awe and fear. They called Ctesiphon *Madāʾin Kisrā*, the great audience hall there the * Īwān Kisrā*, the defensive ditch the *Khandaḳ Kisrā*, spoke of the crown, treasure, dazzling carpet, sword and armour of Kisrā, and associated polished manners, lavish hospitality, *haute cuisine*, golden tableware and the arbitrary exercise of power, with his court. Kisrā provided a symbol for Arab assimilation to Persian high culture, for feelings of common nobility, and represented the Persian monarch in lists of kings of the world and in the murals at Ḳuṣayr ʿAmra. He was a poetic symbol of past glory and of fate that overtakes even mighty kings.

Kisrā's worldliness contrasted with Muslim spiritual values. *Ḥadīth* emphasised Muḥammad's lack of pretence, his avoidance of royal trappings, and his followers' greater respect for him compared to Kisrā and other rulers. Kisrā tore up Muḥammad's letter inviting him to Islam, and *ḥadīth* promised the destruction of Kisrā and Ḳayṣar and that Muslims would spend their treasures. In the simile ascribed to Hurmuzān, Kisrā is the main enemy of Islam (the head of the hostile bird).

A fictionalised Kisrā emerged by the 3rd/9th century as a vehicle for edifying tales, a person who conversed with a Bedouin on the virtues of camels or exchanged the lethal gift of a leopard for an eagle with Ḳayṣar. He was quoted as a source of proverbs and someone who knew these stories might be nicknamed "Kisrā".

Relative nouns *kisrawī*, *kisrī*, and *kisrawānī* were formed from Kisrā. The form *khusrawānī*, directly from Persian, referred to the greatest of the *akāsira* and meant a kind of drink or a very fine, royal silk used for clothing and used to cover the Kaʿba in the late 1st/7th century.

Bibliography: For lexical matters, see al-Ḳazwīnī, *Muʿdjam maḳāyīs al-lugha*, Cairo 1389-93/1969-72, v, 171; al-Djawharī, *Tādj al-lugha wa-siḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya*, Bulaḳ 1282/1865, i, 394; Ibn al-Djawālīḳī, *Kitāb al-muʿarrab min al-kalām al-ʿadjamī*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1867, 60, 99, 123, 128, ed. A. M. Shākir, Cairo 1389/1969, 183-4, 266, 319, 330; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*, Cairo 1311/1893-4, iv, 20; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿarab*, Cairo 1386/1966, v, 142; al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ* Calcutta 1817, i, 512, 648; al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, Kuwayt 1385/1965, iii, 176, 479, 522; E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English lexicon*, 2612; S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 43-4; Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, Leiden 1879, 151 f.; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg 1895, 134-9; A. Shīr, *Kitāb al-alfāẓ al-fārisiyya al-muʿarraba*, Beirut 1908, 54; A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 39-40, 61, 72; M. Kamil, *Persian words in ancient Arabic*, in *BFA*, xix (1957), 62-3. For royal symbolism, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, Cairo 1389/1969, 612; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 52, 156, 314-5, 339, ii, 211, 371; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 1469, 2358, 2436, 2447, 2453, iii, 1599; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 357, ii, 292 = §§ 395, 714; O. Grabar, *The Six Kings at Qusayr Amrah*, in *Ars Orientalis*, i (1954), 185-7; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1969, i, 400-1, pl. 71, e. For the fate of the mighty, see ʿAdī b. Zayd, *Dīwān*, Baghdād 1385/1965, 178; al-Mufaḍḍal, *The Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. and tr. C. J. Lyall, Oxford 1918, i, 534, ii, 288; al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Istanbul 1300/1883, 108-10; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, 115; Ṭabarī, iii, 320. For anti-Islamic symbolism, see Ibn Isḥāḳ, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1858, i, 971; Abu Tammām, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1370/1951, i, 215-7; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 608; al-Bukhārī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-saḥīḥ*, Cairo 1390/1971, iv, 427, v, 112-3, 159, 239-40, ed. M. Muḥsin Khān, Gudjranwalla 1971, v, 507-8; Ṭabarī, i, 1161-2, 1473, 1537, 1707. For the fictional Kisrā, see Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 98, iii, 199; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 214. (M. Morony)

AL-KISRAWĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mahdī al-Iṣfahānī al-Ṭabarī, *rāwī* of the 3rd/9th century who was also a poet and man of letters. He was the teacher of Hārūn, the son of ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim, and transmitted historical and literary traditions, and especially on the authority of al-Djāḥiẓ. He was in contact with Badr al-Muʿtaḍidī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and exchanged verses with Ibn al-Muʿtazz. His knowledge of *adab* led him to compose several works, amongst which are cited a *Kitāb al-Khiṣāl*, a collection of literary traditions, maxims, proverbs and poetry, a *K. al-Aʿyād wa 'l-nawāriz* and a *K. Murāsalāt al-ikhwān wa-muhāwarāt al-khillān*. His poetry consists mainly of occasional verses which were improvised. He died at some point between 283/896 and 289/902, although Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Istanbul, i, 705, places his death in *ca.* 330/941-2.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 214; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xv, 88-96; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 356; Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, index; *DM*, iv, 251. (Ed.)

ḲIṢṢA (a.), pl. *ḳiṣaṣ*, the term which, after a long evolution, is now generally employed in Arabic for the novel, whilst its diminutive *uḳṣūṣa*, pl. *aḳāṣīṣ*, has sometimes been adopted, notably by Maḥmūd Taymūr [*q.v.*] as the equivalent of "novella, short story", before being ineptly replaced by a calque from the English "short story", *ḳiṣṣa ḳaṣīra*. The sections of the following article are largely devoted to these literary genres as they are cultivated in the various Islamic literatures, even if the word *ḳiṣṣa* is not itself used by them. Although some Berber tongues use the Arabic term (*lḳiṣṣt*), it has not seemed necessary to add a section on the story in that language [see BERBERS], but a brief section is devoted to the *ḳiṣṣa* in Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber.

The ensuing article is accordingly divided as follows:

1. The semantic range of *ḳiṣṣa* in Arabic.
2. The novel and short story in modern Arabic literature.
3 (a) The *ḳiṣṣa* in older Turkish literature.
   (b) The novel and short story in modern Turkish literature.
4. The genre in Persian literature.
5. The genre in Urdu.
6. The genre in Malaysia and Indonesia.
7. The *ḳiṣṣa* and its modern developments in Swahili.
8. The *ḳiṣṣa* in Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber.

1. The semantic range of *ḳiṣṣa* in Arabic.

Judging by the contents of the articles in the Arabic dictionaries devoted to the root *ḳ-ṣ-ṣ*, one may consider this as the result of a convergence of several different "roots". Among the various meanings shown here, two of them seem to be totally distinct from each other: "to clip the hair, wings, etc." (cf. Hebr. קצב and words made up of קצ) and "to follow the tracks of a man or animal".

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Taking into account the realities of Bedouin life, this last sense, to which *ḳiṣṣa* can easily be connected, is certainly old, if not the primitive signification. It is from the verb *ḳaṣṣa* taken in this sense that the name of the *ḳāṣṣ*, pl. *ḳuṣṣāṣ* "a kind of detective responsible for examining and interpreting tracks and marks on the ground" (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 343 = § 1227; cf. al-ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādāt* . . ., ʿAmmān 1973-4, iii, 85, who points out the use in Jordan of *ḳaṣṣāṣ* with the generally-developed sense of *ḳāʾif al-aṯar* [see ḲIYĀFA]) has evolved). Moreover, the Ḳurʾān provides two attestations of this old meaning of the root *ḳ-ṣ-ṣ*. Moses' mother says to his sister *ḳuṣṣīhi* "follow his tracks" (XXVIII, 10/11), and in XVIII, 63/64, it is said that Moses and his page boy "followed their tracks back again, retracing them" (*fa-rtadda ʿalā āṯārihimā ḳaṣaṣā*). Nevertheless, the verb *ḳaṣṣa* is most frequently found in the Ḳurʾān with the derived sense of "to tell a story, narrate", or more exactly, "to give a circumstantial account of some happening, to recount an event by giving all the details successively"; this nuance is usually lost in translation, though it may sometimes be conveyed through an adverb like "exactly". One may note, with repetitions within the same verse, 19 occurrences of this verb: the account is given by God to the Prophet (IV, 162/164, VI, 57, VII, 6/7, 99/101, XI, 102/100, 121/120, XII, 3, XVI, 119/118, XVIII, 12/13, XX, 99, XL, 78), by the Ḳurʾān (XXVII, 78/76) and by Moses to Shuʿayb (XXVIII, 25); Jacob tells Joseph not to recount his dream to his brothers (XII, 5); divine messengers recite to mankind the miraculous "signs" of God (VI, 130, VII, 33/35); and God instructs the Prophet to recount "the affair" (VII, 175/176).

In this last verse, the word *ḳaṣaṣ*, which has the general sense of "narrative, explanation, report, story" in its five other attestations (III, 55/62, XII, 3, 111, XXVIII title and v. 25), has been translated by "affair". Doubtless one should not neglect the nuance of precision and exactness contained in *ḳaṣaṣ*, but it is perfectly certain that the term's sense tends to become attenuated in order to assimilate it to that of *ḥadīṯ*. It could be perfectly easily substituted for the latter word in at least five occurrences out of 23 (XX, 8/9, LI, 24, LXXIX, 15, LXXXV, 17, LXXXVIII, 1), and furthermore, the verb *ḥaddaṯa* is clearly equivalent to *ḳaṣṣa* in three verses (II, 71/76, XCIII, 11, XCIX, 4). Also close to *ḳaṣaṣ* are *ḫabar* (XXVII, 7, XXVIII, 29) and especially the pl. *aḫbār* (IX, 95/94, XLVII, 33/31, XCIX, 4), and also *naba*ʾ, with 12 attestations out of the 17 in the singular (V, 30/27, VI, 34, VII, 174/175, IX, 71/70, X, 72/71, XIV, 9, XVIII, 12/13, XXVI, 69, XXVIII, 2/3, XXXVIII, 21/20 and LXIV, 5) and 7 out of the 11 in the plural (III, 39/44, 51, 121/120, VII, 99, XII, 103/102, XXVIII, 66 and LIV, 4) corresponding fairly exactly to *ḳaṣaṣ* in the sense of "narrative, story, tale". Thus four terms of very different origins converge here in the Ḳurʾān and tend to assume a common signification, whilst losing at the same time the nuances implied in their original etymologies [see ḤIKĀYA].

Ḳiṣṣa itself does not appear in the Holy Book, but one can point to some examples in the *ḥadīṯ* with a general meaning of "thing, affair" (= *amr*, *šaʾn*), close to one of the meanings of *ḳaṣaṣ*; but this term seems however to have kept well its original nuance of meaning in the traditionists' vocabulary, to judge by the expression *sāḳa al-ḥadīṯ bi-ḳiṣṣatihi* "he cited the *ḥadīṯ* in all its details, giving it word-for-word" (Muslim, Ṣaḥīḥ, *Salām, bāb al-siḥr*, trad. No. 44). The word also very rapidly became a technical term of Arabic grammar. Sībawayh certainly uses the verb *ḳaṣṣa* in the sense of "to narrate" (i, 60) and the noun *ḳiṣṣa* in those of "narrative" (= *ḥadīṯ*, i, 60) and "affair" (i, 415, 418, 432), but above all he applies it (52 instances) to the idea of "state" (= *ḥāl*; see G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du* Kitāb *de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976, 172); consequently the expressions *ḍamīr al-šaʾn* and *ḍamīr al-ḳiṣṣa* are absolutely synonymous (W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic language*, index.)

At the moment when Sībawayh wrote his work, the verb *ḳaṣṣa* meant, from the time of the Prophet onwards, "to practise as a popular preacher of sermons and edifying tales "[see ḲĀṢṢ], this profession being called *ḳaṣṣ* or *ḳaṣaṣ* (see Wensinck, *Concordance*, v, 391-2, 394, 395). The more serious among the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* made a speciality of giving a commentary to their audience on the miraculous events referred to in the Ḳurʾān and of recounting, in particular, in reference to the lives of the prophets, edifying stories. The *ḳaṣaṣ* of the Ḳurʾānic text was then specialised in meaning, as we have just seen, and replaced, in order to designate the material in the répertoire of the popular religious story-tellers, by *ḳiṣṣa*, pl. *ḳiṣaṣ*, without the term having, at least at the outset, the least element of the pejorative in its sense. However, in the 3rd/9th century, al-Djāḥiẓ, following other authors, reserves for *ḳiṣṣa* the sense of "religious tale", but sometimes adds, with his usual irony, some fairly precise nuances of "story full of marvels and somewhat unbelievable", of "myth" and of "traditional explanation of a supernatural happening" (see *Tarbīʿ*, index).

At this period, the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* were already mingling with their discourses stories totally lacking in edification, but it seems that *ḳiṣṣa* did not yet mean a secular tale, and even in the next century, Ibn al-Nadīm does not use the word in the chapter devoted to stories in the *Fihrist*. Moreover, a few decades later, *ḳiṣṣa* appears with the religious sense which it had when used by the first *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, in the title of al-Thaʿlabī's [*q.v.*] popular work, the *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis fī ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*; the expression *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*] was to become the title of quite a considerable number of works. Despite the precise meaning implied by this latter expression, the lexicographers, who devote quite a lot of space to the root *ḳ - ṣ - ṣ*, hardly give the precise sense of *ḳiṣṣa* at all. The *LA* limits itself to asserting that the term is well-known, and then glosses it by *ḫabar*, *ḥadīṯ* and *amr*, though it does however give a pejorative nuance for *ḳaṣṣ*, in fact equivalent to "words, chatter", opposed to *ʿamal* "action". In the *Miṣbāḥ*, *ḳiṣṣa* is defined only by *šaʾn* and *amr*; and in the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, *amr* and *ḥadīṯ* are further used to gloss this term, whose plural *ḳiṣaṣ* would therefore only be used for the *ḳiṣṣa* when it was written (likewise, also, in the *LA* and *Ḳāmūs*). Assuming that we are probably not concerned here with the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, this rather enigmatic explanation is probably to be used with a technical sense different from that signalled in grammatical terminology; starting from the meaning of "affair", early attested and found from Ḳurʾānic times onwards, *ḳiṣṣa* very soon came in fact to mean "a written exposition of an affair or matter, a mémoire presented to a judge, a request placed before a ruler, a petition". Quatremère, in his *Sultans mamelouks*, i, 236 n. 111, gives a certain number of examples of this meaning and mentions the existence of an official, the *ḳiṣṣa-dār*, who was

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concerned with such requests (see also Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie*, p. XLIV; Dozy does not appear to have interpreted the material in the dictionaries relative to the written *ḳiṣṣa* in the same way as we have done, since he includes this term in his *Supplément*). Al-Ḳalḳashandī, in *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 487-8, does not cite the *ḳiṣṣa-dār* but provides some details about the manner in which *ḳiṣaṣ al-maẓālim* were treated.

Since some *ḳuṣṣāṣ* began regularly to narrate stories which had no religious character at all, *ḳiṣṣa*, without ceasing at the same time to characterise a serious, even a historical narrative (e.g. the 27 mss. called *ḳiṣṣat ghazwat*... "narrative of the expedition of ..." classified by Ahlwardt in his Berlin catalogue) tended to be applied to any story, sacred or profane, and to become a synonym of *ḥikāya*, and secondarily, of *ḥadīth* and *ḵẖabar*. As an indication, the above-mentioned catalogue has a total of 216 works beginning with *ḳiṣṣa*; that of the mss. in the B.N. of Paris drawn up by G. Vajda has 115 (of which 75 have been restored according to their contents); *ḥikāya* appears there 47 times, *ḥadīth* 12 times and *ḵẖabar* 4 times. In the group as a whole, there are certainly some edifying stories (e.g. the *Ḳiṣṣat Ahl al-Kahf*), but titles like *Ḳiṣṣat Sulaymān maʿa Bilḳīs* or *Ḳiṣṣat Tawaddud* reveal true romances. In this way, the modern use of the term is to be justified, and this, conversely, has brought about a revival of *ḳaṣaṣ*, now specialised in the sense of "narration", the narrative genre and the narrative art", leading to the creation of the word *ḳaṣaṣī* "narrative" (adj.). (Ch. Pellat)

2. In modern Arabic literature.

The modern and technical meaning of this word: "fictional narrative", "novel" has come to be accepted without eliminating the more general, older sense of "story", "account". Furthermore, it should be noted that, in this case as in many others, the neologism has not been immediately accepted and does not cover the same semantic field for all those who use it, even today. From the start, it is seen to alternate with other words.

In an article appearing in *al-Ahrām*, on 11 May 1881, where the *shaykh* Muḥammad ʿAbduh drew attention, without otherwise deploring it, to the taste of his contemporaries for the novel, we find the word *rumāniyyāt*. The definition of the genre remains somewhat hazy since the eminent reformer included under this heading *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and the stories of traditional *adab* along with the recent translation of the *Aventures de Télémaque* by al-Ṭahṭāwī and the serial stories then published in *al-Ahrām*. Besides this borrowed term—which was not long to remain in use—there are words drawn from the Arabic vocabulary which come to mean the same as *ḳiṣṣa*. Understandably in the case of works on the borderline of the novel genre, the terminology appears uncertain: the *ʿAlam al-dīn* (1884) of ʿAlī Mubārak is presented by its author as a *ḥikāya* (story) while Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī gives the title *ḥadīth* (talk) to his very interesting *maḳāmāt*: *Ḥadīth ʿĪsā b. Hishām* (1907). It is all the same curious to note that in 1917 a certain Djubrān Khalīl Djubrān, suggesting to the editor of the review *al-Hilāl* the holding of a competition for the best story—to promote a genre that has proved its worth in Europe—uses the term *ḥikāya* to describe the genre. Little by little, however, *ḳiṣṣa* came to prevail, and Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was seen claiming back his liberty as a creator and refusing to apply rules whose validity he did not recognise by saying in substance: the *ḳiṣṣa* is taught nowhere, and besides, what I write is not a *ḳiṣṣa* but a *ḥadīth* (cf. Ṣāliḥ, in *al-Muʿaḏḏabūn fi 'l-arḍ*).

In fact, the lack of precision remains, mainly as a result of the differences in length among the various kinds of story. It is possible to account for these without departing from the root *ḳ-ṣ-ṣ*. For the abstract "narration", "narrative literature" we have *ḳaṣaṣ*, while the "story" of indeterminate length is called *ḳiṣṣa*, the novel being distinguished from the "tale" or from the "novelette" by an adjective (*ḳiṣṣa ṭawīla* in the one case, *ḳiṣṣa ḳaṣīra* in the other). The range of meanings may be conveyed in a still more precise fashion: a suitable adjective expresses the midway term, the long short story so popular with the British (*ḳiṣṣa mutawassiṭa*), while *uḳṣūṣa* (pl. *aḳāṣīṣ*) denotes the very short story, the short novelette.

But in practice, things are not so simple. The first Arabic story-teller to be universally known, Maḥmūd Taymūr, published successively two collections of stories, calling the first *aḳāṣīṣ* (*al-Shaykh Djumʿa wa-aḳāṣīṣ ukhrā*, 1925) and the second *ḳiṣaṣ* (*ʿAmm Metwallī wa-ḳiṣaṣ ukhrā*, 1926). At the other end of the scale, there are some who prefer *riwāya* to *ḳiṣṣa ṭawīla* to denote the novel; this neologism was more specifically reserved at the end of the 19th century to denote a "theatrical piece." Without it being an absolute rule, it may be stated that at the present day *uḳṣūṣa* is more frequently used in Syria and Lebanon in the sense of short story, while *riwāya* is preferred in Egypt with the meaning of novel.

Considerations of length are not the only ones to be of relevance. It should also be noted that some have tried to solve the ambiguity inherent in the word "tale" which exists also in English. If one wishes to differentiate the brief, realistic, truthful or plausible narrative (the short story) from a narrative of the same dimensions but imaginative, extraordinary or extravagant (the tale), one must call the latter by the name *ḳiṣṣa* (or *uḳṣūṣa*) followed by an adjective (*ḵẖayāliyya* or *ḵẖurāfiyya*), while being careful not to use the word *ḵẖurāfa* in isolation lest it be understood in a non-technical sense and with a pejorative flavour: "a cock-and-bull story".

The birth and evolution of Arabic fictional literature. The modern *ḳiṣṣa* owes nothing to Arab tradition. It is linked neither with the folklore of the *Thousand and one nights* nor with tales of chivalry nor with narratives of *adab*. The tradition of classical *maḳāma*, although taken up by two men of imagination and dual culture (Fāris al-Shidyāḳ for *al-Sāḳ ʿalā 'l-sāḳ*, 1855; and Muḥammad al-Muwaylihī, cf. above, 1907) has left no legacy. It is from Europe that the Arabs have borrowed this literary genre totally unfamiliar to them, sc. the novel.

The press, which has been remarkably prolific in Cairo and Beirut ever since its first appearance there in the middle of the 19th century, has in a short space of time put into circulation stories of various lengths translated from French and English. Some periodicals, like *Ḥadīḳa al-aḵẖbār* (founded in Beirut in 1858) publish examples from time to time, others, like *al-Djinān* (Beirut 1870) regularly devote a part of each issue to such translations, and the same applies to the reviews that the Lebanese resident in Egypt have subsequently launched in Cairo (*al-Hilāl*, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, *al-Diyāʾ*). Even the daily *al-Ahrām* founded in Alexandria in 1875 has its serial story. Furthermore, some weekly or monthly

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entertainment publications are entirely devoted to them (*Silsilat al-fukāhāt*, Beirut 1884; *Muntakhabāt al-riwāyāt*, Cairo 1894). A certain degree of decentralisation has even been achieved with the appearance of *Silsilat al-riwāyāt al-ʿuthmāniyya* at Ṭanṭā in 1908 and *al-Samīr* at Alexandria in 1911. The second stage is the editing of the translated novels in volumes.

The essential object of this type of literature is to entertain. Publishers and translators search out stories of extraordinary adventures, of unhappy love-affairs, of poignant grief, rather than works of established quality whose authors are universally known. Fidelity to the original text was not regarded as an obligation in the period where the translator most in demand, Ṭanyūs ʿAbduh, a Lebanese who had settled in Egypt, was renowned for the imagination which he put into his work. The tendency was to adapt rather than to translate.

Quite naturally "original" composition has followed translation-adaptation and obeyed the same rules. It has even in some cases been exactly contemporary with it, and there are times when the translator is at the same time an author. This was the case with Salīm al-Bustānī, who published no less than five original works in serial form between 1870 and 1884 in *al-Djinān*, at the same time as he was translating French novels. His sister Alice and his cousin Saʿīd were also involved in the same sort of work. In serial stories of this kind as well as in the copied models there abound *coups de théâtre*, unexpected meetings, unsuspected relationships, etc. In order to avoid offending a very sensitive public moral sense, the scene of the plot still tends to be exotic, or if the action takes place in Egypt, the whole or the majority of the cast of characters must be foreign (*Fatāt al-ahrām* by Muḥammad Maḥmūd, *Fatāt Miṣr* by Yaʿḳūb Sarrūf). Saʿīd al-Bustānī discovered to his cost the powerful force of this unwritten rule: a resident of Egypt for ten years, a friend of Shaykh ʿAbduh, this Lebanese was nevertheless savagely criticised in conventionally-minded circles for having published *Dhāt al-khidr* (1894) which claims to show the disastrous results of an ill-matched marriage... in a wealthy family supposedly living in Alexandria!

Obliged to show some degree of discretion, limited in its intellectual ambitions, this newly-arrived genre would doubtless never have interested an enlightened Arab public had it not found sponsors and promoters. Shaykh ʿAbduh took an interest in it, as has been seen, because he reckoned it capable of having a reformatory effect, if carrying a well-formulated message. For Djirdjī Zaydān (1862-1914), it was the ideal didactic means to put into the service of history, and this Christian author of a *History of Islamic civilisation* therefore brought to the novel the caution of the scholar. Whereas Djamīl Mudawwar had published in Beirut in 1881 a single historical novel about ʿAbbāsid Baghdād, he was to publish twenty-four such novels between 1889 and 1914, of which the majority appeared in serial form in Cairo in the review *al-Hilāl* which he edited. Serious information being in his view the essential part, the amorous element of the plot would serve only to lure the reader; this element seems therefore to be somewhat stereotyped from one volume to another; but at least, the construction is solid and the language clear and precise.

After reason, sensibility. It would be impossible to overestimate the role of Manfalūṭī (1876-1924) for, in his two collections (*al-Naẓarāt* (1910-1921) and *al-ʿAbarāt* (1915)), he superbly arabises French romanticism to the point where, under his pen, translations, adaptations and original creations seem to flow from the same source. Having found a style and a tone, he knows how to stir emotions while dealing, in a context of traditional morality, with the problems posed by the irruption of European civilisation into the modern Orient. At the opposite extreme as regards content but with a similar degree of emotional intensity, is the message of "The American" Djubrān (1883-1931). Tears flow in abundance here too, but the romanticism is noble, protesting at the injustice practised by the powerful of this world as observed in the microcosm of the Lebanese village where the mayor and the priest seem to be constantly united in the effort to prevent the children from loving each other; *al-Adjniḥa al-mutakassira* (1912) hardly deserves to be called a novel, it is rather a long poem in prose devoted to an unhappy love affair of the author. "Broken wings" and "Tears", these are the two works, of Egypt and the *mahdjar*, which have moved or irritated several generations of Arabs all over the world.

But the first Arabic novel owes nothing to Manfalūṭī or to Djubrān. It was written in Paris—and perhaps partly in Geneva—by a young Egyptian student. Haykal (1888-1956) was feeling homesick when he wrote *Zaynab* (1914), and it is the Egyptian countryside that he attempts to re-create with its poetry, its variety, and also its characters, simple and poverty-stricken. But this evocation is centred around two victims of injustice in Egypt, sc. the peasant and the woman. Even though the first edition is signed under the pseudonym *Miṣrī Fallāḥ*, the poverty of the farm worker hardly holds our attention, while the fate of two women, equally unfortunate, illustrates the sorry condition of an entire sex and recalls the courageous protest of Ḳāsim Amīn at the beginning of the century. The hero ultimately makes his indictment: life has no appeal in a land where youth passes too quickly, where love is not allowed, and where the individual has no time to look at what is beautiful.

Even if the problems of writing and construction are not always perfectly solved, even if the influence of *La nouvelle Heloïse* of Rousseau is too obvious, this rich composition does not only have a historical interest, for it conveys an authentic tone, that of a desperate confession.

In spite of these promising beginnings, other novels were not to appear for a further fifteen years. In the interval, it is only short story writers who make a name for themselves, putting forward within the dimensions of shorter narratives technical solutions borrowed this time from the best European specialists. The stories that they tell, on the other hand, always deal with the reality that surrounds them. In "wringing the neck of rhetoric", these young pioneers feel that they are laying the foundations of a new literature. The first of them,—and paradoxically the only survivor—Mikhāʾīl Nuʿayma (born in 1889) began publishing his stories at the beginning of the First World War in *al-Sāʾiḥ*, then in *al-Funūn*, the two reviews edited by Syrian Lebanese settlers in New York. The best, later collected in an anthology (*Kāna mā kāna*, Beirut 1937), are striking for their simple language, the transparency of the characters, the significant choice of situations—where ancestral customs like the journey to America play a central role—and perhaps even more for the firmness with which the story is

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told, a story where, however, emotion and humour make themselves discreetly felt. On Egyptian soil, slightly later, Muḥammad Taymūr (d. 1921) published in *al-Sufūr* some stories of which the best-known dates from 1919—an important year for Egyptian nationalism of which this writer was a passionate advocate. Add to this element the interest taken in social injustice and in poverty, and we have the principal source-material of the stories of Muḥammad Taymūr and of his comrades-in-arms. This expression is not an exaggeration when applied to his brother Maḥmūd, who describes himself as taking the torch from the hands of his brother, dead at the age of thirty. It is without doubt Maḥmūd Taymūr (d. 1974), the greatest story writer of the time, who has exerted the strongest influence in Egypt and in the other Arab lands, one of the most prolific of modern Arab writers and one of the most widely-translated too. Following the school of Maupassant—to whom his brother introduced him—he learnt to construct a plot firmly centred on a character who is bizarre to say the least, or on an exceptional incident. But he does not ignore the dominant themes of Egyptian social life, to which the brothers ʿUbayd and Maḥmūd Ṭāhir Lāshīn (d. 1955) also come to apply themselves, each according to his temperament and his special talent, Lāshīn being of the three the one whose palette would appear to be the best equipped both for varieties of subject and of resources of expression. Let it also be noted that this writer has written one of the few Arabic novels to appear before the Second World War: *Ḥawwāʾ bilā Ādam* ("Eve without Adam"), 1934.

Furthermore, it may be appropriate to note that this novel is distinct from the others in that its subject (the pitiable failure of a feminist school-teacher who believed in love and social advancement) owes nothing to the life of the author, while Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (d. 1973) Ibrāhīm ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Māzinī (d. 1949), al-ʿAḳḳād (d. 1964) and Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm (b. 1902) had written nothing before 1939 but works largely autobiographical in character. What these men have in common is that they are not true imaginative writers, but rather they are part of the Egyptian intellectual élite. It should therefore surprise no-one that they look for material for their stories in their own experience. Besides, for these great thinkers of their generation also, this is the means of assessing the exact condition of their country, for carrying on, in short, the worried analysis conducted by Haykal in *Zaynab*. As chance would have it, the year 1929 saw both the second edition of this novel and the publication of the first part of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *al-Ayyām*. The accuracy in tone of this book, written with finesse and modesty, explains its immediate success in Egypt and the rest of the world; one feels that the blind boy struggling in a world that is hostile or indifferent or stupid symbolises more than an individual destiny. Even before the appearance of the second part of *al-Ayyām*, *Adīb* (1935) represents a split in the personality of the author, whose Egyptian half looks on helplessly at the folly and wreck of the Europeanised part.

The debate between the two civilisations—with their customs and culture—also interests Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm in two of his autobiographical novels, while in the two others (*ʿAwdat al-rūḥ*, 1933; *Yawmiyyāt nāʾib fi ʾl-aryāf*, 1937) we find a number of the elements of the dossiers opened on Egyptian society by the short story writers. Superficially, the enquiry is less emphatic, there are times when the reader roars with laughter, but do not the laughter and the careless airs conceal a deep disquiet into which the faint-hearted lover and the Deputy Prosecutor are both plunged?

In drawing his self-portrait in *Ibrāhīm al-kātib* (1931), Māzinī speaks of disappointments in love which may be fictitious, but he is most certainly honest when he shows himself irresolute and easily discouraged. As if in spite of himself, he gives us suggestive insights into the three milieux that he sets himself to evoke and, when he does not overstep the bounds, his glibness does not lack charm.

Outside Egypt, a single novelist deserves mention for this period; the Lebanese Tawfīḳ Yūsuf ʿAwwād, who published *al-Raghīf* in 1939. It is the Lebanon of the period of the First World War, the Lebanon "in the hour of the Turk", ravaged by famine, that we find here, the repression of nationalist movements coming to an end on the gallows of Beirut's Place des Canons. With a great deal of sobriety, a very sure sense of crowd-scenes, a properly romantic conception of history and politics, here is a writer who knows how to give to his narrative a depth which nobody else, Ḥakīm included, has yet succeeded in obtaining.

ʿIrāḳ at that time was still at a hesitant stage, with Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Sayyid (d. 1937) publishing from 1921 onwards, in Cairo, stories which are admittedly rudimentary but where the effects of Turkish rule on ʿIrāḳī society are succinctly shown; with Anwar Shāʾul (first collection of stories 1930), the influence of Taymūr is clear. In his stories and those of ʿAbd al-Madjīd Luṭfī (b. 1908), influenced by Tolstoy and Gorky, one feels that the seeds of a promising harvest have been sown in ʿIrāḳ.

Among the pioneers mentioned above, a certain number have lived on after the war. Their prestige has increased and they have attained immortality. Young Arabic literature has found in them its ancestors, its sponsors, its classics, it could be said. Each of them otherwise remains imperturbably faithful to his style. It is still the same self-centred man dissatisfied with home and love that Māzinī indulgently analyses (*Ibrahim II*). From an incident of everyday life, the Lebanese Mikhāʾīl Nuʿayma draws the material of an intimate diary (*Mudhakkarāt al-arḳash*, 1949), where meditations on good and evil, the solitude of the soul and its mystical vocation, count more than the narrative plot. In the same way that Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm hardly descends from his ivory tower to stigmatise feminine duplicity and to comment ironically on the sacred bonds of marriage (*al-Ribāṭ al-muḳaddas*, 1944), Ṭāhā Ḥusayn pursues his dialogue with destiny, but through interposed characters, in a tragic family chronicle with slow tempo (*Shadjarat al-buʾs*, 1954). The famous Maḥmūd Taymūr still composes short stories—his last collection appeared in January 1967—but he also writes novels where he expresses in the same pure language the qualities for which he is well known; very close to his times in *Ilā ʾl-liḳāʾ ayyuhā ʾl-ḥubb* (1959), he is halfway to fantasy in *al-Maṣābīḥ al-zurḳ* (1960). In this group, it is without doubt Haykal who has produced the least expected work for *Hākadhā khuliḳat* (1956) presents, on the eve of his death, a portrait of a woman that contrasts totally with the *Zaynab* of his youth; this cold, dominating female really existed, so well-informed contemporaries assert.

But the new-comers are henceforward very numerous, some of them belonging to Arab countries not

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mentioned above. Reviews have been founded: in Egypt of course, but also in Baḥrayn, where a literary periodical of this name appeared when the first printing-press was installed in the Gulf (1939), most of all in Beirut where *al-Ādāb*, founded in 1953, and *al-Adīb* give young writers the opportunity to become known, in Tunis where, since 1944, the review *al-Mabāḥiṯ* awards a prize (*Bahlawān*) to a writer every year. Henceforward, Arabic fictional literature is sufficiently vigorous and varied to convey trends which are to be noted elsewhere in the world.

The romantics. It is clear that romanticism has solid roots at its disposal—it is enough to recall the genre of the first European novels translated, the importance of Manfalūṭī, the tone of *Zaynab*. A younger generation dissatisfied with its condition finds at last the means of expressing its revolt and its dreams. Evidently it is love that polarises all attention. This lyricism is a phenomenon of youth in three senses: the youth of the writer, the youth of literature and the youth of the public. The theme of the impossibility of amorous relationships is treated at length by the Tunisian Rashīd Ghālī in the short stories that he has published in the review *al-Fikr* since 1960; an encounter without future constitutes the subject of *al-Baḥr lā mā' fīh*, a story which gives its title and dominant tone to a collection published by the Libyan A. Ibrāhīm al-Faḳīh in 1966; the Sudanese Sabbār (b. 1927) published ten years ago a novel on a small scale: *Sirr al-dumā'*.

It should not, however, be assumed that this type of novel is always attributable to an "indiscretion of youth." Writers of considerable renown who are no longer adolescents have built their success upon this specialised genre, and their prolific output shows that they know how to pluck the string of emotion. In this context, one could hope for no better example than the Egyptian trio of Yūsuf Sībā'ī (d. 1978), 'A. H. 'Abd Allāh (d. 1973) and Iḥsān 'Abd al-Ḳuddūs. The systematic exploitation of sentimental problems is their common denominator, as well as their ability to impose their personal style. The first emphasises the dramatic, or melodramatic quality of the situations that he imagines; the second does not flinch from a certain moralistic purring owed for the most part to the very literary nature of his language; finally, the third flirts with scandal, and his gallery of pretty girls at once innocent and greedy for liberty has aroused many adolescent dreams.

Readers unmoved by the magic of these masters perhaps would allow themselves to be seduced by more subtle forms of romanticism. In Egypt, 'Abd Allāh Ṭūkhī finds in his native countryside (*Fī ḍaw' al-ḳamar*, short stories, 1960) or in a cruise on the Nile (*al-Nahr*, a novel 1962) the appropriate setting that his dreams require, while Muṣṭafā Maḥmūd (b. 1931) studies the relationship of married people (*al-Mustaḥīl*, 1960) with much tact and sensitivity. In Syria, the short story writer Shāmil Rūmī (*al-Ḳaṣā'if*, 1960) even seasons his outpourings with a fair dose of fierce satire. Finally, we draw attention to a short story by the Algerian Ṭāhir Waṭṭār (*Mamarr al-ayyām*, in *al-Fikr*, 1959) for this disillusioned statement by one of his heroes: "There is no youth in the Arab world. The Arab knows only two ages: childhood and adulthood." We shall have occasion to speak again of this sense of malaise.

The realists. These writers have inherited a populist or poverty-oriented tradition that is not very old. On the eve of the war, the Syrians T. 'Awwād, K. M. Karam, and the 'Irāḳī Dja'far Khalīlī were concerning themselves with fraternity, tearful commiseration or indignant horror at the sufferings of the lower classes.

We find this same interest in poor people with a great number of writers of the following period and in countries that have come to the novel more recently. From Morocco, we may mention two collections of stories; *al-Sakf* by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū 'Allū and *Radjul wa-mar'a* (1969) by Zaynab Fahmī. Taymūr has really created a school, for we witness an impressive parade of pitiable or laughable "cases"; Y. Ḥaḳḳi's petty tradesmen, the charlatans of the Tunisian Muṣṭafā Fārisī, the baggage carriers of the Syrian Ṣamīm Sharīf, the water-carriers of the Egyptian Sibā'ī. These specimens of an idle or poverty-stricken humanity, true to type even when they live on the fringe of society, clearly lend themselves to living in novels. Who could deny the vividness of the portrait of Tarnannuh, idler and football fanatic, product of the imagination of Rashād Ḥamzāwī (Tunis, *al-Fikr*, 1959) or that of the "maker of grotesque cripples", the negro Zīṭa who introduces a kind of Court of Miracles in the lane (*Zuḳāḳ al-midaḳḳ*, 1947) described by the Egyptian Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ.

Apart from the hero, the writers strive to recreate a whole ambience to which they are deeply attached. Thus, thanks to the pen of a Ṭayyib Ṭarīkī or of a Ḥamzāwī, there appear before us the coloured quarters of Rabṭ and of Turbat al-Bey in Tunis, while the shrines of Old Cairo, Sayyidnā Ḥusayn and Sayyidatnā Zaynab, inspire the best works of Ḥaḳḳī and Maḥfūẓ, and the seascape of the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab is recreated in a story such as *Dhākirat al-madīna* (1975) by the 'Irāḳī 'Abd al-Raḥmān Madjīd al-Rubay'ī.

It would be surprising if the countryside were to remain outside the fictional répertoire, when we recall that, with *Zaynab*, the Arabic novel was born there. It is in fact the same love of nature that shines through in a simple account of olive-picking in Tunisia, told by Muḥammad F. Ghazlī (b. 1927) in a short story (*al-Fikr*, 1961). But it is most of all in the novels of the Egyptian Sharḳāwī (*al-Arḍ*, 1954, *Ḳulūb ḵẖāliya*, *al-Fallāḥ*) that the rural life is conveyed in all its richness, at a time when new ideas are shaking the system of traditions that used to be thought immovable. On the contrary, Ḥusayn Naṣr (Tunisia) evokes the full force of the past in a few pages; this "Ox that my father left us" (*al-Fikr*, 1961) is slow to die and imposes his presence when the young men, rejecting the experience of the old, wish that the page had been decisively turned.

It will come as no surprise to find political involvement accompanying this meticulous survey of an entire people. At the same time that *al-Arḍ* appeared in Cairo, Ḥannā Mīna published in Damascus *al-Maṣābiḥ al-zurḳ*. We may thus see side-by-side two exemplary narratives: a peasant revolt in the Delta, and the resistance of the Latakians to the French Mandate at the end of the Second World War. The heroic times of such and such a country have inspired a considerable mass of stories. The Moroccan Khanātha Bannūna celebrates inter-Arab solidarity sealed in combat in a recent collection of short stories (*al-Nār wa 'l-iḵẖtiyār*) and his compatriot Mubārak Rabī' makes the participation of Moroccan troops in the battle of the Golan Heights, in 1974, the central subject of his novel *Rifkat*

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al-silāḥ. . . wa 'l-ḳamar (1976). Sometimes one finds them to be too verbose and not sufficiently alive. This is especially the case with the entire output of Muṭāʿ Ṣafadī (Syria), a real propagandist of the Arab Revolution (*Thāʾir muḥtarif*; *Diʾīl al-ḳadar*; *Aṣḥābāh abṭāl*, 1959). On the other hand, an ʿA. Ḥ. ben Haddûḳa (Algeria) succeeds in interesting us in the conscience of a man who has just committed a political crime (in *Ẓilāl djazāʾiriyya*, 1960). It is the analysis of the social and psychological consequences of the war of liberation which interests him in his first novel appearing ten years later (*Rīḥ al-djanūb*), of which the form catches the attention. His compatriot Ṭāhir al-Waṭṭār also distinguishes himself in his two recent novels by the originality of his vision of guerilla warfare (*al-Ārz*) or the traumatic after-effects of independence (*al-Zilzāl*). Similarly, the Palestinian tragedy is presented, free of forced sentimentality, in fascinating novels by the Lebanese Ḥalīm Barakāt and the Palestinian Ghassān Kanafānī (*Riḍjāl fi 'l-shams*).

Oriental society is evolving to a varied rhythm in its different aspects. Industrialisation, for example, has scarcely been reflected by the appearance of workers in romantic literature. To our knowledge, only two writers have taken an interest in this: Ḥ. Mīna (Syria) mentioned above, who has made a study *à la* Gorky of type-setters in a printing-press, *The invisible thread*, 1960; and Muḥammad Ṣidḳī (Egypt), who through the experience of a self-taught man trained in a number of occupations, gives us an insight into the daily life of the working classes (in the collections *al-Anfār* and *al-Aydī 'l-ḵhashina*, 1956 and 1958).

On the other hand, the number of Arab women writers is already remarkable. Quite naturally, they are interested in problems that are specifically feminine. Since professional involvement of women is still somewhat limited in their countries, it is most of all "psychological realism" that they aim at. The older ones—Bint al-Shāṭiʾ and S. Ḳalamāwī in Egypt, Widād Sakākīnī in Syria—have born witness to the deep transformation affecting the female mentality. The younger women writers—Samīra ʿAzzām in Irak, Colette Suhayl in the Lebanon, Ṣūfī ʿAbd Allāh in Egypt—seek to re-establish, with regard to their sex, the truth misunderstood or distorted by men. The Egyptian Laṭīfa al-Zayyāt does not claim to make any extraordinary revelations in her novel *al-Bāb al-maftūḥ*, 1960, but points out succinctly that the noble protests of the sterner sex are not yet fully convincing.

So as not to distort the perspectives, it is important to draw special attention to the work of three Egyptian novelists whose renown extends over the entire Arab world: Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, Yūsuf Idrīs and Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ. The name of the first, who was born in 1905, is linked with the difficult emergence of the Arabic short story in the years around 1925, but he has only become well-known since the war. His first collection *Ḳindīl Umm Hāshim* dates from 1943. His collections of stories, his short novel (*Ṣaḥḥa 'l-nawm*, 1954) and his memoirs (*Ḵhallīhā ʿalā 'llāh*, 1959) have made him known to the public at large as a writer of prose that is firm but not prudish, and one who treats his characters with sensitivity and humour.

As for Yūsuf Idrīs, he has been writing "committed" stories since 1949. With the appearance of his first collection (*Arḵhaṣ layālī*, 1954), there is the feeling of a talented writer making himself known. His subsequent works (*al-Ḥarām*, novel, 1959; *al-ʿAskarī al-aswad*, a short story, 1961, among many others) testify to his dramatic sense, and his condensed style, on the borderline of grammatical correctness, counts as one of the most original of all.

Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ enjoys an even wider readership. He owes this perhaps to his uncompromising adherence to the classical language but most of all to the seriousness and depth of his analysis and to a remarkably prolific output—some twenty novels and a dozen collections of short stories published to date. His *Trilogy* (1957, 1958) is considered to be the perfect masterpiece of Arabic realism. It gives us the key to an understanding of the generation of contemporary Egypt through a wealth of passions reminiscent of the Russian novelists, but with a concern for detail that is exclusively his own, and most important of all, from a perspective such that every Arab reader feels himself involved.

The existentialists. In a society in a state of flux, there are some who feel resentful, disillusioned, alienated, and who find in existentialism a philosophy in tune with their mood. The Lebanese Suhayl Idrīs has done much to install this philosophico-literary doctrine in the Orient. He has been the prime mover in a major series of translations that have introduced the Arabs to Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir in particular. But his role has not been limited to that of translator nor to that of editor-in-chief of the major review *al-Ādāb*. He is also the author of a number of novels. In the first (*al-Ḥayy al-lātīnī*, 1953) he too examines the reactions of the oriental to the European way of life, but the analysis is different from one given by Ṭawfīḳ al-Ḥaḳīm in *ʿUṣfūr min al-sharḳ* nearly twenty years earlier. In spite of his love for a European sweetheart—shared this time—the Arab student returns to the Lebanon to place himself beneath the yoke, and perhaps the protection, of the customs of his homeland. His resigned acceptance of the absurdity of life shows that his stay in the Latin Quarter has left deep marks on him.

The Lebanon is thus the favoured land for existentialism. There are some who take pleasure in a type of fiction that is closer to the debate of ideas than to the novel as strictly defined, like Emile B. Abī Nādir in *al-Farāgh* (1961). But the more interesting writers are able to bring to light in their plots the implacable character of life. A story by George Shāmī shows to what extent a personal sentiment, however sincere and profound, is helpless in the face of the tyranny of the family spirit, and another by Djamīl Djabr (*Ḳalaḳ*, 1961) finds the correct tone for describing, in the first person, an impossible love. The Lebanese novel does not however attain the level of despair except in the work of the woman-writer Laylā Baʿlabakkī; in *Ānā aḥyā* (1958) and in *al-Ālīha al-mamsūḵha* (1960) there is a vivid account of the revolt of a feminine sensibility stifling in a male society, made—taboos included—for men.

Although she has become known more recently, the Syrian Ghāda Sammān is closely akin to her. One of her collections of short stories (*Laylat al-ghurabāʾ*, 1966) presents us with a study fundamentally of a single character in a variety of settings: the woman who feels herself involved neither with the family nor with the revolutionary ideal, a "stranger" always and everywhere, her too-clear intelligence and her too-vivid sensibility making of her a person who suffers and sees no other future than this suffering, which she broods over with a kind of masochistic delight.

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ʿIrāḳ shows us another kind of existentialism, less intellectual, more visceral. Among story-writers of talent, the first place belongs to ʿAbd al-Malik Nūrī (born in 1921). Between 1946 and 1954 (*Nashīd al-arḍ*) he has created a genre: from the first to the last line, his fiction expresses malaise, an infinite despair or a fatal torpor. With Mahdī ʿĪsā Ṣaḳr and Fuʾād Takarlī (*al-Waḍīḥ al-ākhar*, 1961) we are steeped in the same unrelieved black that seems to be the dominant colour of young ʿIrāḳī literature.

The basic problems. During its sixty or so years of existence, Arabic fictional literature has been obliged essentially to cope with two basic problems.

The one, purely internal, concerns language. For obvious reasons, the novelist must choose the type of language that he is to lend to his characters, dialect or *fuṣḥā*. A writer as eminent as Maḥmūd Taymūr has, to his credit, carefully tried each of the two alternatives and subsequently remained absolutely faithful to the academic language, of which he is besides a perfect master. The no less eminent Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī has shown a quite original attitude, proclaiming everywhere his loyalty to Arabic and wielding in a delicious manner in his short stories the Cairoese of his childhood or the Ṣaʿīdian patois dear to his heart. These examples should not be misinterpreted; the question does not only apply to Egypt. Throughout the whole Arab world, from ʿIrāḳ to Morocco, there are novelists who believe that they would be betraying their mission as creators and artists if they were to avoid using a type of language that is natural, living and immediately evocative of the correct sentiment, the spontaneous idea. Conversely, in every Arab country there are today writers who would consider themselves unworthy of their art and traitors to Arabism if they were to adopt—even in dialogues—a language other than "pure" Arabic obeying the rules of declension, more or less modernised in its vocabulary, but effectively unchanged in its syntax. The question of the two languages has been debated so often since the beginnings of the *nahḍa* that there is nothing to be gained by dwelling on it here. The adherents of one or other mode of expression may be confident of finding themselves in excellent company and having no shortage of arguments. In particular, the equation frequently proclaimed in the last fifty years (dialogue in dialect = literature in the service of the people) is no longer put forward today, when the purists too are "committed". At the most, we may attempt a risky generalisation: the tendency to use the spoken "popular" language is more widespread in countries where the literary public is greatest and which, believe, rightly or wrongly, that they have a better-established "Arab" character—thus in Egypt, rather than in Algeria. Whatever the answer may be to these formal—and important—questions, there is no likelihood of provincialism gaining precedence over a common Arab heritage that is easily recognisable through the entire spectrum of fictional literary production from "the Ocean to the Gulf" and through all the trends that we have attempted to unravel.

The other problem concerns the relationship of the Arabic novel to Europe, the master, in both senses of the word, pedagogic and colonialist. This relationship first applies on the level of content. The dialogue of a floundering East with a West that is too sure of itself constitutes one of the themes and sometimes the central theme of novels that have become famous. It is natural, with regard to novels, that this ill-fated or violent confrontation should take the form of an amorous encounter between a practical or fickle or dominating European woman and an Arab emigrant, usually a student, convinced that he owns a share of the truth but naive and maladroit. Furthermore, the character of the latter and the general physiognomy of the work change in the course of the years. In *ʿUṣfūr min al-sharḳ* by Tawfīḳ al-Ḥakīm (Egypt, 1938) Muḥsin is an incorrigible idealist, an incompetent pursuer of working-girls whom the author mocks and admires at once, while the hero of *al-Ḥayy al-lātīnī* discovers nausea in Paris, but returns to the fold of ancestral custom in Beirut. The English girl married by *al-Duktūr Ibrāhīm* by Dhu 'l-Nūn Ayyūb (ʿIrāḳ, 1939) is only the first stage of an ambition which comes to light on his return to his country. If Ismāʿīl repudiates his God on leaving Mary's embrace, he finds Him again on the banks of the Nile (Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, *Ḳindīl Umm Hāshim*, Egypt, 1949). The experience of Adīb (Ṭāha Ḥusayn, *Adīb*, Egypt, 1935) is at the same time more profane and more desperate, but that described by the Sudanese al-Ṭayyīb Ṣāliḥ in *Mawsim al-hidjra ilā 'l-shamāl* (1966) is violent, and it disconcerts because hatred here is innocent.

Nobody is deceived; whether sex and suffering intervene or not, it is always the impact of a culture that is in question, an invading, besieging, disruptive culture. Two Moroccan novels examine in detail its traumatic aspects: *Dafannā 'l-māḍī* by Ghallāb (1966) and *al-Ghurba* by Laʿrwī (1971). Quite naturally, another level of connections with Europe appears. Has this literary technique been learnt, assimilated or, on the contrary, has there been constant re-adaptation to a model which, as time passes, remains indispensible? It is in reality impossible to answer this question. It may simply be stated that this common Arab heritage mentioned above adapts itself well to the most recent trends in universal fiction, that the surrealism of Zakariyyāʾ Ṭāmir (*Dimashḳ al-ḥarāʾiḳ*, Damascus, 1973) with its nightmare universe, takes up and carries to an obsessional and hardly bearable degree, the taboos and desires of a sick society. It is madness—superficially, for what the mastery resides in the cascade of images and the narrative twists!—that succeeds the meticulous and classic analysis of ʿAbd al-Salām al-ʿUdjaylī and the cruel realism of Fāris Zarzūr, two Syrian novelists who have achieved renown in the sixties. Echoes of such trends arise from elsewhere: from Egypt, of course, where established novelists like Yūsuf Idrīs and Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ have begun in the sixties and at the present day to turn towards the short story in preference to the novel, a wild and implacable type of short story, to which the younger writers are also drawn: the Arslāns, the Ṭūbiyās; but Algeria has not lagged behind with the stifling compositions of a writer such as Ṭahīr al-Waṭṭār; this is taken even further in Baḥrayn, where ʿAbd al-Ḳādir ʿAḳīl sets in motion with *al-Nazīf* a series of dream-like sequences that express his continuing anticipation of revolutionary liberation.

Finally, if such-and-such a name made famous by the European "new novel" suggests itself to the readership of one of these narratives, it should be recognised that the Arab intelligentsia is henceforth in sympathy with the evolution of ideas and tastes throughout the world, that purely internal lines of influence are clearly visible in Arabic fiction and that the contemporary proliferation of works, the

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multiplicity of devoted talents in all provinces of Arabism, are signs of the flourishing state of the *ḳiṣṣa*.

Bibliography: Arabic journals. The literary journals are very numerous, and some have only a short existence. Among the most important are *al-Ādāb*, *al-Adīb* (Beirut), *al-Madjalla*, *al-Ṭalīʿa* (Cairo), *al-Maʿrifa* (Damascus) and *al-Fikr* (Tunis). Those in European languages include *MIDEO*, *Orient*, *OM*, *Jnal. of Arabic Literature*, and *Bulletin d'études arabes of the IPEA* of Rome.

For the beginnings of the novel, the general histories of Arabic literature may be consulted [see ʿARABIYYA. B. (V)].

Anthologies give a very representative picture of contemporary novel writing, general introductions and valuable biographical details about the authors covered: *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, Paris 1964. I. R. and M. Makarius, *Le roman et la nouvelle*; Mahmoud Manzalaoui, ed., *Arabic writing today, the short story*, Cairo 1968.

Studies—most of these on the Arab short story and novel centre upon Egypt. In particular, note ʿAbd al-Muḥsin Ṭāhā Badr, *Taṭawwur al-riwāya al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadīṯa fī Miṣr* (*1870-1938*), Cairo 1963; R. Francis, *Aspects de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, Beirut 1963; Yaḥyā Ḥaḳḳī, *Faǧr al-ḳiṣṣa al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1962?; ʿAbbās Khiḍr, *al-Ḳiṣṣa al-ḳaṣīra fī Miṣr munḏu nashʾatihā ḥattā sanat 1939*, Cairo 1385/1966; H. Kilpatrick, *The modern Egyptian novel*, Oxford-London 1974; Fatma Moussa-Mahmoud, *The Arabic novel in Egypt* (*1914-1970*), Cairo 1973; Muḥammad Yūsuf Naǧm, *al-Ḳiṣṣa fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabi al-ḥadīth* (1870-1914), Beirut 1961; Hamdi Sakkut, *The Egyptian novel and its main trends* (*1913-1952*), Cairo 1971; P. J. Vatikiotis, *Egypt since the revolution* (ch. on cultural life by Louis Awad), London 1968; Ch. Vial, *Contribution à l'étude du roman et de la nouvelle en Egypte, des origines à 1960*, in *ROMM*, iv (1967); idem, *Le personnage de la femme dans le roman et la nouvelle en Egypte de 1914 à 1960*, in the press. (CH. VIAL)

3(a). In older Turkish literature.

As a generic term, *ḳiṣṣa* in Turkish texts was synonymous with story, tale (*ḥikāye*) and legend (*menḳabe*, *efsāne*). Fakhrī in 778/1367 calls his version of the romance of Farhād and Shīrīn [*q.v.*] a *ḳiṣṣa*; Meḥmed, writing in 800/1397, says that a copy which he found was old but the *ḳiṣṣa* (story) was new, and Sheykhī [*q.v.*], in the first half of the 9th/15th century, found the mere telling of a *ḳiṣṣa* (story) no longer sufficiently enjoyable (B. Flemming, ed., *Faḫrīs Ḫusrev u Šīrīn*, Wiesbaden 1974, vv. 2915-16 and p. 140 f.; S. Yüksel, ed., *Meḥmed. Işḳ-nâme*, Ankara 1965, v. 404; F. K. Timurtaş, *Şeyḫî'nin Husrev ü Şirin'i*, Istanbul 1963, v. 1565).

Narrative works in verse and prose dealing with epico-religious and heroic themes [see ḤIKĀYA, iii] were often called *ḳiṣṣa*, the term alternating with *destān*. This is true for the ʿAntar, Abū Muslim, Ṣaltuḳ and Ghāzī Dānishmend stories [see ḤAMĀSA, iii] or the tales around *Ḳırān-i Ḥabeshī* and Bahmān Shāh b. Fīrūz Shāh (see A. S. Levend, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi. I. Giriş*, Ankara 1972, 113, and ḲAHRAMĀN-NĀMA) and Djelāl Shāh and Djemāl Perī (see H. Sohrweide, *Türkische Handschriften*. Teil 3, Wiesbaden 1974, 276, no. 316); not a few tales still await examination.

The lives of holy men and great Ṣūfīs of Islam such as Ibrāhīm b. Adham [*q.v.*] were treated collectively in the genre called *taḏkira*, the most famous being the extensive Persian prose work *Taḏkirat al-awliyāʾ* by ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*]. An early Turkish example is the *Teḏkire-yi ewliyāʾ* adapted from the Arabic and presented to the prince of Aydın [*q.v.*], Muḥammad Beg, by an unknown author (MS. Istanbul, Veliyüddin 1643).

In a more restrictive sense, *ḳiṣṣa* designated stories of the Prophets before Muḥammad, whose own life history gave rise to the *sīyar* genre [*q.v.*], whereas events of the lives of members of his family inspired other books such as the *ghazawāt* of the caliph ʿAlī; the *maḳtal* works commemorated miracles and happenings around the martyrs of the house of the Prophet, particularly his grandson Ḥusayn [see ḤAMĀSA, iii and ḤIKĀYA, iii], especially famous being the *Ḥadīḳat al-suʿadāʾ* by Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*].

In the *ḳiṣṣas* some prophets were dealt with separately, such as Moses (*Ḳiṣṣa-yi Mūsā we Khiḍr*, see Levend, *op. cit.*, 126), and Solomon; such works being also known as *nāme* [see ḤIKĀYA, iii] the most voluminous of the *Süleymān-nāmes* being the compilation made by "Uzun" Firdewsī [*q.v.*]; Iskandar [*q.v.*] was also treated separately (see M. Götz, *Türkische Handschriften*. Teil 2, 161, no. 234 and ISKANDAR-NĀMA, iii).

Joseph or Yūsuf [*q.v.*] was a favourite hero of the histories of Prophets; his ascetico-mystical romance with Zulaykhā, based on the *Sūrat Yūsuf*, has been treated in many Turkish *maṯnawīs* and prose works. The oldest appears to be the *Ḳiṣṣa-yi Yūsuf* by a certain ʿAlī, a work of uncertain provenance supposedly composed in the Crimea in 630/1232 (see N. Pekolcay, *Islamî türk edebiyatı*. I. Istanbul 1967, 77 ff.; Levend, *op. cit.*, 92, 125).

In Anatolia, Sheyyād Ḥamza wrote a *maṯnawī* version (ed. D. Dilçin, İstanbul 1946); for Čaghatay, Mamlūk, Āḏharbāyḏjānī, and many Ottoman versions see the list compiled by Levend, *op. cit.*, 128-30; for 19th century Kazakh versions, see *Fundamenta*, ii, 744.

Collectively, the prophets have been dealt with in the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*], which made their appearance in Turkish literature in the 8th/14th century. In 710/1310 Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Rabghūzī, working for a Mongol *amīr*, composed his Eastern Turkish *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* on the basis of a Persian version (facsimile ed. K. Grønbech, Copenhagen 1948). Other Turkish authors consulted the Arabic *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* by al-Kisāʾī, the *ʿArāʾis al-maǧālis* by al-Thaʿlabī and others (see K. Erarslan, *Kisâ'înin Bed'i d Dünyâ ve Kışaşı l-Enbiyâ adlı eserinin İstanbul'daki terciimeleri*, in *TDED*, xviii (1970), 125-32; N. Hacıeminoğlu, in *TDED*, xi (1961) and xiii (1964), on an anonymous translation in the MS. Bursa, Ulu Cami 2474; and A. Ateş, in *TDED* viii (1958), 93 f., on the Yozgat MS. of the translation made by Iznīḳī (d. 833/1429-30).

In 987/1579 an Ottoman writer, Hindī Maḥmūd, composed a *Ḳiṣaṣ-i enbiyāʾ* (G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Traces of a lost autobiographical work by a courtier of Selīm II*, in *BSOAS*, xxii/3 [1960]). Later, more complex titles were used for the genre, such as *Mirʾāt el-ṣafāʾ fī aḥwāl el-enbiyāʾ* written by Kara Čelebizāde (d. 1068/1658).

A highly esteemed educational *Ḳiṣaṣ-i enbiyāʾ* written by the Ottoman statesman and historian Aḥmed Djewdet Pasha [*q.v.*] as late as the end of the 19th century, in no less than twelve volumes, is evidence for the tenacity of the genre.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the article, see the relevant articles in *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965; F.

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Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927; *İstanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları.i. Türkçe tarih yazmaları*, Istanbul 1943 ff.; J. R. Walsh, *The Turkish manuscripts in New College, Edinburgh*, in *Oriens* xii (1959), 171-89, esp. no. 1; F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961; F. Iz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nesir. I*, Istanbul 1964; idem, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım. I-II*, Istanbul 1966-7; B. Flemming, *Türkische Handschriften*. Teil 1, Wiesbaden 1968. The impetus which the *ḳiṣṣa, siyar*, and *maḳtal* genres gave to Turkish religious iconography can be seen in N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974, and the literature cited by them.

(B. Flemming)

3(b). More recent Turkish literaiure.

After the *Mukhayyelât* of ʿAlī ʿAzīz [*q.v.*] (1796), which form a transition between the old and the new, a series of translations, mainly from the French, followed some sixty years later, e.g. Fénélon's *Télémaque* as *Terdjeme-yi Telemak* (1862), Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* as *Maghdūrīn ḥikāyesi* (1862), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, as *Ḥikāye-yi Robenson* (from the Arabic, 1864), followed by Bernardin de Saint Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (1870), Voltaire's *Micromégas* (1871), Alexandre Dumas père's *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (1873), Lamartine's *Graziella* (1878), Abbé Prévost's *Manon Lescaut*, Octave Feuillet's *Le roman d'un jeune homme pauvre* (1880) and many others. Except for the *Télémaque*, which was translated in a most flowery and ornate style, in the best Ottoman *inshāʾ* tradition, most of the rest were rendered in a comparatively simple language, not far removed from spoken Turkish. This translation movement or activity coincided with the emergence of the literary *Tanẓīmāt* school, and the first generation of modernist writers provided the early examples of Turkish short stories and novels in the modern sense.

1. *The short story*

The pioneer of the short story is the popular author Aḥmed Midḥat [*q.v.*]. Although he did not belong to the literary school initiated by Shināsī [*q.v.*] and his associates, and was looked down upon by them as a conservative in outlook, as informal in style and as lacking in technique, and was consequently unfairly judged, he was avidly read by the general public and youth intellectuals alike and greatly influenced the succeeding generation of writers as witnessed by many of them (see Ḥusayn Raḥmī and Khālid Ḍiyāʾ). Aḥmed Midḥat published two collections of short stories: *Ḳiṣṣadan ḥiṣṣe* (1870) and *Leṭāʾif-i riwāyāt* (in 25 parts, 1870-95). His mostly romantic stories with an occasional touch of realism, some adapted from the French, became immensely popular and soon made the genre fashionable.

To this formative period belongs a collection of short stories in three volumes, the *Müsāmeret-nāme* ("The Book of soirées", 1872-5), inspired in structure, by Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and written by one Emīn Bülend, a civil servant about whom we know almost nothing. These are entertaining stories of uneven value, a mixture of traditional narrative and the new approach. Different from Aḥmed Midḥat's works, the *Müsameret-nāme*'s language and style vary in places from the ornate to the straightforward colloquial. A younger member of the *Tanẓīmāt* literary period, Sāmī Pasha-Zāde Sezāʾī [*q.v.*], is also reckoned among the pioneers of the modern Turkish short story. His modest output (two volumes, of which *Küčük sheyler* "Little things", 1308 Rūmi/1892), began the realist trend in the short story. He used a good technique and developed a tidier style and avoided ornate language. The great master of the Turkish short story is, however, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ of the *Therwet-i Fünün* [*q.v.*] literary school, who perfected the genre, of which he made a study in his work *Ḥikāye* (1307/1891). Khālid Ḍiyāʾ, who tends in his novels to concentrate on the life of Istanbul upper and upper-middle classes and to use a precious language, by contrast in his numerous short stories (collected in 20 volumes) describes mostly ordinary people of the middle and working classes, and uses a comparatively less ornate style. Among minor writers of the same school, the novelist Meḥmed Raʾūf and the critic and journalist Ḥuseyn Djāhid [*q.v.*] also wrote short stories of uneven value. Two prominent writers who remained outside the *Therwet-i Fünün* school, the novelist Ḥuseyn Raḥmī and the essayist Aḥmed Rāsim [*q.v.*] contributed realistic short stories which are vivid sketches of everyday life in Istanbul of the 1890-1920 period.

The restoration of the Constitution (July 1908) followed by the movements of Turkism [see Türkčülük], Populism (*Khalḳa doghru*) and the New Language (*Yeñi lisān*), sponsored by Ḍiyāʾ Gökalp [*q.v.*] and ʿÖmer Seyf ed-Dīn [*q.v.*], revolutionised the whole approach to narrative in Turkish literature. Most short story writers (and novelists) switched from the capital (Istanbul) to the provinces and made an attempt to introduce colloquial Turkish into literary language and avoided, on the whole, elaborate psychological analysis for straightforward realism.

The prominent woman novelist, Khālide Edīb [*q.v.*], wrote realistic short stories mostly based on her own experiences or observations. ʿÖmer Seyf el-Dīn (1884-1920), who left ten volumes of short stories (posthumously collected in book form), led the reaction against the precious language of the *Therwet-i Fünun* school and wrote in spoken Turkish stories on the reminiscences of his childhood or on episodes of Turkish history. A hasty writer, his easy, even facile language is not always polished. But his deliberately direct style, avoiding the "literary", established a new tradition in Turkish narrative. The outstanding essayist and political satirist Refīḳ Khālid Ḳaray [*q.v.*], wrote his famous *Memleket ḥikāyeleri* ("Stories from the provinces", 1919), during his five years' exile in Anatolia. These stories on the types and customs of the villagers and provincial townspeople are told with a rare virtuosity of natural style and powerful realism unprecedented in modern Turkish literature.

Most novelists of the period (e.g. Y. K. Ḳara-ʿOthmānoghlu, R. N. Güntekin, Peyāmī Ṣafā, etc.) also wrote short stories. But others excelled in the *genre*; Memdūḥ Shewket Esendal [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a politician and diplomat, wrote, at irregular intervals, stories which are different in subject matter, plot and style from the "classical" Maupassant-type stories of his contemporaries. F. Djelāl el-Dīn, a psychiatrist by profession, left remarkable sketches and short stories, written in a very personal style, about eccentric types and harmless maniacs of Istanbul, against an authentic "local" setting of the Ḥüseyn Raḥmī tradition. They are character studies or sketches of the moods of ordinary people, with emphasis on women, written in spoken Turkish, without any elaboration or embellishment and inbued with human warmth and optimism. The

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novelist Halikarnas Balıkçısı [*q.v.* in Suppl.] who belongs to the same generation, but who published his work in the Republican period, after the age of fifty, wrote fascinating stories on the life and struggles of the sea folk of the Aegean.

The 1930s inaugurated a new era in contemporary Turkish literature, and witnessed the emergence of two prominent but very different story writers: Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAlī (also a novelist [*q.v.*]), who pioneered social realism, writing powerful stories on the true life experience and hardship of the village and small town communities of Anatolia. Saʿīd Fāʾiḳ (1906-54), perhaps the greatest name in the Turkish short story, described, in his compelling stories and sketches, written in a forceful and romantic style, the life and milieu of the simple people, workers, fishermen, vagabonds, etc. of Istanbul, based mostly on his personal experiences, with a deeply human touch. Aḥmed Ḥamdī Tanpınar [*q.v.*], poet, critic and novelist, and adept of the neo-classicist Yaḥyā Kemāl [*q.v.*], wrote nostalgic, evocative short stories where unresolvable psychological issues are the *leitmotiv*. The playwright and essayist Ḫaldūn Taner (b. 1915) writes stories flavoured with humour and social criticism. Ilḫān Tarus (1907-67), a civil servant, described in his stories the intricacies of bureaucracy in the provinces.

In the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, most novelists (e.g. Kemal Tahir, Kemal Bilbaşar, Orhan Kemal, Samim Kocagöz, Yaşar Kemal, etc.) also wrote short stories in which concentration is on the plight of the peasantry, provincial townfolk and suburban dwellers (see below). This is particularly true of writers of peasant origin (e.g. Fakir Baykurt, Talip Apaydın, etc.). Aziz Nesin (b. 1915) the great humorous writer of unsurpassed popularity, has been writing innumerable stories and sketches where he uses his art to fight social evils and bigotry by ridicule. Oktay Akbal (born 1923) writes individualistic and romantic stories, mostly based on personal reminiscences, full of nostalgia for things past. Necati Cumalı (b. 1921), poet, playwright and novelist, differs from most of his contemporaries in not concentrating on any one given theme, but writing stories on a variety of subjects in a warm and flowing style.

Contemporary short story writers dwell as a rule on the social, political, economic and cultural problems of Turkey, a society in rapid transformation, linking them to the personal problems of the individual. From several dozen names (some of them also novelists), the following stand out: Mehmed Seyda (b. 1919), the poet S. K. Aksal (b. 1920), Yusuf Atılgan (b. 1921), Wüs²at O. Bener (b. 1922), Muzaffer Buyrukcu (b. 1928), Bilge Karasu (b. 1930), Tahsin Yücel (b. 1933) and Bekir Yıldız (b. 1933). Among women writers one notes Nezihe Meriç (b. 1925), Adalet Ağaoğlu (b. 1929), Leyla Erbil (b. 1931), Füruzan (b. 1935) and Sevgi Soysal (1936-76) who dwell on the problems of women of all classes in present day Turkey.

2. *The novel.*

The outstanding lexicographer and scholar Shems el-Dīn Sāmī [*q.v.*] wrote the first Turkish novel in the modern sense: *Taʿashshuḳ-i Ṭalʿat we Fitnat* (1872). This is a love story used as a background to criticise the traditional marriage custom, marriage of partners unknown to each other. Nāmiḳ Kemāl [*q.v.*], the great poet and patriot of the *Tanẓīmāt* school, experimented with a romantic (*Intibāh*, 1876) and a historic (*Djezmī*, 1880) novel. One of his younger colleagues, Sāmī Pasha-Zāde Sezāʾī (1860-1936), wrote an anti-slavery novel (*Sergüzeşht*, 1889), while another, Reḏjāʾi-Zāde Ekrem [*q.v.*] produced a social-satirical novel (*Araba sevdāsī*, "Devotees of the hansom cab", 1889, published 1896), which is a forerunner of later novels where the "westernising snob", the blind imitator of European manners and customs, is ridiculed (see below); and Nābī-Zāde Nāẓım (1862-93) wrote examples of realist novels (*Kara Bibik*, a long short story, 1890, and *Zehrā*, 1895).

Outside this literary school of the "élite", the most important representative of the genre was the prolific popular writer, publicist and journalist Aḥmed Midḥat who flooded the post-1870s period with several dozen novels on subjects of all types: adventure, history, social satire, science fiction, realist and naturalist narrative, etc. He owes a great deal of his narrative technique, his dialogue and his handling of episodes to the traditions of Turkish popular art and literature (i.e. *Karagöz*, the *meddāḥ*, the *ṭulūʿāt* technique in the *Orta oyunu* and folk tales of various kinds), and also to the French novels of adventure. Many of his novels, particularly *Ḥasan Mellāḥ* (1875), *Hüseyn Fellāḥ* (1875), *Süleymān Muṣlī* (1876), *Henüz on yedi yaşında* (1882), *Dürdāne Ḥānım* (1882), were enormously popular and read avidly by generations of readers of all classes until the 1910s. His novel *Eflāṭūn Bey ile Rāḳım Efendi* (1896), pioneered a series of novels which satirise the *alla franca* way of life of Istanbul snobs.

In the following period of the *Therwet-i Fünun* school, the great representative of the novel is Ḫālid Ḍiyāʾ. Although as a boy writer, like most of his contemporaries, he greatly admired Aḥmed Midḥat, there is hardly any trace of the old Turkish popular narrative technique or the influence of the French novels of adventure and entertainment, even in his early novels of the formative period, which were romantic love stories with some elements of realism. He completely broke with traditional methods of story-telling and developed a well-disciplined narrative technique where there is no room for irrelevant digresssion or asides to the reader. Ḫālid Ḍiyāʾ perfected this technique in his later novels (e.g. *Māʾi ve siyāh*, "Blue and black", 1897, and *ʿAşḳ-i memnūʿ* "Forbidden love", 1900), inspired mainly by the method and style of the French realists. His works remained the best examples of realism in Turkish literature until the mid-1930s. The setting and characters are often chosen from the upper and upper-middle classes of Istanbul, the type of people with whom he came into direct contact during the strict Ḥamīdian régime. He chose, in his novels, to write, like most of his colleagues of the movement, in an extremely precious and artificial language, thus deviating from the trend of the first generation of modernists (the *Tanẓīmāt* writers) who had made an attempt to create a style which could be understood by a larger audience.

As Ḫālid Ḍiyāʾ dominated the scene in prose, minor writers were hardly noticed. One of them, Meḥmed Raʾûf (1875-1935), a naval officer, wrote a (probably autobiographical) novel, a poignant story of desperate love: *Eylül* ("September", 1900), which is the only work still remembered of his dozen novels.

Ḥüseyn Raḥmī, who did not join any particular literary group, began his career during the time of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* movement, and remained one of the most popular novelists from 1890s until the late 1920s. At the beginning, he followed in the steps of his master Aḥmed Midḥat, but he gradually pol-

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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ished the elements taken from Turkish popular arts and adopted them to his own purpose, blending them successfully with the technique of the French realists and naturalists, particularly of Maupassant and Zola. With his accurate observations of the life and types of Istanbul lower and lower-middle class families in the period approximately 1890-1920, his penetrating analysis of the burning social problems of his time and his acute sense of humour and satire, Ḥüseyn Raḥmī is perhaps the most original of all Turkish novelists. Like his prominent contemporary the essayist Aḥmed Rāsim [*q.v.*], his work is of great documentary value. He studied meticulously the everyday life of families and individuals and their development within disintegrating Ottoman society and all the social problems arising from the impact of Western ideas and customs. His best novel, *Shïpsevdi*, "Always in love" (written and partly serialised in 1901, published in book form 1912) is a further development of the theme already treated by his predecessor and himself: a character study of the "Westernising snob".

During this period, two works were the pioneers of the so-called "village novel" (*köy romanï*) which was to develop during the Republican period: Nabī-Zāde Nāẓïm's long short story *Ḳara Bibik*, already mentioned, and Ebūbekir Ḥāzïm Tepeyran's (1864-1947) *Küčük Pasha* (1910), which describes life in a central Anatolian village during the last decade of the 19th century.

During the post-1908 era, with the freedom of the press restored and in the midst of warring ideologies (Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism and Turkism), we see that most writers of the young generation gather around a new trend called "National literature" (*Millī edebiyyāt*), led by the sociologist and guiding spirit of the intellectuals of the epoch, Ḍiyā³ Gökalp and his associates (particularly ʿÖmer Seyf el-Dïn, see above). In this period, the prominent woman writer Khālide Edïb's early novels have considerable autobiographical elements, and with their passionate, independent, strongwilled heroines, outline the author's ideal of the emancipated Turkish woman. Under the impact of the Pan-Turkish-movement, she wrote *Yeñi Tūrān*, 1912, and her contemporary colleague, a minor woman writer Müfïde Ferïd (Tek, 1892-1971) followed her example with a similar novel *Aydemir*, 1918). However, Khālide Edïb later rejected this ideology and espoused the new nationalism of the resistance movement in Anatolia which she joined in April 1920. She wrote novels on the national struggle and life in Anatolia, based on personal experiences or observations (e.g. *Āteshden gömlek*, "Shirt of fire", 1922; *Vuruñ ḳaḥbeye* "Strike the whore", 1923). During her long exile abroad (1925-39) and after her return to Turkey, she continued to write, mainly period novels. Already by 1930s the approach to the novel was beginning to change (see below). Khālide Edïb's prominent contemporary, Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī Ḳara-ʿOthmānoghlu (1889-1974 [*q.v.*]) the most powerful novelist of his generation, excelled in studies of periods and institutions. In a series of novels he described the disintegration of a family caught between the old and the new towards the end of the Empire (*Kïrāllïḳ ḳonaḳ*, "Mansion to let", 1920); life in a convent of the decaying Bektāshī order of dervishes (*Nūr Baba*); party strife in the post-1908 period (*Hüküm gedjesi*, "The night of the judgment", 1927); life in occupied Istanbul in the early 1920s (*Ṣodom ve Gomōre*, 1928); a poignant description of the gap between an educated man and the peasants (*Yaban*, "The stranger", 1932), a pioneer "village novel"; the life of a young Turk exile in Paris (*Bir sürgün*, "An exile", 1937), etc. He also experimented with a *roman-fleuve*, covering the second and the third decade of the Republican era (*Panorama*, 2 vols. 1953-4).

The humorist and essayist Refïḳ Khālid Ḳaray is the author of some twenty novels, mostly of mediocre literary value, except for the first, *Istanbuluñ ič yüzü* (1920, Roman script edition as *Istanbul³un bir yüzü*, 1939). This is written in the form of a diary and is a series of masterly sketches of Istanbul "society" between 1900 and 1920, in which the last vestiges of the old régime, the influential magnates of the all-powerful Committee of the Union and Progress and the degenerate *nouveaux-riches* of the war years are depicted with brilliant, merciless sarcasm. Peyāmī Ṣafā (1899-1961), a self-taught writer, produced in the early 1920s novels which described various characters of the changing Turkish society, emphasising the clash between the traditional and the new (e.g. *Sözde ḳïzlar*, 1922, *Maḥsher*, 1924, *Fatih-Harbiye*, 1931); later he studied cases of psychological stress and crisis and also supernatural phenomena. His partly autobiographical *9uncu hariciye koğuşu* ("External ward No. 9", 1930) is one of the best examples of the psychological novel in Turkish literature.

The best-seller of the early 1920s was *Čalïḳushu* (1922, Eng. tr. *The autobiography of a Turkish girl*, by Sir Windham Deeds, 1950) by Reshād Nūrī Güntekin [*q.v.*], who published several similar novels (e.g. *Akṣham güneshi*, 1926, Eng. tr. *Afternoon sun*, by Deeds, 1951). These were sentimental romances mixed with realistic observations of Anatolian life. With the publication of *Yeshil gedje* ("Green night", 1928), where the influence of religious fanaticism in Anatolia is studied, Reshād Nūrī changed his manner and wrote a series of novels dealing with social change brought about by the reforms of the 1920s, (e.g. *Yaprak dökümü*, 1930). Güntekin perfected the literary language based on spoken Turkish initiated by ʿOmer Seyf el-Dïn and was recognised as one of the masters of modern Turkish prose until the middle of the 1930s, when a profound transformation of the language, style and literary taste began to take place.

The early generations of novelists of the Republican era inaugurated a new approach to the novel which began in the 1930s, and gathering momentum in the 1940s, matured in the 1950s and 1960s. For the majority of contemporary writers, the novel is only a vehicle to convey ideas, to prove a point and to discuss the burning problems of modern Turkey. Except for sporadic cases, for nearly forty years novelists have been concentrating mainly on the following themes:

(1) The background and various episodes of the War of Liberation; (2) The plight of the villagers and provincial townspeople; (3) The struggle of the peasants against exploiting land-owners and corrupt bureaucracy; (4) Unemployment in the villages, and peasant migration to labour areas (cotton fields, etc.); (5) The peasant migrations to the cities in search of work and its consequences; (6) Peasants turned brigands as a result of gross injustice; (7) The problems of the peasant populations of the shanty-towns (*gecekondu*) in city suburbs; (8) The problems of illiteracy and educating children (particularly girls) in villages; (9) The influence of religious exploitation on the masses in villages and towns; (10) The plight of peasant migrant workers in Europe,

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particularly Germany; (11) Problems arising from long-sojourn of Turkish worker-families in Europe; (12) The exploitation of the defenceless citizens by the *nouveaux-riches* business classes in the cities; (13) The ravages of partisan politics in villages and provincial towns; (14) The problems of women in general and working women in particular; etc.

In short, all the problems of a rapidly developing and industrialising, once mainly rural, society where a population explosion and a universal yearning for better living defy the dexterity of all government. The days of the "art for art's sake" principle of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* days are left far behind: the contemporary Turkish novelist has no time or leisure for telling stories of personal woes.

Leading names of the modern period are: the pioneer Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAlī (1907-48), already mentioned) whose novel *Kuyucaklı Yusuf* ("Yusuf from Kuyucak", 1937) is a masterly description of life in a small western Anatolian provincial town at the beginning of the century; Orhan Kemal (1914-70), who wrote with a warm and deeply human style the epic of the Turkish "little man"; and Kemal Tahir (1910-73 [*q.v.*]), who spent long years in Anatolian prisons where he collected his material on a series of novels on the life and problems of the central Anatolian peasantry and small town communities. He also wrote several period novels on episodes of early and modern Turkish history. Further, Samim Kocagöz (b. 1916) wrote on the peasant-landowner relationship in the Aegean area and also related episodes of the Anatolian resistance movement; Yaşar Kemal (b. 1922) excels in describing, with an epic style inspired by Turkish folk tales, the life and struggles of the peasantry in the Adana area; and Fakir Baykurt (b. 1929), of peasant origin himself, describes the life and problems of southern Anatolian villages, etc. (The majority of short story writers cited above are also known as novelists, and most of them should be counted in this category.)

Outside this category, there are novelists who belong to previous generations but who published their work in the 1930s or later: The short story writer Memdûḥ Shewket Esendal (1883-1952), published a remarkable novel *Ayaşlı ve kiracıları* ("The man from Ayaş and his tenants", 1934), a powerful study of a group of disparate types during the early years of the new capital, Ankara. Midḥat Djemāl Kuntay (1885-1951), a minor epic poet and biographer, wrote a single novel, *Üç Istanbul* ("Three Istanbuls", 1938). Planned as a period novel, it is rather a series of loosely-connected sketches on the life and character of Ottoman society and government in Istanbul during the period of decay and disintegration of the Empire (1890-1920). It is a fascinating panorama of events and of personalities, Ottoman, Levantine and foreign, told with a personal, elaborate and, in places, precious style. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Shināsī Ḥişār (1883-1963 [*q.v.*]), who published some poems and critical essays in the 1920s, produced his first novel in 1941 at the age of fifty eight, *Fahim Bey ve biz* ("Fahim Bey and our family"), a powerful character study of an Istanbul type at the turn of the century, an inefficient civil servant turned businessman. After the great success of this novel, Ḥişār wrote several others, all in an anachronistic style which nostalgically evoke the Istanbul of 1900. Lastly, the unusual writer Halikarnas Balıkçısı the famous exile of Bodrum (Halicarnassus), must be mentioned, who produced his first novel at the age of sixty (*Aganta, Burina, Burinata*, 1946) and devoted his entire work to the epic of the sea and seamen of the Aegean.

Bibliography: Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede roman*, Istanbul 1936; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu asır türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1956; Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten sonra hikâye ve roman*, i, 1959, ii and iii 1965; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikâye ve roman*², 1970-1; Fethi Naci, *On türk romanı*, Istanbul 1971; Hilmi Yavuz, *Roman kavramı ve türk romanı*; *Türk Dili*, special numbers on the novel and short stories; *Roman özel sayısı I, Roman özel sayısı II, Türk öykücülüğü özel sayısı, Türk romanında kurtuluş savaşı özel sayısı*, Ankara, 1962-77. (Fahir Iz)

4. In Persian literature.

In Persian the term *ḳiṣṣa* (together with its approximate synonyms *ḥikāyat, afsāna, dāstān*) covers a number of different literary forms, and while this article must be concerned primarily with the modern application, it is also true that the more traditional manifestations have had some influence on recent developments. One of the earliest uses of the term seems to have been in the sense of "biography". Examples of this range from the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, the title given to a number of works, of which one of the earliest and most popular is that by Mawlānā Muḥammad Djuwayrī, said to have been written in 352/963, containing biographies of the prophets from Adam to Muḥammad, to, at the other extreme, the *ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ* written by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Tunakābunī in 1290/1873 and consisting of accounts of leading Shīʿī divines, to which frequent reference is made in E. G. Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, iv, 354-449 *passim*. A condensation of this work was published in 1941 by Muḥammad ʿAlī Djamālzāda under the title *Ḳiṣṣa-yi ḳiṣṣa-hā*.

A second group includes pseudo-biographical works of a largely fictional nature. A classic example of this *genre* is the *ḳiṣṣa-yi Ḥamza* or *Ḥamzanāma*, the hero of which was a contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad and the story of whose exploits is said to have been commissioned by a namesake who led a rebellion in Sīstān at the end of the 2nd/8th century. The story is extant in a number of versions, some parts of which, judging from their style, may well go back to the 3rd/9th century. Another example in a slightly different class is the *Bakhtiyār-nāma*, the account of the deeds of a putative descendant of the legendary hero Rustam, said to have been a contemporary of the Sāsānid monarch Khusraw Parwīz; the earliest surviving version of this is the *Rāḥat al-arwāḥ*, composed (in prose) by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Daḳāyiḳī Marwazī in the 6th/12th century.

From this phase we move by a natural progression to the traditional romance with few or no historical or religious overtones. Some of these are by known authors—ranging from the famous *mathnawis* of classical poets like Niẓāmī, Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī and Djāmī, retelling the stories of Laylā and Madjnūn, Khusraw and Shīrīn, Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, and so on—to the works of lesser or otherwise unknown writers, like Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī's *Wīs u Rāmīn*, ʿAyyūḳī's *Warḳa wa Gulshāh*, or the prose version of *Samak-i ʿAyyār* by Farāmarz b. Khudādād, all these dating from the 5th/11th century. Many such romances have been handed down orally in more or less corrupted versions, until they finally achieved permanence in manuscript or, most recently, in "chapbook" form. Characteristic examples are the stories of Ḥusayn-i Kurd, Bahrām and Gulandām, Ḥātim-i Ṭāʾī, Shīrūya, Falaknāz and Khurshīdāfarīn,

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Malik Djamshīd, Naḏjmā-yi Shīrāzī and Nūsh-āfarīn. Many of these must be of considerable antiquity, while others (for instance, the story of Amīr Arslān, known to have been composed, though doubtless on a foundation of traditional material, by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's storyteller, Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Naḳīb al-Mamālik, during the second half of the 13th/19th century) are comparatively recent. Such stories, often qualified by such epithets as *shīrīn*, *shīrīn-ʿibārat*, are part of the stock-in-trade of the *naḳḳāl* or *ḳiṣṣa-gū*, both professional and amateur, who provide entertainment alike for the clients of coffee-houses, the children of private households, and the peasants of rural villages. In a similar tradition are the humorous anecdotes of Mullā Naṣr al-Dīn and Mullā Buhlūl-i ʿĀḳil, whose Iranian versions have not yet been given the attention they have received, for instance, in the Turkish folk-literature area. This vast reservoir of oral narrative, which in addition to the long romances provides innumerable examples of every category of folk-tale —animal tales, fairy stories, tales of magic, moral and satirical anecdotes—has been sadly neglected in the past (in spite of early collections like *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Marzbān-nāma*, *Sindbād-nāma*, *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* and *Riyāḍ al-ḥikāyāt*), and it is only within the present century that serious attempts have been made by scholars and anthropologists, both privately and officially-sponsored, to collect and preserve this treasury of popular literature.

This neglect may account for the fact that, when the art of story-telling and novel-writing was revived on the literary level during the early years of the present century, models were sought not in Iran's own literary tradition but rather from the flourishing ateliers of Western Europe. Indeed, it is significant that the Persian language does not yet have a word for "novel", but still uses the French *roman* (*rumān*). In making this judgment, we are consciously leaving out of account such works as *Ruʾyā-yi ṣādiḳa* (1900), *Masālik al-muḥsinīn* (1905), and *Siyāḥat-nāma-yi Ibrāhīm Bayg* (1903-9), since the story element in these is subordinate, the primary purpose of the semi-anonymous authors being to expose social and political abuses in pre-Revolution Iran through the medium of a fictionalised travelogue. The authors of the first novels proper may indeed have had similar motives in setting their tales in remote historical periods, but the European influence is unmistakeable, not only in the clear debt owed to the historical novels of such writers as Alexandre Dumas (several of which had been translated into Persian), but even in the use of European forms of Persian names from the Achaemenid and Sāsānid periods. Among the more noteworthy of these novels are the trilogy by Muḥammad Bāḳir Khusrawī, *Shams u Ṭughrā*, *Mārī-yi Winīsī* and *Ṭughrul u Humāy*, published in 1909-10, three independent novels whose common link is their single hero and their setting in the period of the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century; another trilogy by Shaykh Mūsā Nathrī, *ʿIshḳ u salṭanat*, *Sitāra-yi Līdī* and *Sarguḏhasht-i Shāhzāda Khānum-i Bābulī*, published in 1919, 1924-5 and 1931-2 respectively, and set in the reign of Cyrus the Great; *Dāstān-i Bāstān*, by Ḥasan Badīʿ, the Achaemenid background of which is a mixture of elements drawn indiscriminately from the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī and the works of Herodotus; and a long series of works by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ṣanʿatī-zāda Kirmānī, beginning with *Dāmgustarān*, a two-volume novel published in 1921 and 1926 and set in the period of the rebellion of Mazdak and the fall of the Sāsānid dynasty, and continuing with stories from such widely separated historical periods as the reign of Shāpūr the Great (*Dāstān-i Mānī-yi naḳḳāsh*, 1927), the rise of the Sāsānid dynasty (*Salaḥshūr*, 1933), the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty by the ʿAbbāsids (*Siyāḥ-pūshān*, 1944), the reign of Nādir Shāh (*Nādir, fātiḥ-i Dihlī*, 1956), and even the science-fiction future (*Rustam dar ḳarn-i bīst u duwwum*, 1935). Most of these works are noteworthy as pioneering efforts rather than through intrinsic literary value. Their language is literary, and even in the dialogues shows little attempt to adjust style to speaker, let alone to use colloquialisms; they are discursive and rambling, and historically full of inaccuracies and anachronisms. Their inspiration comes from the romantic historical novel of 19th century Europe rather from any native source. If they do reflect any particular society, it is rather that of the writers themselves, and in this respect at least the novels throw interesting light on contemporary Iran.

However, the popular success of these early works encouraged many other writers to follow their example, and a long list of such books, of varying merit, have appeared and continue to appear up to the present day. A fairly comprehensive list will be found in Kamshad's *Modern Persian prose literature*, 52-3, and it is sufficient here to mention a few of the outstanding names. The list includes a number of recognised scholars—Saʿīd Nafīsī, Yaḥyā Ḳarīb, Riḍā-zāda Shafaḳ, Dhabīḥ Bihrūz—whose writing is marked by a greater attention to accurate detail than some of their rivals, like ʿAlī Djalālī, Raḥīmzāda Ṣafawī, Ḥusayn Masrūr, Ḥaydar ʿAlī Kamālī, Djawād Fāḍil, Shīrāzpūr Partaw, and others whose novels show almost a tendency to revert to the style of the popular romances. Few writers have ventured into the field of contemporary history. A notable exception is Ḥusayn Ruknzāda Ādamiyyat's *Dalīrān-i Tangistānī*, first published in serial form in 1931 and recounting an episode in the southern tribal disturbances during the ffirst World War; though it appeared a year or two later in book form, it was subsequently suppressed and only reappeared after the abdication of Riḍā Shāh.

However, although contemporary history was too dangerous a subject for most writers, this did not apply to general social criticism, which indeed was quite consonant with the reforming mood of the years of Riḍā Shāh's reign. The theme that attracted most attention, partly perhaps because of the opportunities it offered to less talented and scrupulous writers to exploit sensationalism, was that of the position of women in traditional Iranian society. One of the first novels to take up this subject was Mushfiḳ Kāẓimī's *Ṭihrān-i maḵhūf* (1922), a somewhat rambling work woven round the subject of true love thwarted by family greed and social custom. Like a number of his successors, Kāẓimī devotes a good deal of space to the discussion and description of prostitution. ʿAbbās Khalīlī, Rabīʿ Anṣārī and Djahāngīr Djalīlī are other writers of this period who base their criticism of social conditions and the frustrations of youth on the oppression and in particular prostitution of women. The chief merit of these works is the light they throw on Iranian society, particularly of the middle class, under the impact of modernisation and western influences. Otherwise their style is rambling and discursive, with frequent digressions into moralising, while the language is still literary and ponderous.

A few writers of this category deserve fuller

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mention. Muḥammad Masʿūd (Dihātī), who was assassinated in 1947 in consequence of his editorship of an outspoken and often slanderous newspaper, *Mard-i imrūz*, wrote a trilogy in 1932-4—*Tafrīḥāt-i shab*, *Dar talāsh-i maʿāsh* and *Ashraf-i makhlūḳāt*—in which he draws on his own experience of lower middle class life in the provinces and Tehran. These novels were variously praised for their frankness and condemned for their pessimism and ribaldry. A later unfinished trilogy—*Gulhāʾī ki dar djahannam mīrūyad* (1942) and *Bahār-i ʿumr* (1946)—is in the same vein, but shows a greater degree of maturity and objectivity. ʿAlī Dashtī is also well-known as a journalist and politician, and in addition has achieved distinction as an essayist and literary historian and critic. He earns mention here, however, for his three novels *Fitna* (1943), *Djādū* (1951) and *Hindū* (1955). Like the others, these take the position of women in society as their central theme, but here it is the women of the upper classes that are under the microscope, and Dashtī's work has been criticised for its concentration on a rather narrow and repetitive stratum of Iranian life. His language, while no better suited to his subject than the others, is enjoyable for his skill in the handling of words and for his admittedly sometimes rather forced employment of Arabic and European terms. Muḥammad Ḥidjāzī is noted for a series of novels—*Humā* (1927), *Parīčihr* (1929), *Zībā* (1936-48), *Parwāna* (1952) and *Sirishk* (1953)—which also, as the names of the first four imply, have a woman as the central character. Ḥidjāzī's view of middle-class society, however, is less satirical and caustic than those portrayed by Dashtī and Dihātī, and sentimental philosophising expressed in high-flown language plays a greater part. Ḥidjāzī may also be regarded as one of the pioneers of the art of the short story, which during and since his time has tended in Iran to overshadow the full-length novel, perhaps because of its conciseness and discouragement of diffuseness and prolixity. Ḥidjāzī's many short stories are buried in some half-dozen collections of essays and sketches, notably *Āyina*, *Andīsha*, *Nasīm*, published at intervals over the period 1932-60. Other novelists who deserve mention include Mahdī Ḥamīdī, for his three-part novel *ʿIshḳ-i dar-bi-dar* (completed in 1940), though he is better known as a poet; Fakhr al-Dīn Shādmān for his *Tārīkī wa rawshnāʾī* (1950); and ʿAlī Muḥammad Afghānī for his two encyclopaedic novels *Shawhar-i Āhū Khānum* (1961) and *Shādkāmān-i darra-yi Ḳara-sū* (1966), the first of these being hailed at the time as a major breakthrough for the Iranian novel, though apart from its length it cannot be regarded as more than a worthy continuation of the tradition set by its predecessors mentioned above.

The true innovators are rather to be found in the field of the short story, and here the first name to be mentioned is that of Muḥammad ʿAlī Djamālzāda, whose first collection appeared in 1921 under the title *Yakī būd wa yakī nabūd*. The title itself is indicative of a new approach to the art of story-writing, for it is the conventional phrase used to open the traditional folk-tale ("Once upon a time"). In fact Djamālzāda's stories do not owe as much to folk-literature as this might suggest, though at least one of the six in this collection takes its basic plot from a well-known folk-tale (*Dāstī-yi Khāla Khirsa*). His contribution to the development of Persian prose lay rather in his insistence on the importance of using language that the ordinary people can understand, and although he does not go quite so far as to employ colloquial and dialect forms, except occasionally, his writings are nevertheless a rich mine of idiomatic and proverbial expressions. Indeed he has been criticised for using this stock rather in the manner of a card-index, instead of attempting to reproduce the tones and rhythms of common speech. Djamālzāda, like most writers of his time, indulges in social criticism; but the effectiveness of this is largely discounted by the author's long residence abroad and his consequent ignorance of present-day conditions. After his first volume of stories, Djamālzāda published nothing more for twenty years; but then there followed four more volumes of short stories, *ʿAmū Ḥusayn ʿAlī* (1942, extensively revised as *Shāhkār*, 1967), *Talkh u Shīrīn* (1955), *Ghayr az Khudā hīčkas nabūd* (1961), and *Āsmān u Rīsmān* (1964), and six novels, *Dār al-madjānīn* (1942), *Ṣaḥrā-yi mahshar* (1944), *Ḳultashan-i dīwān* (1945), *Rāh-i-āb-nāma* (1947), *Maʿṣūma-yi Shīrāzī* (1953), and *Sar u tah-i yak karbās* (1955). Djamālzāda's literary life of more than forty years has assured him a high place in Iranian literary history, even though the momentum of his original incursion into the field was not maintained in his subsequent writings.

The credit for changing the direction of Persian prose writing must go rather to a somewhat younger man whose literary career lasted only half as long, as well as to others who associated with him or followed his example. Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat's [*q.v.*] first published work dates from 1923, when he was only twenty, but his contribution to story-telling began in 1930 when, shortly after his return from studying in Paris, he published *Zinda bi-gūr*, a collection of eight short stories. The next four years marked the first fruitful period of creative writing; during this time he was the leader of a group of friends known to themselves and others as the *Rabʿa*, the "Group of Four", who included in addition to Hidāyat himself Masʿūd Farzād, with whom in 1934 he collaborated on a volume of satirical sketches (*Wagh wagh sāhāb*), Mudjtabā Mīnuwī, with whom he wrote an historical drama in three acts (*Māzyār*, 1933), and Buzurg ʿAlawī, the only other member of the Four to achieve distinction as a writer of fiction (the other two had noteworthy careers as scholars). From Hidāyat's pen came two more volumes of short stories, *Sih ḳaṭra khūn* (1932), *Sāya-yi rawshan* (1933), and a short novel, *ʿAlawiyya Khānum* (1933), as well as a satirical play, *Afsāna-yi Āfarīnash* (written in 1930 but not published until 1946), books and articles on literary topics, folklore and magic, and translations from French. The range of this output shows the lines along which Hidāyat was developing. Like Djamālzāda, he wanted to write in the language of the people; but he achieved this not by having at his elbow a stock of idiomatic expressions, but through an ear well-attuned to the speech of his contemporaries, particularly those of the lower social classes. Moreover, he did not confine himself to any one milieu or class, but wrote with equal insight of all, though his sympathies were always with the underdog. This period in his writing culminated in an astonishing work, *Būf-i kūr* (not published until 1937, and then only in a privately duplicated edition in India—full publication had to wait until 1941). So much has been written about this essay in surrealism that it would be futile to attempt to add anything here, and it is sufficient to say that this one work has established Hidāyat as a writer of international calibre.

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After the change of régime in 1941, Hidāyat began

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to write fiction again (the intervening six years had seen only a handful of literary articles and some translations from Pahlavi), and by 1947 he had published two more collections of short stories (*Sag-i wilgard*, 1943, and *Wīlangārī*, 1944), a novel (*Ḥādjdjī Āḳā*, 1945), and two long stories (*Āb-i zindagī*, 1944, and *Fardā*, 1946), as well as a quantity of articles and translations. The work of this period shows a greater awareness of political questions and even for a time a degree of optimism quite out of character with the prevailing trend of his writing. However, this mood was not to last. In 1947 he wound up his fiction-writing with a searing and in places scurrilous satire on Iranian society, cast in the form of a mock history of the Pearl Cannon that used to stand in the centre of Tehran and served as a point of pilgrimage and petition for the uneducated women of the city (characteristically, the manuscripts of this work, which has never been published, carry the "spoonerised" "byline" Hādī Ṣidāḳat). Also possibly from this period, though probably earlier, is another unpublished and undated work, *al-Biʿṯat al-islāmiyya ilā 'l-bilād al-afrandjiyya*, a satirical account of a fictional Muslim mission to Europe, in which he takes the opportunity to lampoon typical figures in the religious and political establishment. Four years later Hidāyat died in Paris by his own hand.

His close friend and colleague, Buzurg ʿAlawī, though sharing many of his aims and ideals, differed from him in a number of respects. He took less interest in literature and folklore, and was more deeply influenced by Freudian psycho-analysis and Marxist political theory. This latter enthusiasm led to his imprisonment in 1937 and to prominence in the newly formed Tūda Party after his release in 1941. Prior to that experience he had written only one volume of short stories (*Čamadān*, 1934), apart from a single story contributed to the volume *Anīrān* (1931), one of the other two contributors to which was Hidāyat. In 1941 he published a second volume of short stories (*Waraḳ-pāra-hā-yi zandān*), and in 1952 a third collection (*Nāma-hā*) and a novel (*Čašm-hāyaš*). In 1953 he left Iran for East Berlin, whence his output of fiction has been negligible. The fact that his reputation stands so high on such a small foundation is a tribute to the quality of his writing, which shows a strong sense of realism and a profound understanding of character.

The "school" of writing started by the *Rabʿa* attracted a number of imitators and followers, some of whom achieved status as independent writers. Among these must certainly be mentioned Ṣādiḳ Čūbak and Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Čūbak's reputation was established with his first book of short stories, *Khayma-i šabbāzī*, published in 1945, and this was followed by a second collection, *Antarī ki lūṭīyaš murda būd* (1949). Like his colleagues, he is interested primarily in the lives and characters of members of the lower classes, and he depicts these with a strong sense of realism, which often leads him to use expressions and idioms that shock his elders. He is also one of the first writers to use colloquial language freely throughout. His second volume of short stories was followed by more than ten years of silence, but in 1963 he published a novel, *Tangsīr*, set in the Tangistān area of his home province of Fārs, which gives a vivid picture of the provincial and tribal life of the south of Iran. Two more volumes of short stories followed, *Rūz-i awwal-i ḳabr* (1965) and *Čirāgh-i Āḵḵir* (1966), and finally (for so far nothing else has appeared) in 1967 a long kaleidoscopic novel, *Sang-i ṣabūr*, written mainly in dialect, and with passages in dramatic dialogue form introducing characters from history, poetry, and so on.

Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad, who died in 1969, has a wider range of writing than Čūbak, being interested in sociology, folklore, and political questions, on all of which subjects he wrote articles and books. In the field of story-writing he has four volumes of short stories, *Dīd u bāzdīd* (1945), *Az randjī ki mībarīm* (1947), *Sitār* (1948), and *Zan-i ziyādī* (1952). A further five stories were published posthumously under the title *Pandj dāstān*. He also published four novels or long stories, *Sarguḏhašt-i kandū-hā* (1954), *Mudīr-i madrasa* (1958), *Nūn wa 'l-ḳalam* (1961), and *Nifrīn-i zamīn* (1968). Āl-i Aḥmad's sociological interests show clearly in much of his work, but this is not a criticism of his writing, which is concise and economical, allowing his characters to develop in their own words (which are usually in their colloquial form) rather than through the author's description. Other writers who may be considered as having been influenced by the same school of writing include Muḥammad Iʿtimādzāda (Bih-Āḏhīn), Ibrāhīm Gulistān, Iḥsān Ṭabarī, Raḥmat Muṣṭafawī, Sharīʿatmadārī (Darwīš), and Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad's widow, Sīmīn Dānišwar.

The interest in folklore shown by Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat was shared by other writers, some of whom could indeed claim to have preceded him, for instance, Amīr Ḳulī Amīnī, Kūhī Kirmānī, and Ṣubḥī Muḥtadī. Only the lastnamed, however, ventured briefly into the field of original fiction, with a short novel in folk-tale form, *Ḥadjdjī Mullā Zulf ʿAlī* (1947). The two threads rejoined in the writings of Ṣamad Bihrangī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Ghulām Ḥusayn Sāʿidī. Both these writers, born in Tabrīz, use the folk-tale form as a medium for allegorical works commenting on contemporary social questions. Bihrangī, who was drowned in 1968, is the author of a series of ostensibly children's stories, all published between 1966 and 1969, of which mention may be made of *Ūldūz wa kulāgh-hā*, *Kačal-i haftar-bāz*, *Afsāna-yi maḥabbat*, *Māhī-yi siyāh-i kūčūlū*, and *Kūrughlū wa Kačal-i Ḥamza*. A posthumous collection of short stories, *Talḵḵān*, was published in 1970. Sāʿidī, who writes his fictional work under the pseudonym Gawhar-i Murād, is best known for his plays, mimes and film scripts; his short story collections include *Ḵḵāna-hā-yi shahr-i Rayy* (1955), *Shab-nišīnī-yi bāšukūh* (1960), *Dandīl* (1966), *Wāhima-hā-yi bī-nām-unišān* (1967), *Tars u āz* and *Tūp* (1968). Like Āl-i Aḥmad, he is interested in sociology, and is the author of a number of monographs. Other writers in this category include Ṣādiḳ Humāyūnī, Djamāl Mīr-Ṣādiḳī and Shāpūr Ḳarīb.

The latest phase in fiction-writing shows a trend towards a more introspective approach, perhaps encouraged by current political and social conditions, which are felt to preclude open discussion of current questions. The writers of this category choose a somewhat obscure and allusive mode of expression, which leaves the reader free to make his own interpretation; they are also more concerned with inner feelings and psychological states. One of the first writers in this vein was Taḳī Mudarrisī, whose novel *Yakūlyā wa tanhāʾī-yi ū* appeared in 1956. This was followed in 1966 by *Sharīf Djān*, a novel of the 1930s. Bahman Fursī is known chiefly as a playwright, but his collection of short stories, *Zīr-i dandān-i sag* (1964), attracted favourable notice. Two poets, Maḥmūd Kiyā-Nūš and Maḥmūd

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Tayyārī, are also known as story-writers. Two other writers deserve special mention: Hūshang Gulshīrī for his three novels *Shāzda Iḥtidjāb* (1968), *Krīstīn wa Kīd* (1971), and *Maʿṣūm-i duwwum* (1972), and Nādir Ibrāhīmī, who since the late sixties has published a steady flow of novels and short stories. Other names include Kāẓim Sādāt-i Ishkiwarī and Bahrām Ṣādiḳī.

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(L. P. Elwell-Sutton)

5. In Urdu.

Until the beginning of the 19th century, prose literature was almost unknown in Urdu. A few prose works had been written in the Deccan as far back as the early 17th century, but they were mostly on religious subjects. A notable exception, however, was Wadjhī's story *Sab Ras* (1635). This is based on the Persian allegorical *mathnawī*, *Dastūr al-ʿushshāḳ*, by Yaḥyā b. Sībak, who is generally known as Fattāḥī Nīsāpūrī (d. 852/1448). *Sab Ras* is written in ornate rhymed prose, and like its Persian source, it tells the story of the romance of Princess Ḥusn (Beauty) and Prince Dil (Heart). All the characters bear similarly allegorical names. The work appears to have been an isolated piece, and it cannot be considered a progenitor of modern Urdu fiction.

There did exist a kind of versified Urdu fiction in the 18th century, namely, the narrative *mathnawī*, of which the outstanding example is *Sihr al-bayān*, by Mīr Ḥasan [*q.v.*]. At its best, the *mathnawī* included some of the essential elements of the novel—a story with a logical sequence of connected incidents; characterisation, however rudimentary; and vivid description of scenes and social customs. But the plots relied too heavily on the incredible and supernatural.

Another precursor of modern Urdu fiction is to be found in certain collections of short stories within a "frame", which were recited to general audiences, as well as to royal courts and rich households. They are the Urdu equivalents of Arabic collections like *Alf layla wa-layla* and *Sīrat ʿAntar*, and are termed *dāstān* (pl. *dāstāneṅ*). Ralph Russell (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 107) refers his readers to E. W. Lane's *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* for a "generally accurate account of how the dastans were recited in India". These cycles of legends were subsequently printed in Lucknow in the press established there in 1858 by Nawal Kishōr (d. 1895). *Amīr Ḥamza Ṣāhib Ḳirān kā ḳiṣṣa* recounts the wonderful exploits of a famous uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad in 17 volumes totalling about 17,000 pages. The most popular sections were *Ṭilsim-i Hōshrubā* (7 vols.) and *Nawsherān-nāma* (2 vols.). Vying in popularity with this vast collection was the seven-volume *Bustān-i khayāl*. These works are generally considered to be of Persian origin; but it is not clear whether the reciters employed by Kishōr to produce his Urdu versions were actually translating Persian texts themselves, or using existing Urdu versions which had been passed from mouth to mouth. The language is highly-coloured and uses rhymes; but the stories recounted were apparently well-known and appreciated in India. The *dāstāneṅ* were tales of chivalry, and, like the *mathnawī*, contained a strong element of the supernatural. But whereas a *mathnawī* might have a well-formed story, the *dāstān* consisted of a series of short stories or incidents, with little attempt at characterisation.

In the evolution of the Urdu novel, we find the *dāstān* gradually giving way to the European-style novel. Indeed, in some measure the one gradually merged into the other. But the prelude to this transformation takes us to Calcutta, where, in 1800, the British East India Company established Fort William College, to train British officials in the languages, laws and customs of India. The first Principal, John Borthwick Gilchrist, assembled a number of Indian writers, whom he commissioned to produce prose works which could be used as text-books for Urdu and other languages. While not discouraging a sense of style and a modicum of linguistic embellishment, he required fairly simple language. A number of Urdu books were written, some of them fiction, which became popular classics. They were all adaptions from other languages, chiefly Persian but occasionally Sanskrit. The emergence of the Urdu novel later in the century diminished the importance of these works, though they served until the Second World War as text-books for British officials and army officers.

The best-known was Mīr Amman's *Bāgh-o-bahār* (1801) based on a Persian tale by Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*]. It tells the story of four dervishes who are supernaturally guided to a city. There, aided by the King, they discover their long-lost loves. The scene is supposedly Istanbul; but it is described like Dihlī in the last years of the Mughals. Since the original Calcutta edition, this book has been frequently reprinted, and an English translation by Duncan Forbes appeared in London in 1860.

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Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, in *Bibl.*, 18) describes it as "the first prose classic in Urdu. . . still read for enjoyment". Like other Fort William products, it is written in reasonably straightforward language, and includes good dialogue and characterisation. Amongst other Fort William fiction were *ʿArāʾish-i maḥfil* by ʿAlī Afsōs, and Mīrzā ʿAlī Kāẓim Djawān's *Shakuntalā*, based on the drama by Kālī Das. Not all the fiction written for John Gilchrist was published at the time. Two previously unpublished ones have recently been edited by ʿIbādat Barēlwī. They are by Maẓhar ʿAlī Khān Wilā. *Haft gulshan* (Karachi 1964) is a collection of fables; while *Mādhōnal awr Kām Kandalā* (Karachi 1965) is a short *dāstān*, in 20 chapters. Finally, mention must be made of another Fort William publication which provides a link with the *maṯnawī*—Mīr Bahādur ʿAlī Ḥusaynī's *Naṯr-i bēnaẓīr* (Calcutta 1803). It is a prose version of Mīr Ḥasan's *Siḥr al-bayān*, including verses quoted from the poem from time to time. Strange to relate, it was published two years earlier than the *maṯnawī* itself.

Whether the fiction produced at Fort William forms a definite stage in the evolution of the Urdu novel and short-story, or was merely an interlude, is a matter subject to dispute. Muḥammad Sadiq (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 212) denies that it was a "formative factor in the development of modern Urdu prose". He adds that, had it never existed, Urdu prose would not have developed any differently. On the other hand, Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, 22) maintains that it not only furthered the simplification of Urdu prose, but also popularised prose romances. It is certainly arguable that the simpler prose fostered by the ʿAlīgarh Movement, and exemplified by the writings of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī, and even ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar, is at times reminiscent of "Fort William prose". But of those three, only Sharar wrote fiction.

Whatever the merits and demerits of the Fort William products, they were important enough to stimulate controversy as to what features constituted good Urdu literary prose. Many considered the Fort William prose style too simple to be literary. In fact, the first original prose romance in Urdu, *Fasāna-yi-ʿadjāʾib* by Mīrzā Radjab ʿAlī Bēg Surūr (d. 1867), was regarded, and perhaps intended, as a reply to the Fort William style. He wrote it in about 1824, but it was not published until between 1839 and 1842. It may fairly be described as a *dāstān*, for it is a series of stories of chivalry, with a certain amount of the supernatural, set in a "frame"; but it is in one volume only. The frame is the love-story of Prince Djān-i ʿālam and Princess Andjuman-ārā. The stories or incidents describe the dangers, and fights with men and magicians, that the hero has to face in order to win her. The frame is a familiar one, and recurs in Sarshar's *Fasāna-yi-Āzād*. The language contains much rhetoric and rhyme, and it is interesting to note that Surūr wrote it in Urdu only because he feared that his command of Arabic and Persian was inadequate.

However, it was not until the 1860s and 1870s that the Urdu novel, in the European sense, emerged. There were good reasons for this. English became not only the language of government and higher education, but also a common medium of communication between the various peoples of India. English novels became familiar in the original language. Later, a number were "translated", or, more accurately, adapted into Urdu, as were selections of short stories. But as far as can be ascertained, these "translations" did not become common until after the First World War, by which time the Urdu novel was already flourishing. Another factor favouring Urdu fiction was the appearance of numerous newspapers and magazines, which published novels either in instalments, or as supplementary special issues. Fiction therefore became cheap enough to attract a wide readership. Thirdly, the ʿAlīgarh Movement made prose a respected literary medium, and also demonstrated that prose need not be artificial, full of rare words, balanced sentences and rhymes, to be artistic. During the last thirty years of the life of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1813-98), the novel became an established form.

Of the three great novelists writing in this period, the first, chronologically, was Naḏhīr Aḥmad (1836-1912). But it is more logical to discuss Pandit Ratan Nāth Sarshār (1845-1903), first, as his stories retain some features of the *dāstān*. Born in Lucknow, after a sketchy education he worked for the newspaper *Awadh panč*, then for its rival, the *Awadh akhbār*, of which the proprietor Nawal Kishōr appointed him editor. His gigantic picaresque novel *Fasāna-yi-Āzād*, on which his fame rests, appeared in this newspaper in instalments in 1878 and 1879, and was then published in book form in Lucknow in 1880, in four volumes totalling about 1700 double-columned pages. It is more like a collection of short stories and anecdotes than a novel, reflecting both Sarshār's untidy and disorganised way of life and the demands of serialisation, which required him to produce regular instalments with or without inspiration. According to Khūrshīd (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 183), the idea of the work arose from a discussion about *Don Quixote* among members of the staff of the paper. Sarshar's book was a tremendous success, and it was imitated by many subsequent novelists.

The "frame" of *Fasāna-yi-Āzād* is that the noble and chivalrous Āzād, of the city of Lucknow, falls in love with the beautiful Ḥusn-ārā. In order to win her hand, he has to go and fight for the Turks against the Russians, and his adventures are recounted in the book. He has a companion, Khōdjī, who is a figure of fun. In fact, in many ways, the roles of Don Quixote and Sancho Panza are reversed in Āzād and Khōdjī. The work is so rich in characters, incidents and scenes that it defies description in a brief account. There are major sub-plots as well as the main "frame", and the incidents described are both numerous and varied, ranging from fighting and flirtation to discussions of poetry. It is notable for its pictures of Lucknow life. But above all, it is full of dialogue, often racy, and suiting the language to the speaker. A Western reader picking it up for the first time might think, from many pages, that it is a drama, with each speaker's name in bold letters at the beginning of the line, followed by "stage directions" and then what he or she says. This method of setting out dialogue was followed by a number of Urdu novelists—for example, ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Sharar.

The hero, Āzād, resembles the *dāstān* hero—handsome, brave, a great lover and a champion of what is right. The realistic pictures, however, are modern, sometimes reminding us of Dickens; and there is very little of the supernatural. Thus it is a transitional work, between the *dāstān* and the novel; though by the time it was published, three of Naḏhīr Aḥmad's novels had already appeared, with their realistic contemporary social themes. However, Sarshar wrote to entertain his readers. The abundant variety of characters, including many from the underworld

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and the demi-monde; the wit and humour; the basic realism, despite a veneer of exaggeration—all these appealed so strongly to the readers, that it is said that when it first appeared in serial form, each new instalment was avidly awaited, and people rushed to buy the *Awadh akhbār* because of it.

Such a tour-de-force is hard to repeat; and Sarshār's Bohemian life-style, especially his addiction to alcohol, seems to have affected his work. Of his later novels, *Khudā'i fawdjdār* is an abridged and adapted version of Cervantes' novel. His *Kāmnī* is his only novel with a Hindu background—which is rather surprising, since he was himself a Hindu.

Nadhīr Aḥmad (1836-1912) is considered by many to be the first modern novelist in Urdu, especially by those who prefer a novel to be a study of contemporary social life, and who like it to have a message. Strange to relate, he became a novelist by accident. Educated at Delhi College, he worked first as a schoolmaster, then an inspector of education, and subsequently in various posts in the Revenue Department. His first "novel", *Mirā'at al-ʿarūs* ("The bride's mirror") (1869) was written for his own daughters to read privately; it was a moral tale to teach them the qualities required of a good and successful wife. A British Director of Public Instruction saw the manuscript, and urged Nadhīr Aḥmad to have it published. Because of its educational value and high moral tone, the Indian Government bought a thousand copies. Nadhīr Aḥmad achieves his didactic aim by describing two sisters and comparing their married life. Akbarī is a spoilt girl who proves incapable of running a house; while Aṣgharī is efficient and practical, almost a model of all the virtues. In 1873 he followed it with a sequel, *Binât al-naʿsh*. Its subject is girls' education, but it is more like a series of lessons than a story. *Tawbat al-Naṣūḥ* (1877) is a more ambitious family tale. It tells how Naṣūḥ, while ill, repents; and, having previously allowed his children to do as they like, he now tries to reform them as well as himself. *Fasāna-yi-Mubtalā* (1885) treats of the evils of polygamy. *Ibn al-waḳt* (1888) describes the troubles of an Anglicised Indian who shuns his fellows Indians. But when his only British friend leaves the country, he finds himself isolated. All these novels, then, are stories with a moral, and the very names of many of the characters are descriptive of them: thus Naṣūḥ (repentant) and Mubtalā (afflicted).

These novels struck a new note and have many attractive qualities. They are straightforward stories of manageable (one-volume) size, in uncomplicated yet elegant style, dealing with the contemporary social scene and its problems. Their high moral tone, somewhat reminiscent of Victorian England, made them suitable reading for people of all ages and both sexes; and they were widely read, and frequently re-printed up to the Second World War. Nadhīr Aḥmad improved with experience, and his later novels are superior to his earlier ones in both character development and plot construction. But his earlier ones remained the most popular—especially *Mirā'at al-ʿarūs* and *Tawbat al-Naṣūḥ*. More recently, *Ibn al-waḳt* has attracted attention, because of its relevance to the last years of the British Rādj.

The main objection to these novels has been on grounds of the domination of the didactic aim; so much so, that it has been suggested that they are not real novels at all, but pleas for social reforms in the guise of novels. There is also a lack of humour in them. Nevertheless, they mark the advent of the social novel in Urdu.

Two distinct genres of novel, then, had emerged by the last quarter of the 19th century—the picaresque type of Sarshār, and the social type of Nadhīr Aḥmad. Both writers were imitated, and there was a burst of activity in both genres. The picaresque type gradually lost its appeal, and though many later examples could be mentioned, none achieved anything approaching Sarshār's success. The social novel, however, was continued unabated until the present time, and in 1899 an outstanding example appeared—*Umrāō Djān Adā*, by Mīrzā Muḥammad Hādī Ruswā (1858-1931). Ralph Russell describes it as the first true novel in Urdu (*op. cit.*, 132). It is the story of a retired high-class Lucknow prostitute, whose name forms the title, and who tells her life-story to the author. Like Sarshār, Ruswā tells much of the story in dialogue form, and the book is very readable and entertaining. As Muḥammad Sadiq says (*op. cit.*, 355), the didactic element emerges before the end. But what is remarkable in Ruswā's approach is his sympathetic and perceptive attitude to his heroine. He does not blame her, neither does he condone her sinful life, which has made her virtually a social outcast. He shows understanding without being sentimental. Ruswā wrote several other novels, but was unable to repeat the success of *Umrāō Djān Adā*.

As the 19th century drew to its close, a third genre of Urdu fiction appeared, the historical novel. Its pioneer was ʿAbd al-Halīm Sharar (1860-1926), a journalist and historian, and a leading figure in the ʿAlīgarh Movement. Born in Lucknow, he worked there for 5 years as Assistant Editor of the *Awadh pandj*. In 1887, he started the magazine *Dil gudāz*, which he continued, with interruptions, until his death. His earlier novels were first published in serial form; but later ones were published whole, and sold cheaply as supplements to the magazine. The idea of writing historical novels came to him while reading Sir Walter Scott's *Talisman* during a train journey. Struck by the unfavourable light in which Scott depicted Muslims, he decided to try to redress the balance, and produced *Malik-i-ʿAzīz awr Warḏjāna*. He had previously published a social novel, *Dilkasp*. But though he did not completely abandon this genre, the majority of his novels, numbering about 35, are historical. They contain unashamed propaganda for Islam, and paint Christianity in a poor light; but they are vivid and exciting stories of heroism and romance, with brave heroes, cruel villains, and beautiful heroines—the latter often Christians girls who fall in love with Muslims. They achieved enormous popularity, because Sharar knew how to write a good story and sustain interest. His descriptive passages are convincing without being over-long, and there is considerable dialogue. But the drama often deteriorates into melodrama. His dénouements are frequently bloodthirsty, and he lingers too long over cruelty and killing for modern tastes. Historical veracity is often lacking, and there are anachronisms. Still, there is no doubt that he could draw characters credibly if not subtly. His language is eclectic and attractive, without being forced; and it still reads well. And though overladen with Arabic expressions for some tastes, this suits his themes.

His novels span the Islamic world from Spain to Africa, Turkey, the Middle East and India; whilst in time they range from the 7th to the 19th centuries. *Flōrā Flōrindā* (1897), a tale of Christians and Muslims in mediaeval Spain, is regarded as one of his best novels. The heroine, Flōrā, is the daughter

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of a Muslim father who is brought up as a Christian. She is later raped by a "patriarch", whose child she bears, and whom she kills in the end. The story is highly involved, and the swift dénouement which occupies only 13 pages out of a total of 350, leaves almost all the main characters killed. Equally popular was *Firdaws-i-barīn* (1899), which to the present writer, is more convincing. The background to the story is the conquest of the valley of the Assassins (*Ḥashshāshiyya*) and their fortress of Alamūt by Hūlāgū Khān in 1257. The hero and heroine, Ḥusayn and Zamurrad, have been in the power of the Assassin leader, Khūrshāh, but in the end they side with Hūlāgū against him. There is a vivid description of the final battle and the destruction of the "sublime paradise" of the Assassins, with the hero Ḥusayn playing a major rôle. Finally, Hūlāgū arranges for Ḥusayn and Zamurrad to marry, and they leave together for Mecca and the Pilgrimage. This accords somewhat ill with Ḥusayn's obvious enjoyment of prolonging the agony of those whom he kills in the final battle. But it is the sort of melodrama which doubtless appealed to the readers of 1899.

It is difficult to single out names of 20th century Urdu novelists who continued social and historical novels. Some of them, like Prēm Čand and M. Aslam, are better known as short-story writers. Rāshid al-Khayrī (1868-1936) was one of the most successful, and though best-known for his social novels, he also wrote a number of historical ones. His social novels, though not without humour, earned him the nickname of *Muṣawwir-i-ghamm* ("depicter of sorrows"). The main theme is the position of woman in Islamic society. His trilogy *Subḥ-i-zindagī*, *Shām-i-zindagī* and *Shab-i-zindagī*, is worthy of note. Among his historical novels, *ʿArūs-i Karbalā* deserves mention. The "bride" of the title is a Christian widow who feels drawn to Islam, and finally marries ʿUbayd, a partisan of al-Ḥusayn at the battle. Suhrawardy (*op. cit.*, 118) regards Rāshid al-Khayrī's historical novels as "poor stuff", lacking social colour and realism.

The Urdu short story is held by most Indian and Pakistani critics to be an importation from the West, although some of its elements may be seen in stories and anecdotes of the *dāstān*, especially *Fasāna-yi-ʿajāʾib* and *Fasāna-yi-Āzād*.

M. Aslam in his introduction to one of his short-story collections, *Ḥaḳīḳatēn aur ḥikāyatēn* (Lahore 1972, 3) maintains that the reverse is true, and that the Europeans really took the short-story from the Muslims! He goes on to say that the short-story originated in religious literature such as the Old Testament and the Ḳurʾān, and attempts to substantiate this from stories in the Ḳurʾān. However, there is no doubt that the creator of the genre in its modern sense, in Urdu, was Prēm Čand (real name Dhanpat Rāʾē) (1880-1937). Born near Benares, he was a Hindu, and wrote in both Hindi and Urdu: indeed some of his fiction appeared in both languages —or in both scripts, Arabic and Devanagrī. He started his writing career as a novelist, then turned to the short-story, which was at that time in its infancy in India. He was a prolific writer, and his short stories were collected in a number of volumes, including *Prēm pačīsī*, *Prēm batīsī*, *Prēm čālīsī*, *Wāridāt* and *Zād-i-rāh*. Prēm Čand is noted for his pictures of village life. He depicts the poor and humble as inherently good, but compelled to do wrong by the pressures of poverty and temptation. They are exploited by landowners and rich employers, and are a prey to fear, superstitions and religious bigotry. For such people little acts or accidents may have dire effects. Prēm Čand, then, was no less a pleader for social reform than Naḏhīr Aḥmad. But whereas the latter concentrated on the middle class, Prēm described the lower classes, especially in villages. A master of characterisation, style and form, he made the short story his métier, and whilst his novels are now neglected, many of his short stories are acknowledged masterpieces.

Among later short story writers, mention should be made of M. Aslam (*Ēm Aslam*). the author of over a hundred books. Many of his short stories are romantic, and he depicts the instability of middle-class society in a period of change. Finally, there have been several brilliant writers of humorous short stories, and essays in story form. They include Shawkat Thānawī, Mirzā ʿAẓīm Bēg Čughtāʾī and Paṭras Bukhārī (1898-1958).

A word must be said about the nomenclature of Urdu fiction, which includes Hindi, Persian, Arabic and English terms. *Dāstān* has already been mentioned. *Kahānī* was used chiefly for fables, anecdotes and short stories. Throughout most of the 19th century, the term *fasāna*, with its variant, *afsāna*, was current. Naḏhīr Aḥmad's novels were called *ḳiṣṣa*, but as we have seen, he also used the term *fasāna*. *Ḥikāyat* has been used considerably, particularly for the short-story. It seems likely that Sharar was the first to employ the English word "novel" (Urdu, *nāwal*) and this is now the ommonest name for a novel. A short-story is now usually called *afsāna*—more properly, *mukhtaṣar afsāna*.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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6. In Malaysia and Indonesia.

In dictionaries of older Malay, *kiṣṣa* is defined as "story, narrative episode". It occurs regularly in this sense in literary words from the 17th century onwards, and, in addition, is used in Malay historiographical works and romances as a kind of pericope marker to introduce a new stage or episode in a longer narrative.

It appears in the title of a Malay adaptation of the Stories of the Prophets, *Ḳiṣāṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (largely the version of al-Kisāʾī) which became popular from the 17th century onwards, and in more recent times was the title of an Indonesian magazine, *Kisah* (Jakarta 1953-8) devoted to the short story. It appears in the title of a collection of short stories, purely western and totally secular in theme and content by Armijn Pané, *Kisah Antara Manusia*. Nevertheless, it did not establish itself as the title of a genre. For shorter length narratives, the Sanskrit-derived *cerita* (story) was preferred, with, in imitation of European usage, the qualifying adjective *pendek* ("short"), the two words now being abbreviated to *cerpen*.

The short story is currently the most popular literary form in Indonesia and Malaysia. Its roots are to be found in local fables and animal stories, in short narratives of Perso-Arabic origin, especially those set within frame-collections, and in the flowering of the genre in late 19th century Europe. Although none of the great Arabic collections of stories such as *al-Bukẖalāʾ*, *al-Aghānī* or the *Alf layla wa-layla* has accompanied the islamisation of the Malay world, one of the very oldest Malay MSS (*ca.* 1615) is a fragment of the Persian *Tūtī-nāma*: a rendering in Malay of a Persian version of the *Sukasaptati* or "Tales of a parrot". Other frame-stories such as *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and the *Sindibād-nāma* established themselves in Malay renderings relatively early. The large number of MSS. of such works is an adequate index of their popularity.

All of these stories belong to the popular domain. The composition by individuals of realistic short stories did not begin until the 20th century with the development of a popular press, and the possibilities that newspapers and periodicals offered for the development of such a form of narrative fiction. It established its present popularity in both regions during the 1950s.

In Malaysia, during the 1930s, the authors of short stories were graduates of Malay stream education and religious schools. The majority of their stories were moralistic, concerning such issues as the backwardness of the Malays, the problems of forced marriage, and the need for a reformist understanding of Islam. In Indonesia during the same period the secular stream was dominant. But just as since Malayan independence in 1957, the short story in Malaysia has become secularised, in Indonesia some short stories by Muslims have brought a consciousness and sensitivity to the perception of religious experience which is characteristically modern. In many cases, the concern is purely with man as man, and while a religious dimension is suggested, it is not worked out within the dogmatic frame-work of a single identifiable religious tradition. In a few, however, and A. A. Navis (see *Bibl.* below) presents the best example, a religious problem lies at the very heart of the story, and is the reason for its existence. Nevertheless, apart from contributing the word *kiṣṣa* to the Malay vocabulary, the Muslim religious and literary tradition has played only a limited role in the shaping of the short story in Malay. The Western secular tradition has been, far and away, the most important single influence.

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7. In Swahili.

In Swahili literature, the word *kiṣṣa* was first used in the context of the *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* [*q.v.*]. The numerous Swahili authors (i.e. writers as well as composers of oral traditions) had at their disposal rather more elaborate versions than those of al-Kisāʾī or al-Thaʿlabī from which to borrow their themes for the prophets' legends, extremely popular in East Africa. Also, several of the Swahili versions of the legends have their parallels in Indonesia; see J. Knappert, *The Qiṣaṣu 'l-Anbiyāʾi as moralistic tales*, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, vi (1976), 103-16.

In written Swahili literature, the legends of the pre-Islamic prophets are always treated in verse. Full-length epic poems are extant about Adam and Eve, Job (Ayyūb) and Joseph (Yūsuf), but fragments have also come to light dealing with Mūsā, Yaʿḳūb, Yūnus, Sulaymān and Dāwūd, Burahimu (Ibrāhīm), and Zakariyyāʾ and ʿĪsā; see Knappert, *Four Swahili epics*, London 1964; idem, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, ch. 2; idem, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden 1971, i, ch. 3. Many of these legends, and especially those with miraculous elements, circulate in oral tradition, see Knappert, *Myths and legends of the Swahili*, London 1970. It is

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probable that these tales have come to the Swahili Coast with sailors from Arabia, Persia and India; the latter country in particular seems clearly to have influenced Swahili literature.

From this semi-religious usage, the word *ḳiṣṣa* (now spelt *kisa* with purely Swahili plural *visa*) acquired an extended range of meaning to that of "miraculous tale in general", "fairly tale of the type found in the *Alf layla wa-layla* collection" [*q.v.*]. The connection here is obvious, since many of the latter tales are variations on *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* themes or employ their characters, e.g. the tale of the fisherman who found a bottle that had been sealed by King Solomon, a tale well-known amongst the Swahili. These prose stories were not written down by the Swahili themselves, but missionaries with folkloric interests collected them in the 19th century; see e.g. E. Steere, *Swahili tales*, London 1869, and C. Velten, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*, Berlin 1898. These *visa* were never composed in verse, until very recently, whereas the *hadithi*, traditions about the Prophet Muḥammad or other holy men, were often composed in verse and written down, in Arabic script of course. As well as the above two genres, traditional Swahili storytellers distinguish also the *ngano*, an invented tale or fable, of which last there are several in Swahili oral literature, some apparently derived from the Indian treasure house of fables, of the type represented in Islamic literature by *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*] and the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* [see KĀSHIFĪ]).

It is only in the last thirty years or so that the word *kisa* has come to be used in the meaning of the modern novel, though Swahili novels have neither the extended treatment nor sophistication of European-language novels. Indeed, secular Swahili prose literature as a medium for artistic expression is still very much in its infancy. In the earlier, traditional society, prose was the vehicle for the conveyance of factual information, such as topics of history, law and theology. Artistic expression was channelled exclusively into poetry, even for subjects that in the West have not been represented in poetry for a century or so, such as theology and the rules of personal behaviour. Fable and fairy tale belonged to the realm of the (often illiterate) story-teller. The short story and novel have only come to the scene a generation after the influence of English literature, bringing with it an entirely new appreciation of the possibilities of prose writing, has affected the minds and creative faculties of Africans educated in mission secondary schools. Hence a major problem is now the adaptation of the Swahili language—previously largely a trade language, apart from its function in didactic and epic literature, where it has been bound by rigid conventions—into a flexible, modern medium for literature and belles-lettres.

The names of some recent Swahili novelists, with details of their works, are given below. No claim to completeness nor to any attempt at ranking in importance can be given, in view of the uncertain future course of development of Swahili prose. Muhammad Said Abdullah has written the first Swahili detective novel, *Mzimu wa watu wa kale* "The ghost of the old people" (1960), with a sequel *Kisima cha Giningi* "Mrs Giningi's well" (1968); in both, the chief character is Bwana Msa, a taciturn, pipe-smoking detective, obviously inspired by Sherlock Holmes. A. J. Amir's *Nahoda fikirini* "A captain in thoughts" (1971) is a semi-historical novel describing life on the Swahili Coast and at sea. Haji Chum's first novel is *Kisa cha ndugu saba* "The tale of the seven brothers" (1969), after his two epics *Vita vya Uhud* "The battle of Uḥud" and the unpublished *Utenzi wa Nushuri* "The Day of Judgment"; born in Zanzibar, he writes within the Islamic tradition. David Diva is a writer of short stories (*hadithi*) in the Islamic tradition, and one of the first modern writers in this genre. Abdullah Saleh Farsy, from a prominent family of Islamic scholars in Zanzibar, has written *Kurwa na Ndoto* "K. and N." about two young people getting married, with a concentration on the rites and ceremony of the Swahili wedding. Salim A. Kibao's *Matatu ya thamani* "Three priceless proverbs" (1975) describes how these proverbs save the life of a young man who buys them and make him into a king; the story has echoes of the Ḳurʾānic Yûsuf story so popular in Swahili. G. Ngugi wa Thiongo's novels are set in central Kenya and have the life of the Kikuyu as their background: *Mtawa mweusi* "The black hermit" and *Usilie mpenzi wangu* "Don't cry, my darling". F. V. Nkwera's *Mzishi wa baba ana radhi* "The one who buries his father will receive his blessing" (1967) is partly autobiographical. Abdullah Shariff Omar's *Kisa cha Hasan il Basiri* "The story of Hasan al-Basir" is an adventure story in the Arabian Nights' mould, still very popular in Swahili. Shaaban Robert is the only Swahili author of more than local fame, a poet, essayist and storyteller, and a writer of fine prose with a strong religious philosophy behind it; his *Kusadikika* "The credible country" (1951, 1960) and *Utubora* "Human excellence" both have moral implications behind their stories. John Ndeti Somba's *Alipanda pepo na kuvuna tufani* "He planted the wind and reaped the storm" (1969) and *Kuishi kwingi ni kuona mengi* "To live long is to see much" (1968) both deal with the author's own experiences in up-country Kenya.

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(J. KNAPPERT)

8. In Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber.

The written and oral Judaeo-Arabic and Judaeo-Berber literature is a genre of intellectual activity which has a place in the cultural field of the Muslim West which is by no means negligible. In this sphere of the expression of Jewish thought, the *ḳiṣṣa* enjoys a certain favour both among the educated and among the wider public and the masses. The themes and genres are very varied: rhymed versions of Biblical stories or liturgical poems, songs of joy or of lament (*ḳinot*), eulogies, and panegyrical and hagiographical pieces glorifying the saints of Palestine in Jewish antiquity (Rabbi Shimʿon Bar Yoḥay, buried at Meron in Galilee, and Rabbi Meʾir Baʿal Hannes, buried at Tiberias) or local saints (Mūlāy Ighghi, Rabbi Iḥyā Lakḥḍar, etc.), venerated by means of *hillulas* and by local pilgrimages. Also connected with the *ḳiṣṣa* are the songs of folklore celebrating family ceremonies (e.g. *rites de passage* such as circumcisions, burials and periods of mourning), except that these form a genre devoid of any literary or intellectual pretentions, made up in a language closer to the local spoken tongues, whilst the *ḳiṣṣa* proper has a more studied form and a more precise expression. It is written in a special language, comparable to the *malḥūn*, a kind of poetic *koiné* in Arabic dialect given literary touches, largely stripped of Hebraisms or outside linguistic influences, and generally to be understood by the Jewish communities of the Maghrib as a group, even though differing from the current spoken language.

As well as the folkloric setting which it describes

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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and the precious linguistic materials which it represents, the *ḳiṣṣa* reveals on examination deep structures and a content attaching it, on the one hand, to the general cultural ambience of the Maghrib, but on the other, to universal Jewish thought. A rigorous and minute analysis of the written text or the oral discourse, and of their direct or allusive references, throws light on their literary founda- and on a cultural substratum of great richness.

The present author has given a sketch of all this in various publications (*REI*, *REJ*, *JA*, *ROMM*, etc.). Thus *L'histoire de Job en judéo-arabe du Maroc*, in *REI* (1968), 279-315, surveys a considerable number of Jewish, Arab-Muslim, Morisco and Coptic chronicles and legends, the (Greek) apocryphal text of the Testament of Job, as well as the conflicts and speculations of the Biblical text.

The pieces involving parodies, published in *REJ*, cxxviii (1969), 377-93, as *La parodie dans la litérature hebraïque et judéo-arabe, folklore de Purim au Maroc*, borrow from local ceremonies, the Jewish homilectic literature of the *Midrash* and *Aggadah*, and Arab-Muslim legends. *L'hymne à Bar Yohay*, in *REJ*, cxxvii (1968), 366-82, is a *ḳiṣṣa* from Tinghir of the Todgha which derives its sources from local mystical folklore combined with the texts of the Zohar, the Kabbalah, the Talmud and the *Midrash*.

(H. Zafrani)

ḲIṢṬ [see MAKĀYĪL].

KI-SWAHILI [see SWAHILI].

ḲIṬʿA [see MUḲAṬṬAʿA].

KITĀB (A., pl. *kutub*) "book". The beginnings of the Arabic book go back to the early Islamic period. According to traditions, sheets (*ṣuḥuf*) with verses of the Ḳurʾān were collected and put between wooden covers (*lawḥayn, daffatayn,*) kept thus and called by the Ethiopian word for "book", *muṣḥaf*/*maṣḥaf* [*q.v.*]. Following Christian and Jewish patterns, this form of a codex was generally maintained for the Holy Book since the authoritative redaction done under ʿUthmān; by that means, the Ḳurʾān was distinguished, by its material form, from profane writings in rolls made of papyrus [see ḲIRṬĀS] and from the *kitāb* pure and simple which meant, in that early period, "something written", "notes", "list" or "letter". As writing material, sheets of parchment [see DJILD, RAḲḲ, TIRS] were used, which, folded into four pages and placed within one another, became quires (*karārīs*); it is uncertain whether these quires were sometimes stitched. Presumably covers made of wood or papyrus were covered over and kept together with leather and, like contemporary Coptic or later Islamic covers, decorated with coloured wood, bone or ivory.

With the rise of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, books and book knowledge, additional to knowledge of the Ḳurʾān, became a general aim of Islamic society. The interest of the government was evoked by questions concerning the legitimation of its power and by problems of administration connected with these questions, as a background to the theocratic claim to power [see SHUʿŪBIYYA]. During this period Arabic learning concerning problems of theology [see MUʿTAZILA], *ḥadīth*, *fiḳh*, history, philology, etc. and medicine, alchemy, etc., had its heyday, and this florescence was connected with the emergence and spread of rag paper [see KĀGHAD] from the end of the 2nd/8th century onwards. These scholars wrote books at the suggestion of or on order from the caliphs and the ruling classes, in the expectation of being honoured by presents and payments, in opposition to the organs of state and their policies, or just for the sake of belief (cf. Sūra LXVIII, 1; XCVI, 4). Apart from treatises on different subjects, general works were written by authors who were employed as secretaries or *ḳāḍīs* in state chanceries and offices, where the rather expensive writing materials were at their disposal. Others copied books not only for personal purposes, but for their living; moreover, they dealt in paper, ran a bookshop or a book-bindery, or combined one with one the other. It is surprising to note how quickly books were widely disseminated and did not remain confined to schools and learned institutions [see MADRASA], where also notes taken in lectures, enlarged by additional material, were made into books. Certain kinds of transmission of books and their authentication, including lists of students in a lecture audience, were formed [see IDJĀZA]; adoptations or quotations from other works were often marked by special terms, texts and copies were compared with each other, collated, complemented and glossed. In writing rooms which were sometimes associated to public libraries [see MAKTABA] books were multiplied commercially. An author could safeguard himself against dubious activities of scribes in these writing rooms through issuing his books by authorisation, only; e.g. al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122 [*q.v.*]) himself wrote a note in 700 copies of his *Maḳāmāt*, during a period of ten years. The production of such books and their trade was immense in quantity and was widespread. Titles of books which had in the past been simple and short became ornate and flowery in the course of time, consisting of two phrases rhyming with one another (*saḏʿ*). First the titles were given in the prefaces, which usually contained the author's name and which started on a *b*-page; later the previous page (*a*-page) became the title page with the author's name. Already in this period, autographs or copies made by learned men or calligraphers [see e.g. IBN AL-BAWWĀB] were sold for high prices. There was a big demand for the libraries of learned men; some of them went to pious bequests [see WAḲF], others were put into the stacks of an academy when an attachment to heretical ideas of their deceased owner was known. Bibliophiles, from the caliph to the craftsman, competed in searching for valuable or rare books. As early as the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 380/990 [*q.v.*]), compiled in 377/987, we find that this work gives, before its information on books and biographical notes on their authors or compilators, informative details about these matters. There is also the voluminous biographical literature, with its innumerable names of learned and literary men, secretaries, calligraphers, etc., and the multiplicity of manuscripts with their countless, often very personal, notes of the owners and readers, to be found in libraries situated even in remote places and containing thousands or tens of thousands of volumes. These considerable survivals, give us an ample idea about books and their quality in the Islamic Middle Ages; these books have in common one thing only, *sc.* the *basmala* [*q.v.*] at the beginning.

The upright quarto size was widespread, sizes in folio or oblong sizes being usually reserved for special occasions, e.g. presentation copies for high-ranking persons. The cover, writing materials, format and type of script [see ḴHAṬṬ] were determined by these purposes. The kinds of leather used for the covers, their colouring, workmanship and decoration sometimes refer to patterns of the Pre-Islamic period, e.g. in Egypt to Coptic, and in Persia to Sāsānid ones; they were developed in forms characteristic

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teristic for the respective countries, e.g. regarding the different kinds of workmanship in leather. Moreover, in regard to the arrangement of the areas on the covers, there are, apart from general principles like lines parallel to the edges of the book, features characteristic of certain places or periods, e.g. the treatment of the centre, and the application of innumerable geometrical patterns and ornaments in certain variations by using brasses. The triangular flap to protect the edge and the clasp and eyes, appear at an early period. Asphodelos paste was used in the Syrian-Palestinian area, and paste made of wheat in South Arabia. While rag paper was used for books in general, parchment was sometimes used for copies of the Ḳur'ān and other de luxe editions. Fine paper imported from China was reserved for books valuable to their owners, like books of sects. These books were not written with the usual ink [see KITĀBA] only, but also with ink made of silver and gold, and their pages and lines were decorated with coloured ornaments (arabesques [*q.v.*]). There were always illuminations [see ṢŪRA, TAṢWĪR], in spite of the prohibition of depicting living beings with a *rūḥ* or soul, but these were exceptional. A quire (*kurrāsa*) usually consisted of five double sheets, and several quires combined together, sometimes by chain stitches, made a sewn book. The quires were marked by consecutive numbers which were written out in words, and the right order of the sheets was controlled by catch-words, which appear early. The pagination of sheets or, sometimes, of pages, is only found later or in modern times; the pagination of sheets was more widespread. Many books ended with a colophon containing the name of the scribe, and often the date as well as, though not so often, the place; but in certain cases, the dates given there are not correct, e.g. when taken from texts which had been copied. For the post-Mongol period, the following features of the books should be noted. The sizes and the writing became smaller, and the kinds of paper became thinner, stronger and smoother. Coloured paper was used and, from the Ottoman period, imported paper from Europe also, firstly from Italy, and with watermarks. The ink became darker and more shiny; the writing surfaces were framed with lines in different colours or in gold, and an *ʿunwān* [*q.v.*] was drawn on the first page of a book. Owner's stamps appear in considerable number for the late period; and bookbinders' brasses with their names shaped like a medallion, can be found on the covers, even on lacquered ones. Splendid, calligraphic specimens of large size, with covers superbly wrought (these being mostly works of Persian poetry, often illuminated by unique miniatures), were produced mainly at the courts of the Tīmūrids, Ṣafawīds, Mughals and Ottomans; splendid copies of the Ḳur'ān were produced also at the court of the Mamlūks. The painter is often identical with the decorator, the "gilder" (*muḏahhib*); he came next in prestige to the highranking calligrapher. The bookbinders formed their own guild from the time of Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512 [*q.v.*]) onwards. Even after the introduction of printing [see MAṬBAʿA], books were written by hand, increasingly by European ink and nibs, and bound in the traditional way until the beginning of this century.

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KITĀB AL-DJILWA, one of the two sacred books of the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*], which with the *Maṣḥaf-rāš* contains the fundamentals of their religion. As the religious language of the Yazīdīs is Kurdish and all the prayers of the Yazīdīs known to us are in Kurdish (for example, the chief prayer, the morning prayer, the formulae used at baptism and circumcision, the proclamation at the assembly of the *sanǧaḳ*, and God Himself in the apocryphal continuation of the *Maṣḥaf-rāš* speaks Kurdish), it is rather remarkable that their two sacred books, the existence of which has long been known and of which copies of the originals have come into the possession of Europeans, should be in Arabic, namely the *Kitāb al-Ḏjilwa* (*Kitāb-i Ḏjālwā*), the "Book of Revelation" (the form *Ḏjulūw* which Sharaf al-Dīn gives from the manuscripts available to him, seems to be a slip on the part of the copyist), and the *Maṣḥaf-rāš*, the "black book"; "black" obviously means something sacred: for example God descends upon the "Black Mountain" (*Maṣḥaf*, xvi). The explanation of the name from the forbidden words, said to be covered over with black wax, is wrong, as in this case the Ḳur'ān is substituted as the sacred book of the Yazīdīs.

Father Anastase Marie of Baghdād was the first to succeed in getting exact tracings of the alleged

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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original parchment copies of the two sacred books by bribing the keeper of the books of the Sindjār in 1904-6; they were written in Kurdish in a simple transposition cipher. The text written in this cipher shows clearly that it was copied from an original written in Arabic script. The possibility of a fraud was, however, not excluded especially as, stimulated by the interest of European scholars in Yazīdī beliefs, sharp guarantors in Mawṣil were always endeavouring to discover new texts. Mingana endeavoured to show that a former Nestorian monk of the Alkosh monastery, named Shammās Eremia Shāmir of the diocese of Kirkūk, who died in 1906, forged all the texts published by Chabot, Giamil, Isya Joseph and Browne, but the authenticity of the Kurdish text was accepted in Bittner's monograph, *Die heiligen Bücher der Jeziden oder Teufelsanbeter*, with *Nachtrag*, in the *Denkschriften d. Wiener Ak. d. Wiss.*, lv, Vienna 1913. The syntax of the text is, according to Edmonds, basically that of the present-day dialect of Sulaymānī Kurdish. Both Bittner and Edmonds agree that the Kurdish version is not the original, but must be a translation from the Arabic, as some linguistic peculiarities suggest (plays on words which are unintelligible in Kurdish).

The *Kitāb-i Djālwā* might nevertheless conceivably have been originally written in Kurdish, as the Kurdish text is in many passages more lucid and coherent than the Arabic, while in the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh*, the Arabic text is better than the Kurdish. According to Sharaf al-Dīn, the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* in its present form could not have been written by an Arab, as the language is modern; there are a number of expressions which are either not used in classical Arabic or only came into use very late. In places also the construction is un-Arabic. These considerations could, of course, be arguments in favour of a recent forgery. The Arabic of the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* is even more modern, as it shows undeniably the influence of the spirit of Ottoman Turkish.

So far, we know of at least four versions of the two sacred books: one in the possession of O. Parry in 1895; one in the hands of Isya Joseph, who possessed two versions in addition to the one published in *AJSL*, xxv; two procured by Father Anastase Marie, one of which, the so-called Sindjār version, was copied in 1899 by a Sindjar Yazīdī for a Yazīdī apostate, while the other was copied in 1904 by Anastase himself from the original in the possession of a Mawṣillī.

The *Kitāb-i Djālwā* (also *Ktāb-i Djalwā*, *Djeloa*), the original of which according to Joseph was in 1892 still in the house of Mollā Ḥaydar in Bā'adriyya and was taken twice a year to the tomb of Shaykh 'Adī, is quite short. In book form it covers 8 pages and has 109 lines. It is ascribed to the reputed founder of the religion, Shaykh 'Adī (d. 555/1160 or 557/1162; see 'ADĪ B. MUSĀFIR) who is said to have dictated it to Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn.

The fact that the *Kitāb al-Djilwa* is not mentioned in the *Radd 'ala 'l-Rāfiḍa wa-Yazīdiyya al-mukhālifīn li 'l-milla al-islāmiyya al-muḥammadiyya* written in 725/1325 by the well-informed Ibn Djamīl (Abū Firās 'Ubayd Allāh) who belonged to the Euphrates district, nor in al-Makrīzī in connection with his description of the destruction and burning of the tomb and bones of Shaykh 'Adī in 817/1414, makes Sharaf al-Dīn think its date of composition cannot be put earlier than 725/1325 or 817/1414. As Ewliyā Čelebī does not mention the work, this would bring the date even farther down, to 1655.

The above facts seem rather to indicate, however, that the Yazīdīs have been able to maintain the secret of the book with success. In spite of the advantages which might have accrued to them as *ahl al-kitāb*, they have preferred to deny their possession of sacred books. Only in the Catechism of the Shaykh Mīrān Ismā'īl Bek 'Abdī Bek Oghlu Nazli Rāhānī Yazīd for the Russian Yazīdīs is there a reference to "the glorious *Djilwa*", *Gyliazim*, as a source of the tradition.

The contents of the *Kitāb-i Djālwā*, the form and text of which are in keeping with its high purpose, are as follows: Melek Ṭāwūs who existed before all creatures sent 'Abṭāwūs (= 'Abd Ṭāwūs = Shaykh 'Adī) into the world in order to guide rightly his chosen people, the Yazīdīs, by oral instruction and later by means of the *Kitāb-i Djālwā* which no outsider may read (preface). He then speaks in the first person of his pre-existence and eternality, his omnipotence over all other creators and gods (not "creatures" as in the Arabic), of his omnipresence and providence, the erroneousness of other sacred books and the clear perceptibility of good and evil, his rule over the world and his inscrutable decree, to which in every age we owe the sending of a great man upon earth (ch. 1). Further, he deals with his power of rewarding and punishing, which also allows those who do not deserve it to receive benefits; with the dying of a true Yazīdī and the migration of souls (ch. 2); he says that he alone has power to dispose of the creatures and things of the world (ch. 3). He warns against strange doctrines, so far as they contradict his own ones, and against three unnamed things, and promises his followers his powerful protection if they keep together (ch. 4). He asks that his cult and the orders of himself and his servants should be followed (ch. 5).

The *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* is more comprehensive. The Yazīdī Kurdish original is in the form of rolls and contains 152 lines in cipher. It is much more mundane and banal and less coherent than the *Kitāb Djālwā*. It is full of contradictions and breaks off abruptly. According to tradition, it was composed about 200 years after Shaykh 'Adī (*ca.* 743/1342) by the great Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*]. The original was said to have been at one time in the house of the Kahāya 'Alī in Ḳaṣr 'Azz al-Dīn near Semali on the Tigris, but it seems now to be in Sindjār like the *Kitāb-i Djālwā*.

Cosmogony. In a very confused fashion, without divisions into chapters, the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* deals with the creation of the world in three contradictory versions. According to what seems to be the more original story of the creation, God completed the creation alone. He made a white pearl which he put on the back of a bird Anfar (in many manuscripts, Anghar) created by him and was enthroned on it for 40,000 years. He then created the seven angels of God who are identified with the mystic *shaykhs*.

On the Sunday, God created 'Azrā'īl (Azāzīl, Zazā'īl) = Melek Ṭāwūs, who is supreme over everything; on the Monday Melek Dardā'īl = Shaykh Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī). The Yazīdī pronunciation is Shēkhūsin, as the invocation in the chief Yazīdī prayer shows (Sydjadin Shēkhysin = Sadjdjād al-Dīn Shaykh Ḥasan) (the conclusions which have been drawn from an alleged *Shaykh Sinn* who is compared with the moon-god *Sin*, e.g. by Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique*[2], Paris 1954, 200 n. 2, are quite wrong); on Tuesday he created Melek Isrāfā'īl (Isrāfīl) = Shaykh Shams (al-Dīn); on Wednesday Melek Mīkā'īl = Shaykh Abū Bakr;

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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on Thursday Melek Djibrāʾīl = Sadjdjādīn (Sidjādīn, Sadjdjād al-Dīn); on Friday Melek Shamnāʾīl (Shatmāʾīl, Samansāʾīl) = Nāṣir al-Dīn; on Saturday Melek Ṭūrāʾīl (Nūrāʾīl) = Fakhr al-Dīn.

Then he created the seven heavens, the earth, sun, and moon, whereupon the last-named angel of God Fakhr al-Dīn took over the rest of the work of creation and created man and the animals.

God now came out of the pearl with the angels and caused it to burst into four pieces with a loud cry. On the sea which was formed by the water rushing out of the pearl, God sailed for 30,000 years in a ship created by him. Djibrāʾīl, created in the form of a bird, created from the pieces of the pearl sun, moon and stars, the mountains, plants, fruit-trees and the heavens (cf. on the rôle of the pearl, M. Mokri, *Le symbole de la perle dans le folklore persan et chez les Kurdes fidèles de vérité (Ahl-e Haqq)*, in *JA* [1960], 463-81).

Parallel with this is the rather different conception of the seven deities, who arising through emanation, are light of the light of God just as light is lit from light, and among them the supreme god, Khudā, only appears as *primus inter pares*.

The statements regarding the creation of the religious community of ʿAzrāʾīl (= Melek Ṭāwūs) i.e. the Yazīdīs, to whom God sent Shaykh ʿAdī from Shām (Syria) to Lālish [*q.v.*], are fragmentary, as are the statements regarding the descendants of Shahr b. Safar, the son of Adam and Eve, the ancestors of mankind. After God had been worshipped for 40,000 years by the 30,000 newly-created angels, he created Adam out of the four elements with the active assistance of Djibrāʾīl and put him in Paradise, ordering him to eat of all the fruits of the earth, except wheat (according to one Yazīdī legend, the prohibition concerned grapes).

When, after 100 years, Melek Ṭāwūs reminded God that there could be no increase in Adam's race, God gave him permission to do what he thought fit. Melek Ṭāwūs induced Adam to eat of the forbidden wheat, whereupon Adam who had as yet no opening in his bowels was driven out of Paradise by Melek Ṭāwūs and suffered great discomfort until God sent a bird to pick an orifice in him. After another 100 years, God sent Djibrāʾīl to create Eve from the lower part of Adam's left armpit.

Another story of the creation in the *Maṣḥaf-rāsh* says that God, who was sailing about on the ocean on a ship created by Him, created a pearl but crushed it after 40 years; from its cry of pain arose the mountains, from the noise the hills and from its vapour the heavens. God then created six other deities by emanation from His light. Each of these deities in their turn then created something: the first the heavens, the second became the sun, the third the moon, the fourth created the horizons, the fifth the morning-star and the sixth the atmosphere.

There are further a few confused statements regarding the very early history of the Yazīdīs in the *Maṣḥaf*, which include a few features worth noting: after Melek Ṭāwūs had given Eve to Adam as a companion, he descended to earth to the Yazīdīs who, as descendants of Adam alone, had nothing in common with the rest of mankind. He appointed for them as for the Assyrians, who had been in existence from the earliest times, rulers namely: Nashrūḥ (Nasrūkh, Assyr, Nisroch) = Nāṣir al-Dīn; Djambūsh (Kāmūsh = Kamos) = Melek Fakhr al-Dīn and Artēmush (Artīmūs = Artemis) = Melek Shams al-Dīn. After them Shābūr (Shāpūr) I and II reigned for 150 years. From him, all their notables are descended, especially the family of the Yazīdī princes. The Yazīdīs had four rulers not definitely named. One of their kings, Āḥāb, ordered names of their own to be given to them (which names is not stated). Ilah Āḥāb (i.e. Baʿlzabūb) is now called Pīrbūb. Among other Yazīdī rulers were Bukhtnaṣar (Nebucchadnezzar) in Babel, Akhashwerosh (Akhashperosh) in Persia and Aghrinḳālūs (Aghrīḳalūs) in Constantinople.

The *Maṣḥaf* further contains prohibitions. The forbidden foods include lettuce (Yaz. *kāhū*, Arab. *khass*, which is prohibited on account of the resemblance of the name to that of the prophetess Khāsīa); beans (*lobīā*); fish (*māsī* = *māhī*, on account of the prophet Yūnān = Yūnus); gazelles (*āsek*); for the *shaykh* and his disciples, the flesh of poultry (*kālāshir*) and gourds (*kūlākā*) are forbidden.

As among the Sabians, the colour dark blue is prohibited. The following are also expressly forbidden: to micturate standing, to dress while sitting down, to use a closet and to wash in a bathroom (bath and closet are regarded as the abode of evil spirits). It is forbidden to pronounce the following words: *shayṭān* ("the name of their god"); *kayṭān* (noose); *shaṭṭ* (stream); *sharr* (evil); *malʿūn* (accursed); *laʿna* (curse) and *naʿl* (horseshoe).

Not mentioned in the *Maṣḥaf*, but traditionally regarded as forbidden, are words beginning with *shīn*; also *saraṭān* ("crab"); *ḥīṭān* ("hedges"); *bustān* ("vegetable garden"); *baṭṭ* ("duck"); *naṭṭ* ("jump") and others; reading and writing, shaving and complete removal of the moustache are also forbidden, as are the use of combs and razors belonging to others, taking wood from sacred forests, the rearing of bastards and drinking from gurgling vessels.

Bibliography: Cf. the Bibl. of the article YAZĪDĪ in *EI*[1]; Ismāʿīl Beg Čōl, *al-Yazīdiyya ḳadīm*[an] *wa-ḥadīth*[an]. . . ("The Yarzīdīs past and present"), ed. C. Zurayḳ, American University of Beirut, Oriental Series No. 6, Beirut 1934, cf. thereon R. Strothmann, in *Isl.*, xxii (1935), 323-4; R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezīdīs de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjār*, Beirut 1938; T. Bois, *Les Yézidis. Essai historique et sociologique sur leur origine religieuse*, in *Machriq*, lv (1961), 109-28, 190-242; C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967, 49-50, 87-8. (TH. MENZEL*)

KITĀBA [see Supplement].

KITĀBĀT (A.), inscriptions.

1. Islamic epigraphy in general.

The study of Arabic inscriptions today constitutes a science full of promise, an auxiliary science to be sure, but a science indispensable to the scholarly exploitation of a whole category of authentic texts capable of throwing light on the civilisation in the context of which they were written. From a very early period, seeing that the first dated Arabic inscription available to us goes back to the year 31/652 and that we are aware of previous inscriptions and graffiti known as "proto-Arabic", there appeared in Islamic circles the practice of engraving, on stone or other hard material, in a more or less skilful fashion, the symbols then used in so-called archaic Arabic writing [see KHAṬṬ]. This practice subsequently spread, benefiting from the prestige soon to be enjoyed by a writing capable of giving material embodiment to and preserving the very letter of the Ḳurʾānic revelation while responding to the needs of the new society born simultaneously with the Arab-Islamic empire and state. This corpus

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of inscriptions drawn up in the Arabic language, disseminated and preserved up to the present day throughout a particularly vast geographical region, that of the Muslim countries, where Arabic writing was practised, may today be suitably considered in its entirety, in spite of the difficulties inherent in the massive scale of the regions in question and in the inadequacies of the researches hitherto undertaken.

In its capacity as an original discipline, Arabic epigraphy, in common with the subsidiary sciences which it more or less borders on, like numismatics, glyptic or diplomatic for example, or even those which it partially overlaps, like palaeography *stricto sensu*, was among the disciplines subjected to specific study, at the end of the 19th century, by enthusiastic Western scholars curious about Oriental civilisations. Its methods, inspired principally by those of classical epigraphy, and the first attempts at their application, were owed to their zeal. It enabled various Western Arabist and Islamic scholars to obtain historical and archaeological results which guaranteed its vigour. It was not however until several decades later that it came to be recognised as a science by Arabic-speakers themselves, in regions where the traditional taste for calligraphy had hitherto reigned unchallenged but had never taken the form of the searching out or the study of texts of this type decorating the walls of buildings or the surfaces of pieces of furniture; it is in fact no accident that the early Arab sources, anxious to describe the stages in the development of writing and to give the names of its eminent exponents, mention only the names of copyists or scribes distinguished in their use of the pen, while remaining silent on the issue of so-called lapidary writing and refer only exceptionally to the existence of the monumental graphic compositions that are so remarkable.

A modern science therefore by its very definition, Arabic epigraphy saw some of its rules codified as a result of the personal efforts of the Swiss orientalist Max van Berchem. The attention which this passionate enquirer tirelessly brought to bear on the remains of Arabic inscriptions preserved in Egypt and in Syria was in fact accompanied by a detailed consideration on his part of the fundamental principles according to which their study should best be conducted; some spectacular initial progress was marked in his lifetime and under his inspiration by the establishment of the first corpora of Arabic inscriptions.

This progress went far beyond anything that had been previously attempted. They should not, however, condemn to oblivion those earlier efforts which can be set back as far as the 18th century with reference to Tychsen, but which owed most of all, at the beginning of the 19th century, to the personality of J. J. Marcel, the French palaeographer, a member of Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt, who devoted his energies to deciphering, reproducing and annotating in tentative fashion some Kūfic inscriptions of Cairo with the aim of gaining insights into the evolution of ancient Arabic writing. His studies, like the works of other pioneers upon whom there is no space to expatiate here (see J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Quelques étapes et perspectives de l'épigraphie arabe*, in *SI*, xvii [1962], 5-22, also the references to epigraphy in the detailed historical chapter entitled *Die Entwicklung der arabischen Paläographie im Abendlande*, in A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, i, Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1967, 32-65), gave clear indications of what was to follow. They even gave birth, alongside the ambitious and fruitless efforts of Lanci for example, to works that remain, even today, as indispensable for reference purposes as is the catalogue of inscriptions on objets d'art drawn up by Reinaud in connection with an important collection of his time (Reinaud, *Monuments arabes, persans et turcs du cabinet de M. le Duc de Blacas*, 2 vols., Paris 1828). The uneven quality of the results obtained emphasised even at this early stage the difficulties of a sphere where the best-conceived programmes—and this was the case with J. J. Marcel's programme at the dawn of the 19th century—most often came into confrontation with insurmountable obstacles of a material order and where the enthusiastic work of numerous specialists failed on every occasion to satisfy requirements, the importance of which they themselves had understood and asserted.

In fact, it was not at that time solely a case of showing that Arabic inscriptions deserved to be collected in the same way as Greek and Latin inscriptions. There was also a need to work rapidly in the field of new research, where the volume of exploitable documentation was remarkably copious. The initiative was taken by Max van Berchem when, having produced a large number of manifestos in commendation of Arabic epigraphy, he published, in the early years of the 20th century, the first volume of his *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*. But his ambitious and authoritative project of publishing systematically, region by region and monument by monument, a corpus of hitherto neglected epigraphic material soon had to be abandoned. The exemplary collections of inscriptions which he himself accomplished or supervised with regard to Cairo (M. van Berchem, *CIA Egypt* i, Cairo 1894-1903, *Mém. mission arch. fr.*, xix), Tripoli (M. Sobernheim, *CIA Syrie du Nord* i, Cairo 1909, MIFAO, xxv), Siwās and Diwrigi (M. van Berchem and H. Edhem, *CIA Asie mineure*, i, Cairo 1910-17, *MIFAO*, xxix) and finally Jerusalem (M. van Berchem, *CIA Syrie du Sud*, Cairo 1920-2, *MIFAO*, xliii-xlv), were followed, after his death in 1921, only by a later supplement on Cairo (G. Wiet, *CIA Egypte*, ii, Cairo 1929-30, *MIFAO*, lii) and the publication still later, in the form of posthumous work taken over by other hands, of the results of a survey of Aleppo begun by Moritz Sobernheim, in the lifetime of Max van Berchem, and subsequently resumed by Ernst Herzfeld and Etienne Combe (*Syrie du Nord*, ii, Cairo 1954-6, MIFAO, lxxvi-lxxvii).

The terrain prospected on this basis remains, at present, minimal in comparison with that approached by less complete studies. Certainly there are other works of broad scope, undertaken in a different spirit, which also deserve mention. These have striven for example to deal with the question in their own way with regard to countries where Arabic inscriptions attracted attention at a very early stage: the inventories of Michele Amari for Sicily (*Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia, Iscrizione edili*, Palermo 1875, *Iscrizione sepolcrali*, 1879-81, *Iscrizione mobili e domestiche*, 1885, re-edited by F. Gabrieli, Palermo 1971) or of E. Lévi-Provençal for Spain (*Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden 1931), not to mention the various fascicules published in Calcutta under the title *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*. But beside these, of far greater number are studies that are currently out of date, such as the *Corpus des inscriptions arabes et turques de l'Algérie* (G. Colin, *Département d'Alger*, Paris 1901, and G. Mercier,

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Département de Constantine, Paris 1902), works that have quite recently been supplemented by the various published fascicules of the *Corpus des inscriptions arabes de Tunisie* (1st part: S. M. Zbiss, *Inscriptions de Tunis et de sa banlieue*, Tunis 1955, *Inscriptions du Gorjani*, Tunis 1962; *Inscriptions de Monastir*, Tunis 1962), or the volumes devoted to various epigraphic collections of the Iberian region (M. Ocaña Jimenez, *Repertorio de inscripciones árabes de Almería*, Madrid-Granada, 1964; G. Rosselo-Bordoy, *Corpus balear de epigrafía árabe*, Mallorca 1975; F. Valderrama Martinez, *Inscriptiones árabes de Tetuán*, Madrid 1975). Moreover, there are numerous tentative works which are still at the project stage, although more than ever there is an awareness of the fundamental need for studies conducted on a regional basis, taking advantage of opportunities for verification on the spot (see in this context, the remarks of Sourdel-Thomine, *Perspectives nouvelles dans le domaine de l'épigraphie*, in *Boletin de la asociatión espanola de Orientalistas*, v [1969], 183-90, and M. Sharon, *Un nouveau corpus des inscriptions arabes de Palestine*, in *REI*, xlii [1974], 185-91).

As a consequence, the uneven quality of results obtained and their partial insufficiency remain the principal defects of collections made up to the present day. This assertion, banal though it may be, cannot be passed over in silence, even if the reasons for it are easily explained in a world stretching from India to the Pyrenees and from Anatolia to Black Africa, covering an immense territory that is little-known from an archaeological point of view and of which certain parts are particularly difficult of access, and which in any case considerably oversteps the limits assigned today to the Arab world as strictly defined. It is not only that Arabic inscriptions are dotted throughout areas that have since reverted to a desert state and that some provinces islamised at a late stage, like Anatolia, are not the least rich in hitherto unsuspected treasures; but there is also the fact that these inscriptions that have remained so long outside the canon of research are also distinguished by their diversity of appearance according to the regions, as witnesses to a society where writing, spread broadly throughout all areas, was subject to numerous stylistic variations [see KHAṬṬ]. The difficulties of decipherment are thus magnified by the effect of these local practices, and the traits and qualities peculiar to Arabic writing itself from the time of its appearance, which have subsequently conditioned its development, continue to be partially responsible for the shortcomings of a discipline where scientific progress is confronted by uncertain readings and by problematic interpretation of scripts, since there are numerous instances where letters are easily confused and uncertainties are further multiplied and complicated by a concern for ornamentation, which in most cases takes priority over legibility (cf. R. Ettinghausen, *Arabic epigraphy: communication or symbolic affirmation*, in *Near Eastern numismatics, iconography, epigraphy and history. Studies in honor of George C. Miles*, ed. D. K. Kouymjian, Beirut 1974, 297-317).

Such conditions were hardly favourable to the intensive and systematic publication of documents in the series of *Matériaux pour un Corpus* inaugurated by van Berchem. They were no more favourable to the establishment of the other fundamental study-apparatus envisaged a little later by Etienne Combe, Jean Sauvaget and Gaston Wiet in the form of a *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* which had the object of assembling, year-by-year and in an approximately geographical order, the texts of Arabic inscriptions already published, accompanied by their French translation and indispensable bibliographical information. To be sure, sixteen successive volumes of this *Répertoire* (Caire, PIFAO, 1931 ff.) have so far appeared and more than six thousand inscriptions have been edited covering the first eight centuries of the Muslim era. But since 1931, the date at which the enterprise was begun, the rhythm of discoveries has been more rapid than the rhythm at which the inventory has been assembled; the latter remains incomplete and today it swarms with inaccuracies in its most ancient sections, making it a vehicle for defective copies and sometimes of duplications. Even to consult it, in its present state of incompleteness, is to encounter difficulties which are barely alleviated by the publication of the *Index géographique* to its first six volumes, quite recently brought about through the good offices of the Centre d'Épigraphie Arabe of the École Pratique des Hautes Études IV[e] section of Paris. Even if it may be hoped that forthcoming volumes (vol. xvii prepared by L. Kalus, in press), profiting from experience acquired and designed to respond to more precise critical objectives in an age where our knowledge of Arabic inscriptions has considerably developed, will avoid some of these defects, they will continue to be no less restricted by the inadequacies of the previous publications on which they cannot help being based.

The *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe* is, in any case, the only existing attempt at systematic grouping of inscriptions, in a sphere where the means employed are, to this day, seldom sufficient for the extent of the tasks to be accomplished. Also to be asserted is the almost total absence of studies of Arabic epigraphy constructed on the principle of the series, the non-existence of functional corpora, organised according to material and category for example, the only means permitting a thorough investigation of the limited types of documents which inscriptions are, by definition. It is appropriate to mention in this connection, insofar as concerns the signatures of craftsmen, the inventories, designed to form a *Corpus of Muslim artists*, with which L. A. Mayer hoped to bring about a re-evaluation of our knowledge concerning the artistic schools as well as the functioning of their influences, and the publication of which was, also, interrupted soon after the death of the inaugurator of the collection (see Mayer, *Islamic architects and their works*, Geneva 1956; *Islamic astrolabists and their works*, Geneva 1958; *Islamic metalworkers and their works*, Geneva 1959; *Islamic armourers and their works*, Geneva 1962).

The bibliographical guides and the synthesised surveys are also inadequate to enable a confident orientation in a mass of studies that are too often indebted to fortuitous discoveries and consequently scattered through the most diverse of volumes, ranging from "epigraphic appendices" accompanying reports of explorations, accounts of journeys or archaeological publications to museum catalogues or monographs dealing with themes such as Islamology, history, palaeography or even aesthetics. Such in fact is the variety of subjects covered by Arabic inscriptions of an equally varied interest. Such also is the slow progress of research, which has been principally concerned with a copious proliferation of notes, correspondences and brief articles of ununfortunately uneven quality.

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Nor do we have at our disposal, it should finally

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be made clear, manuals providing an introduction to Arabic epigraphy and guiding the efforts of those who wish to become conversant with it; familiarity with the works of their predecessors, especially with the articles of Max van Berchem, loaded with methodology (*Notes d'archéologie arabe*, i and ii, in *JA* [1891], i, 411-495, and [1892], i, 377-407; *Recherches archéologiques en Syrie*, in *JA* [1895], ii, 485-515; in particular, *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie*, in *Mém. de l'Inst. égyptien*, iii, 417-520), with the volumes already mentioned of the *Matériaux pour un Corpus* and the specimen publications of subtly-deciphered and annotated inscriptions offered by some articles of J. Sauvaget (such as his publication of the *Décrets mamelouks de Syrie*, in *BEO*, ii [1932], 1-52, iii [1953], 1-29, and xii [1947-8], 5-60, as well as his *Quatre décrets seljoukides*) remains for the aspiring student the only possible path to follow, apart from various items of specific information provided here or there. More regrettable, however, is the fact that numerous aspects are to be distinguished in a body of inscriptions influenced simultaneously by regional practices and by the disparities between schools marked by the proliferation of dynastic centres. We know in fact that diverse currents presided, according to places and periods, over the drafting of inscriptions, the text of which evolved in parallel with the development and stylistic ramifications of so-called lapidary writing (which has in fact applied to various materials), a writing the history of which is an important chapter of the history of Arabic writing [see KHAṬṬ]. Influences of every kind were manifested here equally in the form of politico-social transformations and historical events which it would be impossible to evoke in this article in the context appropriate to each, geographically distinct, group of inscriptions.

But this continually-renewed variety should not cause one to forget certain traits characteristic of Arabic inscriptions which may be underlined here, in regard to their nature and customary content, and which will enable us to stress the value of the conclusions to which their study leads.

One important feature to be emphasised is the frequency and significance of religious inscriptions, which have sometimes tended to be overlooked in cases where they are not accompanied by documents judged to be of historical interest and which, for this reason, do not figure in their own right in the *Répertoire* and are only briefly mentioned in the *Matériaux pour un Corpus*. These are sometimes isolated inscriptions also capable of supplying an ornamental function on buildings, tombstones or even household objects, sometimes elements belonging to texts where in spite of the profane purpose there is an inevitable collection of pious expressions and customary doctrinal preoccupations. Here we shall assemble in particular examples of Ḳur'ānic quotations, professions of faith, isolated or linked to the texts of epitaphs, prayers, invocations and blessings.

These religious inscriptions appeared at the very beginning of the Islamic era among the primitive graffiti which covered a large number of the rocks of the desert (see the bibliographic references of Sourdel-Thomine, *Inscriptions et grafitti arabes d'époque umayyade, à propos de quelques publications récentes*, in *REI* [1964], 115-20). But they were also early situated in ornamental bands forming an integral part of the architectural decor, as admirably illustrated by the interior of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*]. From this period, their essential theme has been the glorification of the Muslim faith, which could be associated with the personal nature of the testimony left behind by each traveller in the course of his wanderings, as much as with the majestic impassiveness of epigraphic compositions on a grand scale. It would not be enough, however, to say with Max van Berchem, that the dominating feature here is principally the notion of divine power which is one of the two main concepts of the Muslim spirit. Some of these texts, regarded in the most ancient cases as useful means of access to the deity, continue to act as representatives of the dominant religious feeling of the period and their formulae of praise and trust, varied to a greater or lesser extent with requests for pardons, blessings and favours, for a long time remained free of the constrictions of a stereotyped vocabulary. But even when they obeyed more rigid rules, they still maintained an authenticity enabling them to share in the expression of genuine religious options, and texts of commonplace appearance thus continued to reflect diverse doctrinal tendencies in the bosom of the Islamic community; allusions to sectarian beliefs, in the form of eulogies of a Shī'ī flavour for example; echoes of theological arguments like references to the created Ḳur'ān in professions of faith accompanying Egyptian epitaphs of the 3rd/9th century; maxims bearing the marks of philosophical wisdom and of mystical self-denial observed for example in the inscriptions of Khumartāsh at Ḳazwīn at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. Even the poetic quotations so frequent for instance in later Sicilian texts could concur to the same design, and variations in formula came to be accentuated with the fragmentation, of a religious as well as a political nature, which the Islamic world suffered towards the end of the Middle Ages (note the originality of the theological texts which adorned at that time the sanctuaries of the Twelver Shī'ī conducting the prayers on the basis of a cult of *imāms* unknown in other Muslim circles).

A common denominator to all these inscriptions may assuredly be found in the constant use of Ḳur'ānic quotations, multiplied to the extent that they sometimes take the place of any other form of devout reflection. But even here the choice of verses copied in whole or in part obeys specific intentions, which are discernible, if not clearly asserted, and their arrangement is sufficient to indicate the theological or judicial implications of texts which have a doctrinal value for anyone who is able to interpret them. References to *ḥadīth*, the use of extracts from the Ḳur'ān of a recognised propitiatory nature (the "Throne" verse, for example), the insertion of certain types of prayer, also constitute revealing elements (see in this connection, D. Sourdel, *A propos des "Dix Élus"*, in *REI*, xxxi [1963], 111-14).

It is to be regretted, however, that few Islamic scholars take an interest in material that too often continues to be strange to them, while on the other hand there is a vigorous and widespread school of thought seeking, in the light of illuminist doctrines popular in certain circles of initiates, to decipher every ancient inscription as if it were an esoteric riddle, tinted with "traditional" gnostic philosophy both Shī'ī and Iranian. In fact, besides the intentional use of certain formulae that are legible and loaded with meaning beneath the flamboyant style of the writing—such as for example the remarkable stucco composition in "square Kūfic" on the names of the Twelve *Imāms* preserved in the sanctuary of Pīr-i Bakrān at Lindjān near Iṣfahān—one might hesitate to see a hidden sense in the quasi-mechanical

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repetition, on certain monuments, of formulae such as *al-mulk li-llāh* "the power is God's", or, on certain pieces of pottery, of expressions of the *al-ʿāfiya* type sometimes evolving towards pseudo-inscriptions. These formulae, reproduced in the manner of respected graphic combinations, doubtless preserved no theological significance more precise than the successions of appeals, such as "fortune, prosperity, blessing ... to him who possesses it" *al-yumn wa 'l-iḳbāl wa 'l-baraka*, etc.... *li ṣāḥibihi*, which at that time were invariably inscribed on manufactured objects. The connections between sign and signified which may still be legitimately read here, are thus shown to be especially typical of a psychological climate peculiar to Muslim society in the sense of a society marked by religiosity, and correspond to the tight liaison that we have already emphasised between the character, Muslim in tenor and ornamental in appearance, of the majority of the inscriptions in this category: these are works of art endowed in this sense with a fundamental ambiguity as means of expression, both aesthetic and symbolic, of the sensibilities of their period.

A second category of inscriptions that is no less copious is subsequently represented, that of historical texts which have the object of commemorating the individual and his acts, whether the case in question is of a senior government official or of the obscure occupant of a village tomb. To this category we may add construction texts fixing the date of a certain building, title deeds and other documentation of private transactions, foundation texts indicating (according to terminology originating with van Berchem and adopted by the *RCEA*) attestations of pious donations given in perpetuity through the custom of *waḳf* [*q.v.*], funeral texts of all kinds and even the straightforward signatures of master craftsmen and artists which will also be considered here. If these texts partially reflect the notion of "absolute political power" wherein van Berchem saw, according to an insufficiently-qualified assertion, the second major concept of the Islamic spirit, and if their principal gravitation is such that the same epigraphist expressed it, evolving around the names of the sovereign, his titles, his major deeds and his continuing praise, they also contain much more: through the evolution that they have undergone in the course of the centuries, they give information on popular beliefs, opinions current among the wealthy or academic classes of society and the functions served or the degree of respect attained, after their death, by certain of their members, as well as on the nature of the buildings, utilitarian or decorative, that the latter took pleasure in constructing. Some of this information of obvious value in the reconstruction of the social, economic and intellectual history of the Islamic world, is accompanied also by precise revelations touching on such-and-such a point of circumstantial history or such-and-such an archaeological detail: these amply compensate for the tedium that sometimes emanates from the stereotyped phraseology and the excessive enumeration of titles that are characteristic of documents tending towards a standard official formality rather than towards any personal touch, which is rarely encountered.

Of all these texts, the most copious category is undoubtedly that of epitaphs, collections of which, either remaining *in situ* in the ancient cemeteries or transferred to museums, are on such a massive scale as to discourage the most enthusiastic researcher and in consequence have seldom been catalogued in a systematic way. The specimens published since the unique example of 31/652 and the Egyptian steles of the end of the 2nd/8th century are nevertheless sufficient to give an idea of the progressive transformation, according to places and periods, of fairly simple types of texts, where the significant features have always been religious maxims and the professions of faith already mentioned (for supplementary details and bibliography, see ḳabr). Their references to certain currents of thought deserve in fact to be given more attention than the study of the dates of inscriptions or the genealogies of the deceased where statistics directed towards onomastic and prosopography, according to local perspectives, would alone be capable, in the longer term, of maintaining interest. But neither should one ignore the titulary inscriptions which are to be noted from the 6th/12th century onward, in a period where the devaluation of titles formerly reserved for sovereigns led to the attribution, to "men of religion" and other representatives of the upper urban classes, of honorific phrases, the history of which has not yet been written and which ought to be studied in the same way as the titles of individuals serving in the higher echelons of the administration [see laḳab].

Besides these epitaphs, marked by a discretion of vocabulary which is maintained up to the time of the royal epitaphs of the Ghaznavid Sebüktigin (d. 387/997) or of the Artuḳid Balak (d. 518/1124), there are other funerary texts which belong more emphatically to the canon of inscriptions intended to celebrate the glory of the sovereign. These are those which, from the 4th/10th century onward, accompany monumental mausolea varying considerably in architectural structure. A greater freedom of composition, already perceptible in the dated and dedicatory epigraphic friezes of the Iranian tower-tombs, is shown when the opportunity offers, notably in the original version of inscriptions specially designed before his death in 607/1210-11 by ʿAlī al-Harawī [*q.v.*] for the decoration of his tomb. These texts are as valuable for the history of monuments as they are for that of the sovereigns, officials or military chiefs who chose them for the commemoration of their graves. Moreover, they become especially significant when the tombs in question are those identified by popular piety as objects of pilgrimage and supplication, whether in Shīʿī circles where the buildings of *imām-zāda*s [*q.v.*] were widespread at a very early stage, or to a certain extent throughout the Muslim world from the 6th/12th century, when the practice of *ziyāra* [*q.v.*] developed to the proportions of a veritable "cult of saints" in honour of pious individuals renowned for their posthumous miracles, or of celebrities from the early periods of Islam commemorated now for the first time by newly-built sanctuaries; only inscriptions of sufficient antiquity may in fact give information about the original period of these devotions, inaccurately described in the literary sources, while at the same time supplying the names of rulers or wealthy patrons who promoted them. These data are also useful for the reconstruction of the complicated history of the multi-purpose architectural complexes which became numerous around the tombs of saints from the end of the 7th/13th century and which grew up a little later around royal graves, as is proved by well-known Tīmūrid and Mamlūk examples [see ḳubba, türbe].

The formulae employed in this particular category of funerary texts also belong partially to that attested by the innumerable construction texts en-

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graved on Muslim monuments since the Umayyad period. These latter texts in fact obeyed from the start strict obligations, which imposed the following elements: definition of the work undertaken, name of the initiator responsible, sometimes located between the name of the reigning sovereign and those of the authorities who supervised the progress of the work, and date of the construction or restoration, the whole incorporated within a series of variable additions: variously distributed pious formulae which included Ḳur'ānic quotations appropriate to the nature of the work, but which most of all were requests to God for reward in respect of the work accomplished in his honour more or less detailed appeals on behalf of the founder and optional complementary notes, including the names of the author-scribe and the architect-mason. This was the constant framework, and the additions made in ensuing centuries were only such as to incorporate subsidiary details affecting in particular the titles of the builder or those of the various authorities on whom he depended: thus one may find, in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries for example, successive mentions of the caliph of Baghdād, of the Saldjūḳ sultan, of the local sovereign, and the humble figure of the builder is introduced simply as *al-ʿabd al-faḳīr ilā raḥmati rabbihi* "the poor slave imploring the goodwill of his Lord". Furthermore, such rigidity of formulae provides the exact scheme that may be expected of inscriptions of this genre, texts that are easily reconstructed where there are lacunae in the details of ritual etiquette or in the order of succession of the various elements, but of scope limited by the constraints of their subject. Only on two points are we likely sometimes to be agreeably surprised: their archaeological interpretation, on the one hand, when care is taken to note their precise location in the building, to the dating of which they contribute; on the other hand, their richness in titles, from which one sometimes perceives the reality of Islamic government institutions which continue to pose numerous questions to the historian.

Comparable information is furthermore to be obtained, in the majority of cases, from foundation texts where the list of the titles of the legators obeys the same rules of precedence and is often clarified when account is taken of the more theoretical notions supplied by some Arabic texts dealing with chancellery practices. But the more original data contained in the disposal of these *waḳfiyya*s are of a topographical or toponymical order, on account of the large number of localities and regions listed as sources of revenue, or of an economic and social order, relating to daily life, sometimes also to urban life in general when the generous benefactor has decided for example to underwrite the excavation of *ḳanāt*s [*q.v.*] or the improvement of some municipal work. The profoundly Islamic character of these arrangements, as well as the attitudes that engendered them, is linked, through the solemn proclamation of the devotional work, to the psychological process according to which the construction of a building took on its true dimension when an inscription text preserved its memory and placed the builder or benefactor in his just position within the Muslim community.

This tendency was superimposed on a concern for the glorification of the individual concerned, which appears to a still greater extent in the inscriptions on material objects, which constitute the final category of Arabic commemorative inscriptions. The texts of these most often consist in fact of nothing more than greetings added to the name and titles which enable the owner to be identified, whether it was a case of a caliph ordering the manufacture of a *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] in a royal factory or of a Mamlūk *amīr* acquiring a bronze or a ceramic plate bearing his monogram. The mention that such an object has been manufactured on the orders of a certain powerful dignitary is sometimes the only information to be conveyed, in the form of a motif that is both epigraphic and decorative. But the sense of pride of ownership also sometimes finds an echo in the professional pride of the craftsmen who at an early stage adopted the practice of signing their works, even if in the briefest manner possible (see in this connection the writings of L. A. Mayer mentioned above).

It remains to consider, in the third and final place, the group which, while being definitely the least important, is nevertheless extremely rich in information of all kinds, the group constituted by administrative texts. Linked to the functioning of the machinery of power, they are not designed to glorify, except indirectly, the holders of this power, but rather to make certain government decisions known. Represented in early times by inscriptions stamped on coinage, or on weights and measures of glass paste which appeared from the Umayyad period onward, they made way somewhat later for decrees of abolition of taxes. Mamlūk specimens are among the best known: these are, once again, valuable documents of economic and social history, comparable with title deeds and records of donation, to the extent that they provide precise and detailed information regarding fiscal policy or give accurate descriptions of bureaucratic procedures. But the quaint symbolic notations that they preserve are shown in their turn to be extremely rich when one attempts, as Sauvaget has done, to glean from them certain data on the spot and to deduce from them, especially in the sphere of topographical studies, elements of assistance in the reconstruction of certain aspects of urban evolution.

So here we find once more this golden rule for the utilisation of Arabic inscriptions, which seems to be always to consider them as concrete documents, which are not to be separated, beyond the official formulae and the pious expressions that characterise them, from the local and monumental context within which their most original significance is expressed. Some such epigraphic commentaries, even when they deal closely with the purport of the various texts the principal tendencies of which we have reviewed above, thus remain subordinate to that which constitutes the prime quality of the documents with which they are concerned that of having been composed to occupy a particular location in lasting fashion and to be integrated into the exterior appearance of the objects or the monuments that they accompany. Nor should one neglect those inscriptions which were capable of being enclosed in the interior of the most varied types of framework (panels, scrolls, friezes of all dimensions, the entire surface of an object or a tightly-limited section), entrusted to the most varied materials according to equally diverse processes (stone engraved or sculpted in depth, stucco elaborately worked on several surfaces, experiments with bricks in relief, mosaic, painting, moulded or incised metal, wood, ivory, ceramic, etc.), sometimes reduced to the subsidiary role of motifs underlining with their shapes the principal lines of the architecture or joining with covering linear décors composed of arabesques and

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lattice-work. These details are to be considered with as much attention as the formulae of the inscriptions or as the style as revealed by the idiosyncrasies of the writing. For the reasoned study of this body of facts, with which, in order to be complete, any survey of Islamic epigraphy ought to begin, is the only means that will enable the scholar to put into their just place, for an introduction to the realities of mediaeval Islamic civilisation, the inscriptions which up to the present day scholars have been content to examine in a fashion that is still too incomplete and inevitably superficial.

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(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

2. In the Near East.

It is in the Near East, the cradle of Arabic writing, and more precisely in Syria (Namāra, Zebed, Ḥarrān, Umm Djimāl), that the oldest known inscriptions written in the Arabic language have been discovered. These so-called proto-Arabic inscriptions, sometimes bilingual (Greek-Arabic), have contributed to our understanding of the ancestry of the Arabic characters, which in the final analysis, derive from Syriac characters and not from Nabataean, as was previously believed.

The privileged place accorded by Islam to writing allowed the latter to undergo a rapid evolution and a rapid diffusion. From the time of the Umayyad era, inscriptions proliferated in all the provinces of the young Islamic empire. Construction texts, religious texts, milestones, epitaphs, and simple graffiti dating from this period have been and still are being discovered in the archaeological sites of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, and ʿIrāḳ.

The formula of these inscriptions was probably influenced by that of the Greco-Roman inscriptions, very numerous in these regions. It is simple, sober and varies in tenor according to the function of the text. It serves as a prototype for later periods which enrich it, while remaining faithful to its broad outlines. Official texts are generally composed as follows: almost always the *basmala*, one or more Ḳurʾānic verses, religious invocations, the dispositions of the work, the name of the caliph followed by his title *amīr al-muʾminīn*, sometimes the name of the overseer responsible for the work, and generally, the date.

The study of these inscriptions reveals the rapidity with which the crude and maladroit writing of the proto-Arabic inscriptions was transformed to the point of attaining, in the monumental inscriptions, a high level of aesthetic perfection. Engraved on rock in finely drawn lines of equal breadth, usually incised, very seldom in relief, sometimes executed in mosaic or in painting, Umayyad writing obeys the same norms: characters composed of simple geometric elements—verticals, horizontals, obliques, circles or segments of circles—set out on a base line which is strictly horizontal. This horizontal base line plays an essential role in Arabic writing. The latter was in fact conceived, after the pattern of Syriac characters, as resting on a foundation, as opposed to Nabataean characters, which appear to be suspended from an upper line. This role is such, that in certain types of archaic and crude writing, the base line is itself an integral part of the characters. These latter are in such cases formed of small simple lines, vertical or oblique, and of rings, resting on the horizontal of the base line, of which the continuity is unbroken (cf. PL. VIII, 1).

In Umayyad epigraphy, the combinations of these geometric elements give two types of characters: tall letters with vertical strokes and short letters with notches or rings, connected by horizontal segments. This double typology constitutes one of the essential elements of the aesthetic quality of Arabic writing. In fact, it provides the artist with two areas where he can exercise his genius differently: the lower register, the more dense, where the artistic effect obtained results in a simple inter-play of characters, and the upper register where the spaces between the vertical strokes provide an ideal place for the artist to indulge his taste for multiple creations.

In the Umayyad period, this upper register was not used, but the stone-masons succeeded, by using the lower register alone, in creating "a harmony at once rhythmic and linear" which makes this form of writing a genuine work of art. The rhythm is obtained by the opposition and alternation of high and low characters, while the linear harmony results from the arithmetical reckoning of the proportions. This reckoning answers a need for equilibrium as much in height (the proportion of short characters to long varies generally between 1/3 and 1/2) as in width. It is to satisfy this latter need that the mason does not hesitate to extend his characters in width and to lengthen the joining segments. The standard of calligraphy definitely varies according to the type of inscription and it is especially in official texts that fine specimens are to be found. We shall mention simply as examples the inscriptions of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik in the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra in Jerusalem and his milestones (cf. PL. VIII, 2 and IX, 3).

During the first two centuries of the ʿAbbāsid régime, the Arabic inscriptions of the Near-East underwent an evolution corresponding to that of the socio-cultural development of the entire ancient Baghdād and that of the palaces of Samarrāʾ. The fact that these were constructed of brick, a perishable material, has deprived us of the monumental inscriptions which probably adorned the official buildings and which disappeared as a result of these destructions. On the other hand, we have dating from this period a large number of epitaphs and inscriptions on movable objects, especially on fabrics which benefited from the expansion of state factories (*ṭirāz*) supplying the needs of the caliphs and their court. The formula of these inscriptions, often found on the edges of the fabric, is stereotyped. It begins with the *basmala*, generally followed by the phrase *baraka min Allāh li-ʿAbd Allāh* followed by the name of the caliph and his title, and the expression of a wish for his long reign, then the name of the individual who ordered the fabric, the name of the workshop where it was made and the date of manufacture. These inscriptions are executed in archaic, angular characters whose typology corresponds, in broad outline, to that of the characters of the stone inscriptions.

In this area, undoubtedly the most interesting evidence is provided by the epitaphs, most of them of Egyptian origin, engraved on marble or on sandstone, of which a considerable number of specimens have survived to the present day. The formula of these epitaphs is constituted of different elements of which the combinations vary according to a variety of patterns: the *basmala*, a verse of the Ḳurʾān, one or more religious invocations, the profession of faith, more or less developed, the dedication of the tomb, the verb introducing the name of the deceased followed by his titles and

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profession, the date of his death and an appeal for God's mercy upon him.

These epitaphs provide valuable materials for following the evolution of inscriptions on stone during the first ʿAbbāsid centuries. The change of dynasty did not immediately change the practices of the stonemasons and the characters of early ʿAbbāsid epitaphs are similar in outline to those of Umayyad inscriptions. Nevertheless, differences soon appear in the reckoning of the proportions. The characters diminish in length and correspondingly the joining segments between the letters become shorter. As a result, ʿAbbāsid Kūfic presents a more cramped and less harmonious aspect appearance than Umayyad Kūfic. On the other hand, this evolution is inclined toward a concern for the ornamentation of characters. This is expressed first in the lengthening of the terminal segments in the form of a bevel which tends to grow larger and larger. In the crude types it is sometimes replaced by a small hook or even a ring. To the development of the bevel there correspond a thickening of the outlines of the letters and a more frequent adoption of the technique of engraving in champlevé (cf. Pl. IX, 4), which allows two parallel expressions of the evolution of characters. corresponding to the duality of engraving techniques. Thus, in incised inscriptions, the vertical strokes of the letters are decorated with hooks, simple, double or triple, pre-figuring the palm-leaf (cf. Pl. X, 5), while in inscriptions in relief, the bevels evolve into foils, double foils or triple foils which later open out into leaves, fleurons and palm-leaves, a style of décor much in vogue in the mid-3rd/9th century (cf. Pl. X, 6).

Various other processes of ornamentation are encountered in this period: symmetrical indentations in the parallel vertical strokes of the *alif* and the *lām*, softening of the lines and the appearance of curves (in the *lām-alif*, the *kāf*), transformation of the lower appendices into rising tails, fleurons arising from mouth-shaped letters (*mīm*), the intertwining of contiguous lines, (cf. the knot formed by the *alif* and the *lām* of the word Allāh, Pl. X, 6, l. 1). The indentations and arcs which sometimes adorn the joining segments, especially in the word Allāh, roses and fleurons at the end of a word, framing in linear décor (braids, zigzags, mouldings, spirals) or in a décor of plant-forms (plant palm-leaves alternated on one side and the other by a sinuous line, leaves and symmetrical fleurons), sometimes an even more subtle composition (an arc delineated by a flat moulding with spandrels adorned by an outline in arabesque), combine towards the embellishment of the script.

With the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969 and its sporadic expansion in Syria-Palestine, new practices are introduced into the inscriptions of the Near East. The formula varies little in its basic elements, but the name of the caliph is almost always followed by mention of his links with the "Family" in a phrase such as *ṣalawāt Allāh ʿalayhi wa-ʿalā abāʾi-hi al-ṭāhirīn*, and the name of ʿAlī is often mentioned with that of the Prophet (*Muḥammad rasūl Allāh ʿAlī walī Allāh ṣalawāt Allāh ʿalay-himā*).

The effort at the embellishment of calligraphy continues, and a real proliferation of types of decorative inscriptions is seen. As characteristic examples, we mention the inscriptions of the 4th/10th century mosque of al-Ḥākim in Cairo (cf. Pl. X, 7) and those of the cenotaph of Fāṭima in Damascus (dated 439/1047, Pl. XI, 8). In the former, the linear element maintains a predominant place. The characters show a vigour of design which accentuates their relief on the excised base, completely bare in the lower part, decorated in the upper register by an independent, foliated scroll which glides alternatively above and below the vertical strokes and which gives a free run in the empty spaces to the development of spiral designs which open out in fleurons (cf. Pl. X, 7).

In the cenotaph of Fāṭima, the foliated scroll is sometimes linked to floral elements issuing from the characters and develops in such a fashion as to form a more dense composition (cf. Pl. XI, 8).

In the Fāṭimid period, the typology of the characters is considerably enriched. Curvatures, counter-curvatures, knots and indentations are numerous in the interiors of the characters, offering the stonemason infinite opportunities for improvisation. Purely for the sake of example, let us note the ten different types of *lām-alif* in the single inscription of the cenotaph of Fāṭima.

It would of course be wrong to attribute to Fāṭimid artists alone all the epigraphic innovations in the inscriptions of the 5th-6th/11th-12th century in the Near East. The conquest of Syria by the Saldjūḳs, who imported with them the techniques and the graphical forms used in the eastern provinces of the Islamic empire, was accompanied by the intrusion of a number of the features mentioned in the Fāṭimid inscriptions, such as knots and right-angled bends in the vertical strokes of certain characters. There was probably a phenomenon of osmosis between these various regions where exchanges were frequent.

The inscription on the cenotaph of Sukayna in Damascus (end of the 6th/12th century; cf. Pl. X, 9) is an interesting specimen of the evolution of monumental Kūfic in the Saldjūḳ period. The inscriptions engraved in the wood of the cenotaph are distributed on three levels, in two bands superimposed and separated by a fine braid. The main inscription occupies the full height of the broadest band, while at half-way up, the second is intertwined among the vertical strokes of the first. The third, quite independent, occupies the small upper band. These three bands stand out against a background decorated by a fine network of arabesques which cover all of the part crudely excised.

Among the specifically Saldjūḳ types of monumental inscription, mention should be made of epigraphic bands with geometric décor where the vertical lines of the characters are extended in the upper area giving rise to the interweaving of stars and polygons. The inscription of Ṣafwat al-Mulk at Damascus is a living illustration of this.

The Saldjūḳ influence is also shown in the evolution of the formulary of inscriptions of small Syrian dynasties of Saldjūḳ allegiance where the titles become swollen with pomposity (cf. for example the titles of the *atābak* sovereigns in the construction texts of the great mosque of Damascus).

It was in the first half of the 6th/12th century that there was effected the most important transformation regarding the evolution of Arabic script in stone, when Nūr al-Dīn ordered the adoption of the cursive script in official inscriptions, to the detriment of the angular script, which, without disappearing completely, was reduced to repetitions of ancient types. Some fragments of cursive script are mixed, as an intrusion, in the Kūfic inscriptions of the bands of the minaret of the great mosque of Aleppo in 483/1090. There is found also at Buṣrā in Syria an inscription dating from 481/1188, where the characters, while still crude, are neatly rounded; but it is not until the first half of the 6th/12th century

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that there appears the full flowering of cursive writing expressed in stone, with its full and its slender lines, its supple ligatures and the introduction of points and diacritical lines, not used in the inscriptions of angular type. A parallel transformation is effected regarding the base line which loses its rigidity and its horizontal continuity. The listels which delimit the bands of writing are not however eliminated, and they continue to compress the lower appendices, the latter being forced to develop below the base line. To remedy this inconvenience, the stone-masons divide the words and engrave the segments thus obtained on different levels, based on an oblique line descending from the centre of the band towards the listel of the base. This procedure permits a freer development of the lower appendices. The base line appears as a discontinuous line reduced to a series of oblique overlapping segments (cf. Pl. XII, 10).This procedure is accentuated in the Ayyūbid period, and already there appear inscriptions where the words are divided and staggered on two or three levels, almost parallel and superimposed. The word generally begins on the lower line and continues above (cf. Pl. XIII, 11).

In the Mamlūk period, this technique of engraving reaches its apogee. The characters are so interwoven that their decipherment becomes difficult all the more so as the characters used in the majority of the inscriptions of this period are of small dimensions, thick and squat. It is to this type of inscription that belong the Mamlūk decrees, engraved in profusion on the walls of official buildings and constituting precious documents regarding the socio-economic life of the Near East in this period (cf. Pl. XIII, 12).

There exists, moreover, a type of Mamlūk *naskhī* where this dense writing gives way to an elongated graphic style prefiguring the Ottoman script. This last gives the appearance of a transposition on to stone of manuscript writings, in particular the style known as *thuluth*, in which the Ottoman calligraphers excelled (cf. Pl. XIII, 13).

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3. In Muslim Spain.

At the time of the Muslim invasion of the Iberian peninsula (92/711), the *kūfī* or Kūfic script had already existed in the Islamic world, as an official and sacred script, for 60 years. It was this script that the conquerors used from the start in their inscriptions. The most ancient evidence that we have of it is constituted by the bilingual coinage struck by the governor al-Ḥurr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thaḳafī (98/716-17); the uninterrupted continuity of its use is confirmed by all the coinages struck by subsequent governors and *amīrs*. From the time of the amīrate of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II, this writing figures in pious foundation texts, in funeral and other inscriptions which corroborate this numismatic evidence, as well as testifying clearly to the development of the usage of the Kūfic characters in al-Andalus before the Almohad invasion (542/1147). Following this event, a struggle developed between *kūfī* and *naskhī*, ending in victory for the latter which subsequently took the status of the official scripts of epigraphy, while the former lost ground and its use became limited to religious or profane inscriptions of little importance and intended for purposes of general ornamentation.

The Kūfic features which appear in the oldest Arabic inscriptions of al-Andalus are virtually the same as those which were used during the last decade of the first century A.H. in all the lands conquered by Islam, that is to say, the symbols originating from the city of Kūfa, with scarcely any evolution in design. This Kūfic, on account of its clearly primitive nature, is generally called archaic. It was reproduced, with more or less finesse over the years, by the traditional craftsmen of Spain who never succeeded in mastering it fully and in consequence introduced no novelty of design by virtue of which it might be considered characteristic of, or exclusive to, al-Andalus. In the last years of the amīrate of Muḥammad I, a new generation of rather more arabised craftsmen began to turn the more extreme features of Kūfic script into stylised plant-forms. At first, this innovation was used very timidly because it applied only to a very small number of letters; nevertheless, little by little it found acceptance to the point where it was applied to all the symbols which permitted it. The craftsmen thus succeeded in creating the Hispano-Muslim version of floral Kūfic, while it must be admitted that the development of this variant of Kūfic never attained, in al-Andalus, the level reached by contemporary Kūfic writing in other Muslim territories.

In the reign of the second caliph of Cordova, al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir bi 'llāh, the religious puritanism and stern austerity which characterised the conduct of this powerful sovereign at the head of the government of al-Andalus made itself strongly felt, needless to say, in the epigraphy of the period. Decorative floral additions were suppressed and attempts made to restore the Kūfic letters to their primitive and classical design. But this was not entirely possible, because the letter-forms possessed henceforward a certain elegance which was lacking in them before; this elegance, far from disappearing as a result of this suppression, manifestly increased. Thus there was born a new Kūfic with streamlined, elegant shapes, stripped of all ornamental addition, commonly called simple Kūfic, which flourished until the downfall of the Caliphate of the West. Previous to this important historical event, there certainly existed a consistency in the style of writing Kūfic

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in the whole of al-Andalus—as a consequence of the political unity of the region, feebly introduced by the governors and subsequently definitively enforced by the monarchs of the dynasty of the Banū Umayya—and a single cultural centre regulating its art, the metropolis of Cordova. After the downfall of the caliphate, a number of schools of design sprang up, for, with the end of the hegemony of Cordova, each province of al-Andalus followed its own political direction and developed its own artistic practices under influences of very diverse origin. Among the schools the most important were those of Seville, Toledo, Saragossa and Almeria, without counting that of Cordova. At Seville, simple Kūfic continued to be used in inscriptions; but the characters developed in height, which made them extremely elegant and distinctive. At Toledo, the craftsmen returned to floral Kūfic, with forms excessively overladen with plant-forms alternated with the use of simple Kūfic forms. Of these two variants, two distinct versions appeared: one traditional, firmly Cordovan in origin; the other authentically Toledan, which consisted in adding to characters carved in relief a central groove, giving them considerable force of expression. The Kūfic of Saragossa had a particular importance. It is known today through the inscriptions preserved at the Palace of Aljaferia (al-Djaʿfariyya), built by the princeling Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad al-Muḳtadir bi 'llāh (438-74/1046-81); it is known that in the building of this monument, originally called Dār al-Surūr or House of Rejoicing, the craftsmen experimented with numerous innovations, architectural as well as decorative; and inscriptions—an ornamental element of first importance in Islamic art—were no exception. They stylised Kūfic characters to an incredible extent, and by sometimes making them slide on a floral base or at other times cleverly interlacing them with geometric motifs, they succeeded in composing epigraphic bands of great beauty and an originality unusual for the period. As for Almeria, principal base of the Umayyad fleet in the Mediterranean, it had been intimately linked with the metropolis of Cordova during the caliphate. Its craftsmen had always represented Kūfic according to the model of Cordova, and they did not change their style when the latter lost its political status. They continued to use the simple Kūfic which was in use at the time of this event; later, this Kūfic evolved very slowly and its most brilliant period, corresponding to the importance and splendour of this naval base, was reached under the aegis of the Almoravids. From the study of the Arabic inscriptions of Almeria, of which a fine selection survives, it may be deduced that the Almoravid invasion brought no change in the shape of the Kūfic of al-Andalus. By contrast, as mentioned above, the Almohad invasion had very significant effects on epigraphy. At first, the latter respected the Kūfic script and used it, as is well-known, in the first building that they constructed at Marrākuš; but, when they were obliged to put into practice a policy of reconciliation of the peoples whom they had subdued by force, they very soon realised that the Kūfic script, with its difficulty of interpretation, was not suitable for the development of their policies, and they replaced it with *nasḵẖī* or cursive in all texts relating to new foundations of a public character. For the craftsmen of al-Andalus in particular, this change had the effect of enabling them to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Arabic characters and to distinguish, in each one of them, that which was essential and invariable from that which was secondary and could legitimately be altered according to the taste of the designer. Thus they came to appreciate the true significance of Kūfic forms hitherto reproduced more or less mechanically. They were no longer content with drawing their designs according to the good taste of the Almohads, but little by little they transformed the shapes. First of all, with the idea of making them attractive and graceful; then by building up their upper portions with complicated interloops, while increasingly filling up with stylised plant-forms all the interstices not covered by the letters in the lines of inscription. In the end, they created ornamental motifs of a type which, on account of its incontestable decorative worth, was subsequently copied by the Mudéjar craftsmen, including those who worked in the Alhambra of Granada, thus undoubtedly conferring upon it a long-lasting prosperity. For it is certain that it is by virtue of these copies, made with extreme care and fidelity, that we are acquainted today with the Arabic epigraphy of al-Andalus current in the period of the Almohads, since the original inscriptions of this historical period surviving to the present day are very few in number, and discoveries have not been made on the scale which could have been desired. The motif-types mentioned above were incorporated into Mudéjar decoration without further consequence, and through incessant use over the course of the years they patently degenerated and became a parody of what they had originally been. On the other hand, their inclusion in the ornamentation of the palace of the Banū Naṣr had the effect of inspiring the craftsmen of Granada to the creation and the development to hitherto inconceivable limits of the geometric Kūfic which is admired today in the Alhambra and which is, beyond doubt, one of the finest ornamental creations contributed by Andalusian craftsmanship to the art of Islam. It was also in the Alhambra that the *nasḵẖī* script achieved the highest point of its development within Muslim Spain. In fact, it is known that among the most important elements contributing to the ornanentation of the Naṣrid palace there are epigraphic friezes composed in this script and containing the best works of the most prominent poets of the period, Ibn Zamrak and Ibn Djayyāb, which are thereby available to us in "the most sumptuous edition in the world", to borrow the apt expression of E. García Gómez.

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4. In North Africa.

The oldest inscriptions known to us in North Africa show no originality compared with those of the Near East in the Umayyad and, in particular, the ʿAbbāsid periods. The evolution of styles in Ifrīḳiya was to follow a course generally parallel to that of the styles known in Egypt which seems to have constituted the natural link in the chain connecting the Muslim East and West. The Maghrib al-Aḳṣā, by contrast, and especially from the time of the Almoravid period, was influenced by al-Andalus, which for a long time remained faithful to archaic forms of Kūfic but which, under the influence of the ʿAbbāsid East, submitted to the prevailing taste. Nevertheless, Muslim Spain was to interpret in its own fashion the styles of writing and their evolution such as were familiar in the Orient in the Fāṭimid period. This piece of the Orient set in Andalusion soil was to influence Morocco, and then with the victory of the Almohads, the whole of North Africa.

The style of monumental inscriptions in the Aghlabid period differs according to whether it is a case of carvings in relief, or incised engravings, on stone or wood, or of painting. The Kūfic carved in relief on stone may well be compared to that of the Nilometer of Rawḍa (199/814-15), notably on the marble at al-Kayrawān (the capitals and the interior of the *miḥrāb*). It may equally be compared to Ṭūlūnid Kūfic, but some of the details characteristic of the West appear to be quite original, for example the *alif* with a horizontal appendage towards the right in the lower part of the letter. The writing, whose essential value lies in the message to be transmitted, tends gradually to become a part of the ornamentation (for example, the inscription painted on wood at the base of the cupola of the Great Mosque of al-Ḳayrawān where the misshaping of the *ʿayn* gives a fleuron with three foils while the background is decorated with isolated floral motifs). The fine inscription on the façade of the Mosque of the Three Gates at al-Ḳayrawān also provides an example of this tendency which is emphasised in the marble plaque of the *miḥrāb* of the Zaytūna in Tunis, where the inscription in very fine Kūfic characters forms a decorative framework.

The Kūfic of the foundation-plaque of the *ribāṭ* of Sousse (206/821) appears very archaic in comparison with these inscriptions.

Funerary inscriptions are mostly engraved; the formula varies little, the main element being a few Ḳur'ānic verses, usually taken from Sūra CXII. These inscriptions perpetuate, in the 3rd/9th century, forms which are more emphatically archaic than those of the monumental inscriptions; this is especially notable in epitaphs on pillars, occasionally crudely executed in spite of some fine creations, and in the fine funerary inscriptions engraved on marble plaques or on tall columns. The similarity between the Aghlabid incised inscriptions and contemporary examples from Egypt and the Sudan is quite striking.

There can be no doubt that the arrival of the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya and their installation at Mahdiyya, then at Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya, accentuated the orientalisation of the country. The evolution of Kūfic in the Near East in the 5th/11th century, then in the 6th/12th century, was to be reflected almost immediately in the Maghrib. In the latter as in the former, the problem faced by the artist was how to alleviate the difficulties inherent in Arabic writing, very dense in the lower part of the line of inscription, but leaving important gaps in the upper areas. The solutions adopted consisted in the development of the vertical strokes and in their evolution, sometimes their distortion, in the intertwining of letters, and most of all, use was made of stylised floral patterns in decorating the background. These inscriptions are often divided in two parts by a rigid horizontal band, the lower part being occupied by the body of the letter while the upper register is decorated with a complicated floral design against which the vertical lines stand out. At Sfax, from the end of the 4th/10th century, the letter is seen to develop, the terminal

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chamfer of the vertical strokes opening into floral shapes or curling so as to occupy the empty spaces. The influence of Fāṭimid Egypt is undeniable. The characters in general affect a refined elegance. The bordering strips contribute to the décor of the façades (Sfax, Great Mosque) or to that of the *miḥrāb*s (Sfax, Zīrid *miḥrāb*), mosque of Sayyida at Monastir (beginning of the 5th/11th century). At Constantine (*miḥrāb* of the Great Mosque, dating from the 6th/12th century), the epigraphic décor reaches a high degree of ornamental quality, recalling that of the finest Fāṭimid *miḥrāb*s of Cairo.

Funereal epigraphy also abandoned the archaisms of the Aghlabid period, but after a perceptible delay. Incised inscriptions practically disappeared. The form of the tombs evolved towards prismatic marble steles, notably at Monastir and at Tunis (cemetery of the Khūrāsānids). The writing, of refined elegance, recalls, by the development of the letters and by the appearance and proliferation of stylised floral designs, the style of the monumental inscriptions.

As for epigraphy on furniture, we have, in the magnificent *maḳṣūra* of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, one of the finest examples of floral Kūfic, with complex intertwining of letters and a background of plantforms comparable to the Kūfic of Aleppo or to that of Diyār Bakr.

In the Maghrīb al-Aḳṣā and in the western region of the central Maghrib, very few inscriptions are to be noted before the Almoravid period. That of the Ḳarawiyyīn, dating from 263/877, is in Kūfic of the al-Ḳayrawān type, but, with the reign of ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, there appears the Andalusian Kūfic, characterised by well-proportioned letters with long and curved vertical strokes. However, the writing itself is very sober and stands out against a background flowered with arabesques and fleurons and palm-leaves with deep and multiple radiating divisions (Ḳarawiyyīn, Great Mosque of Tlemcen), or against a background of palms, of pineapples and of half-fleurons divided in two parts horizontally by a straight listel.

The epigraphy on furniture shows, on the contrary, an attachment to the old tradition, whence a surprising conservatism in the Kūfic inscriptions of the *minbar*s of Nedroma and of Algiers, and in those of the *maḳṣūra* of Tlemcen.

But the most important event of this period is the appearance of the cursive script (*naskhī*). This style appears in Ifrīḳiya from 490/1096, in funereal inscriptions where it is presented in a very elaborate form (the characters are fine, large and supple and well-proportioned, framed with a border and standing out against a rich floral background of oriental type). It is to be supposed that it was by this oriental route that the new alphabet penetrated to the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā in the Almoravid period (the inscriptions of Tlemcen and of Ḳarawiyyīn) in about 531/1136-7. It is in fact impossible, in the absence of precise documentary evidence, to propose an Andalusian influence, as it seems that cursive writing did not appear in Andalusia until much later.

Whatever the case may be, the victory of the Almohads had as a consequence a certain unification of styles in the whole of North Africa with an inclination towards sober, angular Kūfic in the monumental inscriptions and, on the contrary, a preference for cursive in the funereal inscriptions. It is worth noting that no foundation inscription appears in this period in the religious buildings, pious works through which the great caliphs of the dynasty were able to bring honour to themselves.

One consequence of the Ottoman domination of Tunisia and Algeria was a new "orientalisation". The inscriptions lose their decorative quality and adhere to the requirements of the message to be transmitted. They are inscribed in frames or in scrolls in cursive characters, often with diacritical points, sometimes with vowels, on several lines which may overlap. The execution is rather casual, and the use of the Turkish language is limited.

On the other hand, Morocco remained faithful to the Andalusian models and followed their evolution in the period of the Naṣrids of Granada. The type of Kūfic script which distorts the letters, twisting and stretching them into wreaths and fleurons, is hardly distinguishable from the background, where geometric and floral elements are mixed. The cursive begins to take the place of the Kūfic script in the fine framing strips of the *miḥrāb*s of the Marīnid period. After the disappearance of the kingdom of Granada, Morocco tended to withdraw within itself, apparently shut of from outside influences.

At no time did the artists of the early Middle Ages make so much use of Arabic writing as an element of decoration. It appears everywhere, in religious buildings, in funereal pavilions, in the houses of citizens or in the palaces of kings, on furniture, on table-ware and on the most minor objects of daily life, where the ornamental role is often more important than the meaning of the language. The result is a pseudo-writing without precise meaning, or a constant repetition of a word or part of a phrase, in ornamental friezes, where ease and routine take the place of refinement and, above all, of faith.

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5. In West Africa.

Proof is still awaited that any system of writing was in use among the Negro civilisations of West Africa before the introduction of written Arabic. An animal drawing on a sherd found by F. Willet at Old Oyo in Western Nigeria was considered representational rather than pictographic, whilst K. Hau's search for linguistic interpretations of recurrent *motifs* in the art of Benin proved inconclusive. Gold-weights from Ashanti and neighbouring districts seem to represent a preliterate stage, some of the designs symbolising proverbs and injunctions and others perhaps conveying metrological data. Inscriptions in Punic, Greek, Latin or similar Classical languages have not yet been reported from tropical West Africa.

The Saharan Berbers (Tuareg, "People of the Veil") derived their *tifinagh* alphabet from the Libyan script used in North Africa during the second century B.C. and subsequently (see BERBERS. vi). *Graffiti* in *tifinagh* are known to extend from Tibesti and Djado westwards to the Niger bend, and even into Mauretania, Mauny (1954) providing the most convenient survey of the literature. A complication in the reading of these inscriptions is the problem of determining their direction. They may run from left

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or right, top or bottom, but within each inscription the direction remains uniform, and clues to the orientation are provided by the alinement of certain asymmetrical characters, and the stereotyped opening phrases. In academic usage texts are conventionally arranged to read from the right.

Two main varieties of *tifinagh* script are generally recognised. The older (called variously "*tifinagh* archaïque"; "Saharien ancien" and "Libyco-berbère") renders by bars certain characters (⵶ *gh*, ⵵ *h*) which in the modern script are represented by dots (ⵖ *gh*, ⵀ *h*)). The older script also lacks several characters. A number of the older *graffiti* were interpreted by Marcy (1937). They contain recurrent formulae, commencing with such words as ⵔ ⵙ ⵔ ⵗ *usərəgh usereg*, "I require...", ⵔ ⵏ ⵗ *enəg* "I need...", and often accompanied by a drawing to illustrate fulfilment of the wish, all designed to have a magical influence. A group of modern inscriptions commences with the word ⵏ ⵑ ⵅ *nəkk nekk* "I...", followed by the writer's name, and a statement of his purpose or wish. Another group, still known only from modern examples, consists of formulae inscribed on the typical Tuareg stone armlets (*ahabeg*), and shields. These were presented to a departing lover to preserve his fidelity. Manifestly Islamic personal names in later inscriptions show that they are relatively modern, but much work has still to be done in the chronology, linguistics, and collection of the older *graffiti*.

Of Arabic inscriptions from West Africa, at once the oldest and the most important is the tombstone from Gao reported by Sauvaget. It records the decease on 1 Muḥarram 494/6 November 1100 of a personage designated *al-malik al-nāṣir li-dīn Allāh ul-mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zāghī. The Kūfic calligraphy of this monument closely resembles tombstones from Almeria (reported by E. Lévy-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Pl. XXVII-XXX), and it is carved from similar marble. There is a strong implication that the monument may have been made at Almeria (a part of Spain then subject to rule by the Almoravid Murābiṭ dynasty) for transport across the Sahara to Gao. This situation would present a new aspect of Almoravid connexions in the Southern Sahara. The inscription seems also to confirm the remark attributed to the *Ḳāḍī* Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥādjdji al-Mutawakkil Kuʿt (Kati), that the Islamisation of Gao took place between 471 and 475/1078-9 and 1082-3 (Kati, *Taʾrikh al-Sūdān*, tr. O. Houdas, 332); also the reference of Ibn Khurradādbih, 89 (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 165, 476) to a ruler in West Africa named Zāghī b. Zāghī. The exalted titles appearing in the inscription may imply that the deceased person was himself Sultan of Songhay, but if so, his names are absent from the list given in the literary sources. Other inscriptions from Gao are of a Queen Swā (502/1108-9), of *al-malik al-nāṣir li-dīn Allāh al-mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh* Abū Bakr b. Abī Ḳuḥāfa (503/1109-10), of ʿĀʾisha daughter of *al-malik* Kūrī (511/1117-8), and of another possible Sulṭān Māmā b. Kimā b. (Z)āghī (514/1120-1). Further inscribed tombstones from the area of the Niger bend have subsequently been published by Mrs. Viré, including a specimen of the year 496/1102-3 from Gao, and other from al-Sūḳ (504/1110-11), Bentia (Kukiya, a former Songhay capital on the Niger above Niyameh) bearing the date 800/1397-8, and El-Kreib in Mauretania, a place thought to represent the ancient site of Aretenna.

Later Arabic rock-graffiti are known from the Saharan zone, but other inscriptions on stone have not yet been reported outside the area of the Niger bend. The well-known inscribed swords carried by *amīrs* in Hausaland, being apparently imported, bear conventional Arabic inscriptions not characteristically local. Many West African vernacular languages have, however, been written in Arabic script. A Bornu dialect, apparently Kanembu, occurs in Ḳurʾānic glosses at least as early as 1080/1669. Kanuri, Hausa, Fulani, Nupe and Yoruba all occur at slightly later dates—Hausa for example being found in glosses ascribed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Fūdī (*ca.* 1762-1828) in a manuscript of *al-Mukhtaṣar* owned by Abū Bakr Ghummī at Kano; the inscription on an iron panel at *Kofar Waika*, a gate of Kano city, though of uncertain date, contains several sentences in Hausa. The situation for the languages of the Upper Niger, Songhay, Malinke etc. is however less clear.

Arabic inscriptions in two cryptographic alphabets, called *Suryāniyya* and *ʿIbrāniyya*, were described by Monod and Mauny. Talismanic inscriptions and magic squares are known all over the area, often written in carbon ink on wooden writing-boards (Ar. *lawḥ*), or iron replicas of these boards; also on earthenware bowls, sherds, bones, human skulls and polished stone axeheads, besides everyday examples on paper sheets or scrolls.

For an understanding of the magic squares (*wafḳ*, pl. *awfāḳ*), the most informative study is probably that of Camman, who traces them back to the Chinese origins. In Nigeria and other West African countries, the work on this subject of Muḥyī al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Būnī (d. 622/1225 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]), *Shams al-maʿārif wa-laṭāʾif al-ʿawārif*, is widely utilised. A Nigerian scholar of some renown, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fulānī al-Kashināwī (of Katsina, in Hausaland), friend of the Egyptian historian Ḥasan al-Djabartī, compiled a treatise on the subject entitled *Bahdjat al-āfāḳ wa-iḍāḥ al-labs wa 'l-ighlāḳ fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa 'l-awfāḳ*. Anawatī's description of charms on paper from Mālī gives a full bibliography of Arabic talismans and magical symbols. Cryptographic alphabets had a long history in the Near East, and became especially prevalent in North and West Africa. A standard treatment in Arabic is that of Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr b. Waḥshiyya, *Shawḳ al-mustahām fī maʿrifat rumūz al-aḳlām* (ed. and tr. J. Hammer, *Ancient alphabets and hieroglyphic characters*, London 1806), though commentators have found these explanations obscure. One of these alphabets known as *al-Yāsīnī* (and conceivably therefore associated with the spiritual leader of the Almoravids, ʿAbd Allāh b. Yāsīn) was shown by Dalby to have influenced two of the modern indigenous scripts of West Africa, so that knowledge of it may have lingered from earlier centuries along the Senegal. The oldest of the scripts in question is the Vai syllabary of Liberia (212 characters: invented 1833); the other is the Mende syllabary of Sierra Leone (195 characters: invented 1921). Five other syllabaries and two alphabets, of differing structure and inspiration, designed for the expression of various African languages, are included in his account, but the currency of each is very restricted. Another item from the Islamic mystical repertoire, the *sabʿat khawātim* or "seven seals (of Solomon)" 6 日 |||| ገ 卌 ✠ ✡ have been recorded amongst the Haua, amongst the Yoruba inscribed above the doorway of a building at Oyo, and in the Ivory Coast.

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(A. D. H. Bivar)

6. In eastern Africa.

So far some 250 inscriptions have been reported from the eastern coast of Africa lying between Mogadishu, in Somalia, and the mouth of the R. Zambezi, in Mozambique, as well as from the offshore islands, including also the Comoros [see KUMR] and Madagascar. The principal sites of most of the coast have been surveyed and some partly excavated; but very much remains to be done, and quite likely more inscriptions will come to light. Especially is this the case in Mozambique and the Kerimba Islands close to its coast, whose Islamic historical archaeology is still virtually unknown, albeit that the existence of mosques and widespread adherence to Islam is attested by 16th century Portuguese writers. Other than those of the present century, no inscriptions have been reported inland. Only one inscription is known completely in Swahili, even though some Swahili words occur in Arabic inscriptions of the 17th to the 19th centuries of the epitaphs of the petty Sultans of Kunduchi, 17 miles north of Dar es Salaam. With these exceptions and a group of 16th and 17th century Portuguese inscriptions in Fort Jesus, Mombasa, with a solitary one in Zanzibar, all the inscriptions are in Arabic.

The two earliest known inscriptions are an epitaph in the Friday Mosque at Barawa reported by Cerulli, dated 498/1104-5, and a Kūfic dedicatory inscription in the Friday Mosque at Kizimkazi, Zanzibar, dated 500/1106-7, which, if not carved in Sīrāf itself, would appear to have been the work of a Sīrāfī craftsman in Zanzibar [see KIZIMKAZI]. Apart from these, a small number of inscriptions in Kūfic or floriate scripts have been found in small numbers in or near Mogadishu, and at Malindi, Mnarani and Mombasa in Kenya. The remaining inscriptions are all in *nas<u>kh</u>ī* or cursive scripts. No comprehensive attempt has so far been made to identify or classify their style or provenance so far as it was not local, but at Kilwa certain decorative inscriptions have been thought to have Fāṭimid affinities. On these subjects it would probably be wisest to reserve judgment until more is known of the inscriptions of the Yemen and of the Ḥaḍramawt. The greatest number of inscriptions found in eastern Africa are epitaphs, very many of them of persons otherwise unknown. Quite exceptional are sixteen dedicatory inscriptions commemorating the foundation of mosques in Lamu between the 14th and the 19th century, which demonstrate the stages of growth of the town [see LAMU]. At Mombasa a number of inscriptions, mostly funerary, illustrate and provide a solid dating for the varying fortunes of the Mazar³i family, of whom a number of members served as *wali* under the suzerainty of ʿUmān from *ca.* 1734 until 1837. At Kilwa there are a number of inscriptions in the Great Palace known as *Husuni* (Swa. from Ar. *ḥiṣn*), but all undated, and on whose date agreement has not yet been reached. A curiosity is a carved ivory state horn (*mbiu*) with an inscription in Swahili, which has been ascribed to the 19th century; but a reference in the traditional Swahili *History of Pate*, from which town it came, would suggest, however, that its approximate date of manufacture was *ca.* 1060/1650.

Bibliography: G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville and B. G. Martin, *A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the Eastern African coast*, in *JRAS* (1973), 98-122; E. Cerulli, *Somalia, scritti vari editi ed inediti*, Rome 1957, 37; Freeman-Grenville, *The East African coast: select documents*, 1975 edn. 260; N. Chittick, *Kilwa: an Islamic trading city on the East African coast*, 1974, ii, 259-64; J. Kirkman, *Fort Jesus: a Portuguese fortress on the East African coast*, 1974, 38-40, 61 (Arabic); 14-15, 17-18, 46, 51, 59 (Portuguese).

(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

7. In Turkey.

The Muslim epigraphy of Turkey has not yet been the object of methodical research. It is true that there exist a large number of editions, but most of these are isolated undertakings.

The history of Muslim monumental epigraphy in Turkey does not in fact begin until the middle of the 6th/12th century. There had been building activity in Anatolia before, in the Turcoman states of the Dānish<u>m</u>andids, the Artuḳids, the Ṣaltuḳids and the Mengüd<u>j</u>ekids, but most of the constructions of that time were destroyed as a result of the continuous fighting in the area.

Muslim epigraphy in Turkey can be divided essentially into three categories: commemorative inscriptions, pious inscriptions, and epitaphs. The most important of these, both from the historical and the

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artistic point of view, is the former, which includes inscriptions commemorating the constructions or restorations chiefly of foundations for the public good—mosques, fountains, *sabīl*s, etc.—and, in later times, also of government buildings (offices, hospitals, schools, barracks, etc.). The pious inscriptions either contain only the names of God, Muḥammad or the four *rāshidūn* caliphs, or consist of *ḥadīth*s or citations from the Ḳur'ān that suit the purpose served by the object which they decorate. Thus in mosques one may find such Ḳur'ānic verses as IV, 104 or XV, 46; on fountains LXXVI, 18 and 21 or the words *min al-mā'i kulla shay'in ḥayy*, from XXI, 31; and on libraries the words *fīhā kutub ḳayyima* (XCVIII, 2). Pious texts may also serve as mottoes over commemorative inscriptions. Hence in foundation inscriptions of mosques one may find such sayings of the Prophet as "Whoever builds for God a mosque, even if only like the nest of a sand grouse, for him God builds a house in paradise". The number of inscriptions surviving on tombstones is very large. Especially in Istanbul very fine ones can still be seen. Unfortunately, the amount of research done in epitaphs is still less than that done in the other Muslim epigraphy of Turkey (see also ḲABR).

The typical Muslim inscription, including that in Turkey, is a rectangular slab with one or more lines of text, which are separated by narrow lines, the whole being enclosed in a narrow frame. In the Ṣaldjūḳ and early Ottoman periods the inscriptions were often also in the form of bands along the borders of porches, or, inside mosques, of *miḥrāb*s. Some inscriptions from this time consist of one line in *djalī thuluth* with elongated shafts through which runs a second line in Kūfī, these together against a background of spiral arabesques. In the Ottoman period the lines (in verse texts, the hemistichs) of most inscriptions are enclosed in cartouches with the left and right extremities elaborated in different manners; these inscriptions are sometimes decorated with such motifs as flowers (either separate or in vases), fruits, arabesques, rosettes and, especially in later times, *tughra*s and crescent-and-stars. In the relief inscriptions the (raised) letters and decorations may be gilded, and the (sunken) backgrounds painted—mostly green or blue; it is uncertain whether these colours were used in the older inscriptions too, because the original paint of these has mostly worn off.

On the tile inscriptions, it is not the relief but the colours that present the necessary contrast between the text and the background. Inscriptions of this kind are mostly of pious content and undated. They are found in buildings from very early times; after the 11th/17th century their number gradually diminishes. Very fine examples of this kind of inscription are found inside the Selīmiye Mosque (completed 982/1574-5) in Edirne and in the Bağdat Köşkü (11th/17th century) in the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul.

Since, under the Great Ṣaldjūḳs, Kūfic was very much used for inscriptions in Iran, it was also in the early Muslim epigraphy of Anatolia. This script, which was employed, roughly, in the period and areas of the above-mentioned Turcoman states, was, under the Rūm Ṣaldjūḳs, largely replaced in inscriptions by *djalī thuluth*, although it continued to be used for mere decorative purposes by them and by the Ottomans up to the reign of Meḥemmed II (855-86/1451-81). *Nasta'līḳ*, which was brought to Turkey by Persian calligraphers in the period of Meḥemmed II, became common especially in the commemorative inscriptions and epitaphs made after the middle of the 11th/17th century. (The earliest inscription written in this script is perhaps that of the Mosque of Seldjūḳ Ḵhātūn (dated 860/1455-6) in Edirne (Dijkema, No. 16)). This script became so popular because (a) by this time most of these inscriptions were in Turkish verse, which (as is demonstrated in the manuscript *dīwān*s) it was traditional to write in *nasta'līḳ*; and (b), since this script uses far less different auxiliary signs than does *djalī thuluth*, it is much simpler to handle for the stone carver. Such scripts as *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, *djalī muḥaḳḳaḳ* and ordinary *thuluth* are very rare in inscriptions. *Ruḳ'a* was used occasionally in the last period of the Ottoman empire, mostly on buildings of secondary importance.

Little is known about the calligraphers who designed the inscriptions in the Ṣaldjūḳ and early Ottoman periods. Later, the more reputed calligraphers used to sign their works, with such stereotyped formulas as *katabahu 'l-'abd al-ḍa'īf* ... or *katabahu 'l-'abd al-dā'ī* .... They might omit their signatures, however, if on the same building there was another inscription written by one of the sultans (as is the case, for instance, in the inscriptions on the front of the two fountains of Sultan Aḥmad III in Istanbul).

Under the Rūm Ṣaldjūḳs and the early Ottomans, the general Muslim tradition was followed of writing inscriptions in Arabic. The earliest inscription in Turkish is perhaps that of the *madrasa* of Ya'ḳūb Čelebi (dated 814/1411) in Kütahya (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya şehri*, Istanbul 1932, 79); later, especially from the end of the 10th/16th century, this came to be the language of most of the commemorative inscriptions and epitaphs, the cause of this rather radical change being probably an increase of the prestige of Turkish vis-à-vis Arabic following the Ottoman occupation of the Arab lands in the 16th and early 17th centuries. The Arabic inscriptions are mostly prose, the Turkish ones usually verse. The wording of the Arabic prose inscriptions closely follows the models of the Mamlūk and earlier Arabic epigraphy of Egypt and Syria. In most commemorative verse inscriptions, both those in Arabic and those in Turkish, the dates of the events commemorated are not expressed in figures or words but hidden in chronograms (see ḤISĀB AL-DJUMMAL). There do exist also Persian inscriptions, but they are very rare.

The redactors and calligraphers of the Muslim inscriptions in Turkey seem to have had a special liking for mystifying the reader—mostly in such a manner, however, that with adequate knowledge one can discover the true meanings of the texts. Not only is there the chronogram and, in verse texts, the often intricate language, but, for instance, in the inscription commemorating the 1282/1865-6 restoration of the Eski Cami (Dijkema, No. 126) in Edirne, some words are written phonetically. Calligraphers might add to the intricacy of inscriptions, often already sufficiently difficult to read through the interlacing of the letters, by several means: the inscription of the Muradiye Mosque (dated 839/1435-6) (*ibidem*, No. 7) in Edirne, for instance, contains unusual ligatures of letters; in the inscription of the Mosque of Sitt Ḵhātūn (dated 889/1484) (*ibidem*, No. 23), in the same town, some letters are written mirror-wise; and in the inscription of the Ḳadīn Most (dated 876/1471) (ed. by P. Wittek in *Byzantion*, xviii [1946-8], 327, n. 2) near Küstendil [*q.v.*] in Bulgaria, letters and words are arranged in an unnatural manner.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Damaged or lost inscriptions were often replaced by copies. The student of Ottoman epigraphy can mostly recognise these easily, for they are generally in a better state than originals dated in the same period. Also, the wording may give a hint. Knowledge of the history of calligraphy and decorative art may provide a means to ascertain the period when a copy was made. (The foundation inscription of the Darülhadis Mosque in Edirne, dated 838/1435 (Dijkema, No. 6), for instance, is written in a *nastaʿlīḳ* of a kind not used in Turkish epigraphy until the middle of the 11th/17th century.)

Bibliography: For a general appreciation of the significance of Turkish epigraphy, see R. Mantran, *Bilan et perspectives de l'épig aphie turque pour les périodes pré-ottomane et ottomane*, in *Revue d'histoire maghrébine* iv (1975), 217-20. For editions of Ottoman inscriptions, see the works of G. Colin, M. van Berchem, Khalīl Edhem, J. H. Mordtmann, F. Taeschner, P. Wittek, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarsılı, Mübārek Ghālib, H. B. Kunter, M. Mujezinović, A. P. Vekilov, A. Zajączkowski, P. Miyatev, R. Mantran and F. Th. Dijkema (bibliographical details in F. Th. Dijkema, *The Ottoman historical monumental inscriptions in Edirne*, Leiden 1977, Introd., § i); some of their editions include also pre-Ottoman inscriptions. Among the editions containing more specifically pre-Ottoman inscriptions, there should be mentioned: Cl. Huart, *Épigraphie arabe de l'Asie Mineure*, in *Revue sémitique*, ii (1894) and iii (1895); J. H. Löytved, *Konia: Inschriften der seldschukischen Bauten*, Berlin 1907; the numerous articles of Aḥmed Tewḥīd in *TOEM*, esp. those in Nos. 29 (1330), 83 (1340), 86 and 87 (both 1341); P. Wittek, *Inscriptions*, in R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish architecture in southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1931, 77-116; J. Sauvaget, *Inscriptions arabes*, in A. Gabriel, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale*, i, Paris 1940, 287-356; W. Hinz, *Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Orient*, in *Belleten*, xiii (1949), 745-69. The voluminous studies which İ. H. Konyalı has devoted to the monuments and inscriptions of a number of towns in (mainly western) Anatolia are unmethodical and possess little or no value for epigraphical research. See further the *RCEA*; the sections VIIIc in the different parts of J. D. Pearson's *Index Islamicus*, Cambridge (later London) 1958- ; H.-J. Kornrumpf, *Osmanische Bibliographie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkei in Europa*, Leiden 1973, 1183-6; the bibliographies of the articles devoted in this encyclopaedia to towns of the Ottoman empire and to dynasties and important families in the area. Finally, many local histories of towns formerly under Ottoman domination contain records of inscription texts, even though this may not always be indicated in the titles.

(F. Th. Dijkema and A. Alparslan)

8. In South-East Asia.

Islamic epigraphy is distributed very unequally in South-East Asia, it being understood that islamisation, although it did take place, was not accomplished everywhere at the same time or with the same intensity. The survey which follows can give only an idea of the importance of documents from Indonesia (*Republik Indonesia*) and from the Federation of Malaysia (*Persekutuan Tanah Malayu*). We shall have only a few words to say about the other regions.

A. *Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia*

The majority of epigraphic documents consist of tombstone inscriptions. Next in number are charters and related texts, and finally there are some brief legendary pieces on various subjects.

These three groups will be subdivided into four geographical regions, although the exigencies of history will not always allow a rigid separation: (a) Java (b) Sumatra (c) Malaysian Peninsula (d) Eastern Indonesia.

Regarding the Javanese year, since the introduction of the purely lunar calendar in 1633 A.D., it should be noted that the latter does not always correspond to the so-called "Arabic" system, because of a different distribution of "full" years of 355 days, and also as a result of local variations which are not all known to us. On this typically Javanese chronology (abbreviated Śākā Jav. or S.J.) and the theoretical conversion of its dates to the Gregorian system, reference should be made to the article *Tijdrekening*, in *ENI*², v (= Suppl. I), 73-9, which is accompanied by tables. For the pre-Islamic chronology (still in use in Bali) which consists of lunar-solar years, we shall use the term Śākā (abbr. Ś.).

I. Tomb inscriptions.

(a) *Java*. It is on this island that the oldest known Muslim tomb in Indonesia has been found. It is the burial-place of a girl whose personal name is uncertain or is not indicated, but who is called Bint Maymūn. Without recalling here the arguments concerning the year of her death (there is an error in the writing of the word denoting tens), let us say that it may be read as 475 A.H. or 2 December 1082. This tomb stone is at Leran in eastern Java.

Eastern Java possesses a large number of tombs, among which we shall mention those of the cemetery at Trālāyā (usual orth. Trolojo). Here there are found, besides a number of undated or uninscribed tombs, ten dated inscriptions ranging from 1298 to 1533 Śākā ,that is 1376 to 1611 A.D. It is seen that here the Śākā chronology is still used for Muslim tombs, except in one case where we have a *hidjra* date expressed in Arabic numerals. Moreover, some of these tombs have a purely Javanese type of ornamentation and symbols which seem to link the interred persons to the court of Majapahit.

It is also in the east of Java that there is found the tomb of an individual reckoned by tradition to be one of the nine *Wālīs* responsible for the spreading of Islam to Java. His name is Malik Ibrāhīm, but his title cannot be established with certainty. The date is 822/10 April 1419.

In the cemetery of Trāwulan (usual orth. Trowulan) a few kilometres from Trālāyā, is the famous tomb said to be that of the Putri Čampā (a title interpreted as meaning Princess of Čampa), a figure well-known in legend, but the date, inscribed on the tomb in old Javanese numerals is 1370 Śākā = 1488-9 A.D. which does not correspond to the year of her death given by the literary texts. The same cemetery contains a very simple tomb dated 1290 Śākā = 1368-9 A.D., which is therefore more ancient and dates back to the glorious period of Majapahit.

There is furthermore in the Sendang Duwur complex, still in the east of Java, an inscribed wooden pole bearing the date 1407 Ś. (not 1507 as read by Stutterheim), again in old Javanese numerals. In another cemetery at Gondang Lor (in the region of Tulung Agung) there is a tomb bearing the date

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Page 243 of 600

https://archive.org/details/bk1302/page/n245/mode/1up

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1470 Ś = 1548-9 A.D. In these two latter cases, the numerals are to be read from right to left, a mode of writing numbers unknown to epigraphy in the Arab lands but found in a number of cases in Indonesia (though rare in Sumatra), which doubtless arises from the system current in the Hindu period of expressing dates through chronograms.

Finally, in concluding this brief survey of the principal Muslim monuments of Java, let us note that in the burial complex of the famous Queen of Jåpårå (usual orth. Djaparra), Ratu Kali Nyamat, is a chronogram giving the date 1481 Ś = 1559-60 A.D.

(b) *Sumatra*. As a result of a systematic survey carried out between 1912 and 1917 in the region of the ancient kingdom of Samudra-Pasai and in the extreme north of the island, in Atcheh to be precise, the Archeological Service of Indonesia possesses a rich collection of photographs and casts of epitaphs, most of which however offer us nothing more than pious texts without historical value. Of the sixty dated inscriptions, wholly or partly legible, which we have been able to examine from Samudra-Pasai, the majority (more than thirty) are from the 9th/15th century; ten are from the 10th/16th century; four date from the 8th/14th century; and only one from the closing years of the 7th/13th century. Among these tombs, of which about half belong to women, a dozen or less are of persons of royal or princely rank. Only a few of these epitaphs have been published, and a systematic study has yet to be made.

We may mention among the historically more important, that of the first sultan of Samudra, Sulṭān Malik al-Ṣāliḥ who died in 696/1297, and that of his son al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Shams al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, which is of a completely different style and dates from 726/1326. Among the other tombs, we may mention those of a descendant of the penultimate caliph of Baghdād, named ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who died at Samudra in 809/1406; that of a queen of Samudra, great-granddaughter of the first sultan of the kingdom, dating from 831/1428; the epitaph of a princess with a Persian name, Mihr Shāh, daughter of Khōdja Aḥmad al-Sulṭān al-ʿĀdil; and finally, the tombs of two individuals, one named Rādja Khān dating from 834/1430 and the other, his son, Khōdja Rādja Khān b. Rādja Khān, buried in 865/1460-1.

One tomb, of unique type, is that of a person named Nāʾina Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Nāʾinā Amīn. As well as conventional texts, the tomb bears a poem by Saʿdī and dates from 823/1420.

Of two particularly interesting inscriptions apparently belonging to the same tomb, the one gives us a text in Old Malay written in palaeo-Sumatran characters, the epitaph of a queen whose name is uncertain but who died in 781/1380; the other stone bears an epitaph in Arabic of a princess, with a date almost identical to that of the former, the same day of the week, the same day of the month, the same month, but ten years later, 791/3 December 1398. It is probable that there is an error in the dating of one of the two inscriptions. In any case, the text in palaeo-Sumatran characters is very important, since it gives us evidence of the use of this script, which belongs to the pre-Muslim period, in the Islamic era and in the 8th/14th century, a hundred years after the islamisation of the region.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. Among the tombs discovered here are that of the sixth sovereign of Malaka, Sulṭān Manṣūr Shāh b. Muẓaffar Shāh, who died in 882/1477, and that of the first sultan of Pahang, Sulṭān Muḥammed Shāh, son of Sulṭān Manṣūr Shāh the conqueror of Pahang, who was the son of Muẓaffar Shāh, son of Muḥammed Shāh. The latter tomb is dated 880/1475, and it is noticeable that the genealogy here goes back further than in the previous example. The vast majority of tomb inscriptions are in Arabic, but one case is known where the epitaph proper is in Malay. It is that of a step-daughter of Sulṭān Aḥmad, the second sovereign of Pahang; she was in fact the daughter of the seventh sovereign of Malaka and sister of the seventh and last, who was forced to flee before the Portuguese invasion. Tl ere are various other royal tombs of the different sultanates, as well as those of eminent individuals dating from the 9th and 10th/15th and 16th centuries.

At Brunei, two tombs from the 15th century A.D. have been discovered. They are totally different from those of the Peninsular as regards the form and the style of the inscription.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. The island of Bali, where there is a small minority of Muslims in the north, has not hitherto yielded a single ancient inscription. There is one, however, on the island of Lombok, of which roughly half the population is Muslim. This inscription is bilingual: the *shahāda* in Arabic and a chronogram in Balinese script. The latter has been interpreted by Stutterheim as representing 1142/1727.

II. Charters and related documents.

(a) and (b) *Java and Sumatra*. On a *minbar* from the east of Java, of which we have only a facsimile, there is the date 1487 Śåkå/1565-6 A.D. inscribed in palaeo-Javanese numerals; but a chronogram which accompanies it causes difficulty. A small stele on at the centre of the ilsand, in Javanese, is dated 1624 S.J./1700-1 A.D. There are a number of texts in existence which are related to charters. They are written in Javanese and in Javanese characters, sometimes in Arabic characters (*pegon*).

In western Java (the Sundanese country), we have eleven charters dating from the 17th and 18th centuries A.D. (they are dated according to the Javanese Śåkå chronology).

From Bantan there are similar texts using both types of script, but dated according to the *hidjra* system. They date from the same centuries and are twelve in number.

Finally, from Palembang (southern Sumatra) there are various documents of which most are dated by the Javanese Śåkå chronology. They are written in Javanese language and characters and date from the 17th to the 19th century.

The appointment of a chief of the Badouy (the as yet Hindu population of the Sundanese country) dates from 1124/1712-13. This document is furthermore endorsed by the seal of a sultan of Bantan (the "Bantam" of the maps) which gives the date of the accession of this sovereign as 1102/1690. There are a number of other documents existing from the Lampung country, some written on bark, one on cattlehorn.

At Atcheh, documents of various kinds but generally authenticated by a seal, are called *sarakata*. None of those which have been preserved is very old.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. The most important document from this region is an inscription, unfortunately incomplete, of a type totally different and unique in this part of the world. The text includes a proclamation of Islam, followed by a list of ten in-

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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fractions, with the penalties laid down for each. The date is unfortunately incomplete but we can at least be sure that it belongs to the 8th/14th century. In this text there are very few Arabic words, and even the name of Allāh is rendered by an expression Hindu in origin, *Dewata Mulya Raya*.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. Especially interesting in this region are texts written in Arabic script but in the language of Ternate, emanating from the sultanate of the same name. They are all recent (19th century), but give valuable evidence concerning this language, which is not part of the Indonesian linguistic family (which henceforward may usefully be called Nousantarian), but which alongside Malay played the role of a lingua franca in the eastern parts of the Indonesian archipelago.

III. Inscriptions on various objects.

1. *Cannons*.

(a), (b), (c). *Indonesia and the Federation of Malaysia*. Cannons of diverse origin have been found (of French, Dutch or Indonesian manufacture) bearing inscriptions in Malay or in Arabic. They date from the 17th and 18th centuries. On one of these is inscribed the name *Yakertra* (variant of Djakarta) written in Javanese letters. It also bears a date, which is, however, problematical.

(d) *Eastern Indonesia*. A cannon of Indonesian manufacture, dating from the start of the 18th century, has been found at Soulawesi. It bears the name La Patau, the nephew of the famous Sultan of Boné, Aru Palakka.

2. *Other objects*.

(a) *Java*. There are various brief inscriptions on mortars and on carved wooden panels, all of them from the 19th century.

(c) *Federation of Malaysia*. From this region there are a number of *gantang* (measures for rice) bearing the name of the sultan of the period. They are mainly from the 19th century, and one of them even dates from the beginning of the 20th.

B. *Thailand*

From this country we have only one inscription, which is now in the museum of Sukhothai. It consists of five lines in Arabic (the name of the four archangels and the *shahāda*) as well as two lines in Urdu. It is dated 1338/1919 and has therefore no historical value, but it bears interesting witness to the behaviour of an Indian Muslim in a Buddhist country.

C. *Cambodia*

One inscription only has been found in the area of Pnom Penh. The first three lines consist only of pious texts and the fourth, which perhaps contains more interesting details, unfortunately cannot be deciphered.

D. *Čampa*

Two tombstone inscriptions have been found at Čampa, in Arabic with Kūfic characters. One is from 431/1039. The other is undated, but judging by the palaeography, is of roughly the same age as the first.

Bibliography: For convenience, the sources have been divided in the same way as in the text of the article, sc. in three groups: I. Tomb inscriptions; II. Charters and related documents; and III. Inscriptions on various objects. Each of these groups is subdivided also according to the article proper into (a) Java, (b) Sumatra, (c) Federation of Malaysia (including British Borneo) and (d) Eastern Indonesia. In general, only books and articles discussing the epigraphic data are listed here.

I. Tomb inscriptions.

a. *Java*. For the inscription of Malik Ibrāhīm's tomb at Gresik, see *TBG*, index 1910-13, under the name of Ph. S. van Ronkel, Th. Juynboll, J. P. Moquette and H. Djajadiningrat; anon., *Grisee, Grissee*, in *ENI*², i (1917), 819; G. P. R[ouffaer], *Lèran*, in *ENI*², ii (1918), 570; Moquette, *De oudste Mohammedaansche inscriptie op Java*, in *Verhandelingen van het Eerste Congres voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Java, gehouden te Solo, 1919*, Weltevreden, 1921, 391-9; P. Ravaisse, *L'inscription coufique de Lèran à Java*, in *TBG*, lxv (1925), 668-703; D. A. Rinkes, *De Heiligen van Java. I. De maqām van Sjeich 'Abdoelmuhji*, in *TBG*, iii (1910), 556-89; idem, *De Heiligen van Java*. iv. *Ki Pandan arang te Tembajat*, in *TBG*, liii (1911), 435-581; Sur la tombe de Selâ Sirah: J. L. A. Brandes, *Enkele oude stukken ... te Leiden*, in *TBG*, xlvii (1904), 457 f.; on the complex of Ratu Kali Nyamat: F. D. K. Bosch, *OV* (1930), 52-7 with pls. 12-23; on Sandan Duwur and Gondan Lor: W. F. Stutterheim, *OV* (1939), 10, n. 1 and fig. 34; L. C. Damais, *Etudes javanaises* I: *Les tombes musulmanes datées de Trālāyá*, in *BEFEO*, xlviii (1957), 353-415 with 20 plates.

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d. *Eastern part of Indonesia*: Crucq, *Inscripties op oude kannonen*, in *OV* (1930), 238-9.

C. Cambodia: (anon). *La stèle arabe du Phnom Bakhen*, in *BEFEO*, xxii (1922), 160.

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(L. Ch. Damais)

9. Iran and Transoxiana.

Before the advent of Islam, the regions of Iran and Transoxiana had long-established traditions of

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literacy. On the one hand, use was made of various scripts derived from the Imperial Aramaic of the Achaemenid chanceries during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. These employed a largely historical spelling for Iranian words, and combined with this, ideographic writing-elements formed from Semitic roots, but with added Iranian terminations (known as phonetic complements) to indicate the inflexions. On the other hand, in the regions of Balkh, Tukhāristān and Rukhkhadj, there had been current the cursive Bactrian script, a slightly modified form of the Greek alphabet, which like its parent employed for this Iranian dialect straightforward phonetic spellings. This survived on the so-called Arab-Hephthalite coins until the coming of Islam. Here and there, among the Buddhist communities, Indian Kharoṣṭhī and even Brahmī scripts had formerly been known; but with these, as with the Runic Turkish of Eastern Turkistan, and the undeciphered Kushan linear script of Dasht-i Navor, we are not here concerned.

To the first group, the descendents of Aramaic, belonged Parthian, Sogdian and Khwārazmian, besides a little-known variant of the same type used in Māzandarān. Sogdian and Khwārazmian lingered on, again on coins, well down into Islamic times. More prominent, however, was (Sasanian) Pahlavī, which, in its cursive form known as Book-Pahlavī, co-existed with Islam for centuries as a vehicle of Zoroastrian scriptures. It is found beside Arabic in bilingual Islamic inscriptions of the Caspian region at Rādkān (Neka), Lādjīm and Rasgit (Resget), and perhaps was the only method of writing the Persian language in the earlier Islamic period. Until the time of al-Ḥadjdjādj in 76/695-6, Pahlavī had been the chancery script of the eastern Arab governors. That viceroy, however (as asserted by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Subḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 423) converted the chancery of al-ʿIrāḳ, and ultimately of the Iranian east, to Arabic script and language. In 84/703-4, Book-Pahlavī and Cursive Bactrian occur together with Arabic on a coin of the Gūzgān district in Afghānistān issued by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab. Sogdian and Khwārazmian script continue to occur on coins of Bukhārā and Khwārazm, and Book-Pahlavī on the issues of Ṭabaristān, well into ʿAbbāsid times. Otherwise, the language of the Umayyad "Reformed coinage", and succeeding Muslim issues, is uniformly Arabic, apart from the Marw issue of 79/698-9, which has the city-name in Pahlavī.

The four earliest varieties of the Arabic script, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, 8) were *makkī*, *madanī*, *baṣrī* and *kūfī*. The implied differences between these forms still elude modern commentators, who today use the term Kūfic (as opposed to *kūfī* in Ibn al-Nadīm's sense) with general application to all varieties of monumental, angular, and (usually) unpointed Arabic script, employed for the writing of Ḳurʾāns, in lapidary inscriptions, and in coin-legends. It can be observed that the Umayyad "Reformed coinage" actually shows five distinct styles of script: that of Damascus with its related mints; that of the earliest issues from Iranian cities; that of Wāsiṭ, with the developed Iranian issues; that of Sidjistān, a curiously awkward script with "thorny" letter-terminals; and the thin and delicate script of the closing Umayyad, and revolutionary ʿAbbāsid coinages.

Apart from inscriptions on the coins, the dated Arabic inscriptions of Iran, as at present known, begin surprisingly late. The earliest are a still unpublished series at Bahmāndiz, near the border of Fārs and Iṣfahān Provinces. The clearest text reads *ʿamarahā Khāzim b. Muḥammad b. Djāba* (?)*/sanat khams sittīn wa-miʾatayn*. Another records the birth of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Khāzim on Monday, 27 Shaʿbān 309. The same site has one poorly preserved Book-Pahlavī inscription, and many other short texts in Arabic. A substantial list of the known Arabic inscriptions of Iran to 600/1203-4 was compiled by Miles. The earliest of consequence are the famous texts of the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla Fanā-Khusraw [*q.v.*] in the Tachara at Persepolis, recording the defeat of Muḥammad b. Mākān in Ṣafar 344/May-June 955 and the ʿAmīr's interest in the decipherment of inscriptions. One of the texts has been shown to contain several Persian words (R. N. Frye, *The heritage of Persia*, London 1962, 251, 290, with fig. 63). Nearby is the inscription of Bahāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.* in Suppl.] dated 392/1001-2. Earlier in fact than any known Arabic inscription of Iran or Afghānistān is the enigmatic text from the Tochi Valley in Wazīristān, now in the Peshāwar Museum, which is dated Djumādā I 243/August 857. This seems to contain a mention of "the land of ʿUmān", which, with the early date, could imply a connexion with the Khāridjite amīrate at Gardīz [*q.v.*], since judging by the *Tāʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, caliphal control could not then have extended so far east.

Decorative varieties of Arabic script were equally slow to appear in the Islamic East. The texts of ʿAḍud al-Dawla show no more than occasional barbed terminations, and characters linked by small loops beneath the base-line. Foliation of letter-terminals seems to have developed first in Egypt, and to have been quickly followed there by Floriation (by which is here understood the use of attached, but extended, leaf-decoration, as well as that of circular flowers, either attached or separate). Such features, as Grohmann showed, were known in Egypt as early as 218/833-4, and must have travelled thence to the East; not, as Van Berchem maintained, on the evidence of a restored inscription at Tashkent, from Central Asia westwards. In Iran, strongly Foliated Kūfic often tending to floriation is found in undated (probably 4th/10th century) inscriptions of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ at Nāyīn. The earliest dated examples of floriation appear to be the inscriptions of Badr b. Ḥasanawayh, a Kurdish ruler in Luristān: one at each end of the Pul-i Māmulān near Khurramābād, alike dated 374/984-5, and another from the Pul-i Kashkān completed in 399/1008-9, which all record the building of the bridges. Very fine specimens of Floriated Kūfic are those of the minaret of the Pā-yi Mīnār mosque at Zawāra (461/1068-9), and the tomb-tower of Hormizdyār at Rasgit (Resget). From a reading of its date that was uncertain, Godard sought to ascribe the latter to the 5th/11th century, but its thick, heavy script and florid decorations are more comparable with the legends of the Khwārazm-Shāhī coins of the 6th/12th century; and in any event, the closing words can hardly be taken for a date. In fact, the principality of Khwārazm had been slow to develop an ornate calligraphy. That region during the 5th/11th century had adopted an austere and elegant style, unusual only for the sweeping curves of the *djīm*, *hāʾ* and *khāʾ*, which is exemplified by the foundation-text of Maʾmūn b. Maʾmūn (dated 401/1010-11), in lead, from a minaret at Urgandj, or Gurgāndj [*q.v.*], now at Tashkent. With this may be compared the silver tray of the unidentified prince Tādj al-Umma wa-Sīrādj al-Milla Khwārazm-Shāh b. Ibrāhīm, reproduced by Smirnov. Further to the west in the Ziyārid kingdom,

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the inscription of the Gunbad-i Ḳābūs (395/1004-5) is in a magisterially simple, yet wholly undecorated script. Such austere forms were well-adapted to rendering in the brickwork of the many minarets and domes erected under the Saldjūḳs in Iran: such, for example, as the plain and elongated lettering of the founder's inscription of the minister Niẓām al-Mulk in the sanctuary of the Djāmiʿ at Iṣfahān (*AMI*, vii, 2-3, 83) or that in the name of the Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh at Gulpāyagān.

More adventurous calligraphic developments had meanwhile been taking place in the Sāmānid territories of Transoxania and Khurāsān, no doubt stimulated by the introduction of paper-manufacture from China, and the stimulus consequently given to penmen. On the slip-painted "Nīshāpūr" pottery, magnificient lettering is found in black or chocolate over a pale ground, and plaited or interlaced letter-forms soon become widespread. In the absence of dated specimens, chronology of the pottery depends on examples in other media. Interlaced letters appear on a *dīnār* of Naṣr b. Aḥmad dated 324/935-6 from al-Muḥammadiyya (Rayy), and similar forms are found frequently on subsequent Būyid coins of North Iranian mints. Thus Plaited Kūfic seems to have been diffused from east to west across the Islamic world, in the opposite direction to floriation. In Iran, the classic example of the plaited style is the epigraphic frieze of Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Wandarīn on his tomb-tower at Rādkān in Māzandarān, commenced in 407/1016-17 and completed in 411/1020-1. The outstanding specimen to combine floriation with plaited decoration is the script at the tomb of Yaḥyā b. Zayd (known as Imām-i Khurd), at Sar-i Pul in Afghānistān. Undated, it mentions one Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shādān, evidently a relative of Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad, *wazīr* of the Saldjūḳ Čaghrī Beg, and so should be several decades later than the Saldjūḳ occupation of Balkh around 433/1041-2. Plaited script appears also on the celebrated arch of Bust in southern Afghānistān, which though ascribed by commentators to the 6th/12th century, has greater affinities, both architectural and epigraphic, with the Ghaznavid period. In view of this last fact, its fragmentary date could suitably be restored merely as *arbaʿmiʾa* (400/1009-10), which would thus be the earliest specimen of Plaited Kūfic in the Ghaznavid area, and belonging consequently to the reign of Maḥmūd I.

More typical of the lettering of the Ghūrid period, in contrast to the previous examples, is a Bordered Kūfic which descends from that of the later Ghaznavid minarets, those of Masʿūd III (492-508/1099-1115) and Bahrām Shāh (511-52/1117-57) at Ghazna. Here the decorative border is independent of the actual lettering, though both stand on a floral background. A forerunner of this convention may be the so-called shrine of Bābā Ḥātim or Sālār Khalīl, near Andkhoy, which may even predate the Saldjūḳ occupation there, and has bordered decoration of a simple kind. This monuments of the mature Ghūrid period (late 6th/12th century) show a great variety of scripts, which include a stiff, archaising Kūfic, and a flowing Naskhī (Thuluth, see below). The most characteristic, however, both at Čisht, and in particular at Shāh-i Mashhad, is a form with broad decorative borders developed into complex geometrical forms. Further to the west, under successors of the Saldjūḳs in Iran, Bordered Kūfic is seen resembling that of the minarets at Ghazna on that at Nigār in Kirmān province. Enhanced with sparse turquoise tiling, it is presumed to date from 615/1218-19.

The Kūfic inscriptions so far discussed are all couched in Arabic. The small number of Persian epigraphs known which were written in this character were discussed by Bombaci in his examination of the long and fragmentary Persian verse-inscription on marble slabs, found in the palace of Masʿūd III at Ghazna (built in 505/1111-12). He notes Persian verses also on the tomb of an unknown person at Ghazna. However, the earliest example of such a text is on the portal-arch of Ribāṭ-i Malik near Bukhārā (Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, Pl. 272B), ascribed to the Ḳarakhānid Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Tamghač Khān Ibrāhīm (471/1078-9). Other monumental Persian inscriptions are at the tomb of Muʾmina Khātūn at Nakhčivān (N. Khanikoff, *Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase*, in *JA* [1862], 113-15); and especially that at the mausoleum of the later Ḳarakhānid Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī at Uzgend (547/1152), where the Persian foundation-text is in sinuous Naskhī, and the largely Turkish protocol of the ruler, below, in a rigorously geometrical Bordered Kūfic. In unpointed script Persian has always been found extremely difficult to read, and it was only with the advent of fully-pointed Naskhī that the monumental use of Persian became extensive.

In any event, by the close of the 5th/11th century, decorated Kūfic was passing out of favour, both by reason of its difficult legibility, and perhaps on account of associations with the Fāṭimid dynasty, considered hostile by the Saldjūḳs. Cursive handwritings, the rounded Naskhī, and the flowing and ligatured chancery hands, had always co-existed with the angular script, and now emerged with full monumental status. A Naskhī text on the tombstone of Mahmūd I at Ghazna contains the date 421/1030, but is often considered a later addition, as are the Kūfic inscriptions on the wooden doors from that tomb. Nevertheless, Ghazna played a leading part in the innovation, for the specimen there on a marble panel naming the Sultan Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd is unlikely to be later than his death in 492/1099, in view of its wording. At Dandānkān [*q.v.* in Suppl.], a Naskhī text is placed before 494/1100. A small panel in Naskhī appears on the Čihil Dukhtarān minaret at Iṣfahān (dated 501/1107-9), as also on that of Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh at Sāva (504/1110-11), where the main text is Kūfic. The minaret at Dawlatābād near Balkh is ascribed to the year 502/1108-9. Besides a band of Kūfic it has a fine epigraphic frieze of Naskhī type (of a style which some designate Thulth). At the Imām-i Kalān shrine at Sar-i Pul nearby, the entrance inscription is in sprawling Naskhī, but unhappily only the units figure of the date is legible (- - 9). Thereafter, the historical inscriptions of Muslim monuments were regularly in the rounded script, as at the Imām-zāda Karrār at Buzūn (528/1133-4), which provided Herzfeld with the occasion to prepare a list of Kūfic and Naskhī inscriptions noted in his time. Recent discoveries enable us to add to his list the *madrasa* of Shāh-i Mashhad already mentioned, and the mausoleum of Ḳorveh (Ḳurwa) near Ḳazwīn, ascribed to 575/1179-80. Arabic manuals of calligraphy, followed by several recent commentators, apply special terms (*thuluth*, *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, *rayḥānī*, *ruḳʿa* and so on) to varieties of Naskhī script. Yet since the application of these in succeeding periods is inconsistent, and the categories appearing on monuments do not always correspond, it is safer to use only the general term. From the second half of the 6th/12th century, Naskhī inscriptions exist in substantial

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numbers in Iran. The best general study, no longer, of course, up-to-date, is that of Kratchkovskaya (in Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, iv, 1770-84). Often the Naskhī characters stand, without attachment, on an overall background of vegetable scrolls, a convention found also in the latest phase of Kūfic. In the period of the Ilkhāns and later, wide variations are found in the forms of script under the Naskhī "label". As outstanding specimens, mention must be made of the *miḥrab* of Öldjeytü in the Djāmiʿ of Iṣfahān, and the *minbar* of the Muẓaffarid Aḥmad at Sīrdjān, with its massed verticals typical of the *tughrā* style. Yet the fashion for Naskhī, in numerous forms and varieties, with increasing use of diacritical points and signs, persists down to the time of the Ṣafawids and still more recently. In later centuries, monumental inscriptions stand closer to the traditions of the manuscript copyists. Besides foundation-texts, they often include the detailed provisions of *waḳf*-endowments. However, from the point of view of script, they hardly make the same call as the examples of the Kūfic period for separate treatment.

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10. India.

The Indian sub-continent is very rich in Muslim inscriptions, the study of which affords valuable information not only to the archaeologist and historian but also to the geographer, the economist, the student of religions, the linguist, and of course the calligrapher. Most of them are found on religious buildings (tombs, mosques, *ʿidgāhs*, *imāmbāṛās*, *madrasas*) and military works (forts, gates, bastions, cavaliers, towers), or on works of public utility (bridges, tanks, *bāʾolīs*, dams, sluices, *sarāʾīs*); some are also found on palaces, gardens, pavilions, etc.; and another class is found on movable objects such as guns and swords, ornamental metalwork including Bīdrī ware [see BĪDAR], and on crystal and jade [see BILLAWR and YASHM]. The greatest part of the public inscriptions is carved on stone; often of a stone identical to that of the main building material, but not infrequently a specially selected fine-grained stone is used for the inscription and cemented into the structure.

Here the question of authenticity must be considered. An inscription may indeed be exactly contemporary with the building on which it appears. But it may also be earlier, preserved through the reverence accorded to the written word or through the ascription to it of some special sanctity, and set into a later unrelated building; or else later, marking say the completion of a building project essentially constructed perhaps half-a-century earlier, as at the Djāmiʿ masdjid of Bidjāpur [*q.v.*], a late ʿĀdil Shāhī building whose inscription records its completion by Awrangzīb; or recording a restoration (as in many works in Dihlī of Fīrūz b. Radjab, whose inscriptions have to be studied in connexion with the problems of interpretation in his own accounts of his restorations in the *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*: see DIHLĪ. Monuments); or it may be fictitious—not necessarily mischievously: for example, the Persian inscription of the Masdjid Ḳuwwat al-Islām at Dihlī is probably a *pia fraus* of sixty or seventy years after the conquest.

The technique of carving stone inscriptions in Arabic, Persian or Urdū is conspicuously different

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from that of inscriptions in other Indian languages, where the characters are engraved into the surface of the stone; in the Muslim inscriptions the outline of the letters is first written on the stone, and the ground between the letters then chiselled away leaving the inscription level with the original surface. A similar technique may be applied to inscriptions on crystal and jade, and also to the larger metal pieces, although on any of these fields the letters may be incised and the grooves filled with another material to leave an inscription flush with the surface; in the case of Bīdrī ware this is regularly of silver bar laid into the base metal. Inscriptions in ceramics may be either of letters in a contrasting colour fired integrally in a regularly-shaped tile (*hafṭ-rangī*: see KHAZAF), or consist of the individual letter-shapes let into a contrasting ground by a mosaic technique. The former ceramic technique is more commonly employed for simple repetitive motifs (e.g. the names Allāh or Muḥammad), sometimes combined with a moulded base on which the letter-shapes are raised, as on the merlons of Rukn-i ʿĀlam's tomb in Multān; mosaic tile inscriptions, which do not appear until the 11th/17th century, are best exemplified in the Mughal buildings of Lahore ([see LĀHAWR]).

The language of the earliest inscriptions is invariably Arabic. There are no inscriptional records of the ʿAbbāsid presence in Sindh, although a few were engendered by the Muslim communities which lingered on in Sindh and the Pandjāb, with their occasional offshoots to Kačč̌h and the north coast of Kāṯhīāwāṛ [see GUDJARĀT], to which were added the small communities which grew up around the *k̲hānḳāh*s of individual Ṣūfī saints who drifted in to India before the Ghūrid conquest, especially in the Pandjāb and the Ganges valley. After the Ghūrid conquest of Dihlī, dating inscriptions remain in Arabic regularly until towards the end of the 7th/13th century, when they are replaced by Persian; non-historical epigraphs tend to remain in Arabic somewhat longer, and of course Arabic persists up to the present day for Ḳurʾānic quotations on mosque and tomb inscriptions. This does not, however, apply to the sultanates of Bengal, where the preferred language of dating inscriptions remains in Arabic until Mughal times. In late Mughal times, in north India Urdū inscriptions appear beside Persian. Away from Dihlī, there are many bilingual and trilingual inscriptions, especially in the Deccan (Persian/Sanskrit, Persian/Marāṯhī, Persian/Kannada, etc.); there are a few inscriptions in the Deccan regions in Dakhnī [*q.v.*]. Not infrequently the date is written in Arabic words in a Persian inscription; and often the Arabic, and to a less extent the Persian, is grammatically incorrect. The date in north Indian inscriptions is regularly expressed in Hid̲jrī years, except for a few inscriptions of the time of Akbar and Djahāngīr which use the Dīn-i Ilāhī [*q.v.*] system, or are dated by regnal years. In the Deccan, various solar calendars are occasionally used, especially the *Sh̲uhūr san* (well studied by Marie Martin, in an unpublished M.A. thesis of the University of Colorado) in the ʿĀdil Sh̲āhī sultanate of Bīd̲jāpur, and a *Faṣlī san* in Golkondā and under the Niẓāms of Ḥaydarābād. In Mysore under Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū Sulṭān, the Mawdūdī era is used. For these eras, see TAʾRĪḴ.

The scripts in use are the common Kūfic, *nas̲k̲h̲*, *ṯhuluṯh̲*, and *nastaʿlīḳ*. Kūfic is used only in the earliest dating inscriptions, and retained long after its period of active use in Ḳurʾānic quotations. *Nas̲k̲h̲* and *ṯhuluṯh̲* are in common use for both Arabic and Persian inscriptions all over India, with some regional modifications. *Nastaʿlīḳ* is regularly used for Persian inscriptions in and after the Mughal period, and for inscriptions in Urdū. Of the regional styles, the most striking is that of Bengal, where the vertical strokes of *alif*, *kāf* and *lām* are much elongated and spaced evenly across the length of the inscription, leaving the significant parts of the remainder of the letters to occupy the lowest quarter or third of the band; sometimes the tails of final or detached *nūn* or *yāʾ* are so disposed in the top part of the inscription to produce the "bow and arrow" effect. A similar style is seen also on some of the coins of D̲jawnpur. Elaborate *ṭug̲h̲rās* fall more in the domain of *farmān*s and other such documents rather than in public epigraphs, although they are certainly known in ceramic tile inlay and in *pietra dura* in Mughal buildings; but simpler *ṭug̲h̲rās*, in the square seal-script, are not uncommon, consisting usually of repetitions of the names Muḥammad or ʿAlī, or both, or the *kalima*. None of these seal-script inscriptions approaches the complexity of the Iranian examples. Simple dating inscriptions are usually unadorned; but many mosque inscriptions, starting with the *maḳṣūra* arches of the first stage of the Masd̲jid Ḳuwwat al-Islām in Dihlī, are engraved against an arabesque [*q.v.*] pattern also carried in relief on the ground. The finest example of this, however, is a dating inscription of the governor Tughril from a lost building at Bihār Sharīf. Similar arabesque patterns may also set off inscriptions in tilework or painted plaster, and occur also on coins of the Mughal period [see SIKKA]. Many inscriptions are of a high order of calligraphic excellence, and the names of many calligraphers in many regions of India are recorded.

The information which the inscriptions provide for the historian is sometimes very valuable; at times, they furnish the only sources for doubtful points of dynastic chronology; they supply missing details from the literary histories, or enable confusing points to be resolved where the other documents are in conflict; they enable more complete lists to be made of rulers' families, of the local nobility or court and town officials; and they are a valuable source of information on the history of the buildings on which they are found (subject to the reservation on their authenticity referred to above). Indirectly, too, their location enables the political status of border regions at certain confused times to be determined, such as the regions in dispute between the Mālwā and D̲jawnpur sultanates [*q.vv.*], or the Rayčūr *dōʾāb* [see HIND. History]; in many cases, an inscription is the only evidence for a fort or stronghold having been occupied by a particular power at any time. Even when rulers and governors are known from chronicles, the inscriptions often provide essential information on details of their careers, their promotions and postings, their achievements, even on their families. Tomb-inscriptions frequently mention their subject's birthplace, and thereby provide evidence for the extent of immigration and for the settlement pattern of foreign groups.

Administrative and economic details contained in or implied by the inscriptions can also be invaluable: information on details of departments, names of offices, and designations of office-holders; on the imposition or remission of taxes, and their varied application to certain classes or trades; on the nature and conditions of grants of land, both to

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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holders of an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] and to charitable institutions such as mosque or *madrasa* as *waḳf* [*q.v.*]; on land cultivation or irrigation (well inscriptions, or records of repairs to tanks and dams, often refer to the amount of land intended to be irrigated); on regional boundaries; on markets. Records on works of public utility may include a schedule of expenses or the wages to be paid to employees. Geographical details, including distances, occur in inscriptions relating to roads and bridges, which also provide information on their builders—besides recording the correct forms of place-names, which seem singularly liable to corruption by copyists of the chronicles. Building inscriptions often indicate the cost of construction as well as details of the architects; an unusual inscription in the tomb of Hūshang Shāh at Māndū [*q.v.*] records a tribute by visiting Mughal architects of the family of master-builders who were later responsible for the Tādj Maḥall. Gun inscriptions, as well as prescribing essential instructions on the quantity of charge and shot required, frequently provide information on gun founding and the gun-founders—often Turks or Europeans—involved in the industry.

The literary contribution of the inscriptions must not be overlooked. Many inscriptions are in verses composed *ad hoc*, some of considerable beauty and skill; but it must be admitted that the verse of a lot of inscriptions is no better than doggerel. This is especially the case with verses containing a chronogram, where taste is often sacrified in favour of ingenuity. There are occasional quotations from well-known Persian poets, but frequently the authors are local poets not otherwise recorded. Specimens of Dakhnī poetry are preserved in some Deccan inscriptions. Some prose inscriptions also evince literary merit, and may contain traditions not found in the usual collections of *aḥādīth*, such as the saying ascribed to Jesus in the Djāmiʿ masdjid of Fatḥpur Sikrī (Persian), or the variations on a tradition (Arabic) in the mosque inscriptions of Bengal, basically: "The Prophet, God's peace be upon him, said 'He who builds a mosque to God, for him God builds a *ḳaṣr* in Paradise' ". Sentiments expressed range from strict and self-conscious rectitude through quietist mysticism to wistful nostalgia.

There is also the linguistic contribution of inscriptions. The occurrence of local words (Hindī, Bengali, Marāṯhī, Gudjarātī, Urdū and Dakhnī in particular) is useful in reconstructing the history (and social conditions of use) of Indian languages. Bilingual inscriptions provide evidence on the extent of use of local languages and their place in communication of official instructions to the public, and the status of a particular local language in a border area; this is especially the case in the Deccan, where Muslim inscriptions in Kannaḍa, Marāṯhī and Telugu are not uncommon besides the usual Persian and Dakhnī.

The Indian sub-continent has been fortunate in the attention which has been paid to Muslim inscriptions for well over a century. Hundreds are recorded in orientalist publications, besides those in specialist journals devoted to epigraphy alone; and India has been well served by highly competent Government Epigraphists appointed specially to oversee Arabic and Persian inscriptions, of whom Ghulam Yazdani and Ziauddin Desai are pre-eminent. The work of exploration, interpretation and publication is still active.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography would be enormous in view of the great corpus of Indian Muslim epigraphs published so far. Inscriptions which relate to particular regions of India are listed under regional articles on History. In the 19th century epigraphs were mostly published, usually with translations and notes, in *JASB*. From 1907 the invaluable *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* appeared, which continued until the independence of India and Pakistan. Pre-*EIM* inscriptions are listed in J. Horovitz, *A list of the published Mohamedan inscriptions of India*, in *EIM* (1909-10). Since the cessation of *EIM*, Muslim inscriptions of India have appeared in *Epigraphia Indica Arabic and Persian Supplement*, and valuable comments appear also in *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*. Articles and studies are recorded in Creswell, *Bibliography*, and its Supplement, and in Pearson and Supplements. Many of the earlier *EIM* articles collect the epigraphs of individual sultans, but recent discoveries have rendered many of these out-of-date. V. S. Bendrey, *Studies in Muslim inscriptions*, Bombay 1944, extracts some historical information from epigraphs published in *EIM* to that date, but since the author knew no Arabic or Persian many significant details were not appreciated, and the work suffers from the limitation of its corpus. There is a valuable chapter on Arabic and Persian epigraphy in the Deccan by Z. A. Desai in H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan*, ii, Hyderabad 1974. (J. BURTON-PAGE)

KITĀBḴHĀNA [see MAKTABA]

KITĀMIYYA [see SHĀDHILIYYA]

ḲIṬFĪR, one of the most common names for the biblical Potiphar in Islamic tradition. It is probably a corruption of Fiṭfīr, based upon an early scribal error. Other forms of the name based on confusions of similar letters in Arabic script are Ḳiṭfīn, Ḳiṭʿīn, and Ḳiṭṭīn. The form Ḳiṭfīr is frequently corrupted further to Iṭfīr (so generally in Ṭabarī, Thaʿlabī, Zamakhsharī, Bayḍawī, and others), and in some manuscripts Iṭfīn. He is given the patronymic Ibn Ruḥayb (also Ibn Ruḥayb and Ibn Rūḥīt in mss.). There is considerable confusion regarding his name, and Ṭabarī, for example, uses several forms. Kisāʾī alone calls him Ḳūṭīfar, which is closest to the original Hebrew. In the Ḳurʾān, he is merely referred to by his title al-ʿAzīz (XII, 30, 51).

Ḳiṭfīr was the treasurer of Egypt. Because he immediately discerned Yūsuf's [*q.v.*] fine qualities, he is considered one of the three most insightful individuals (*afras al-nās*) in the judging of men, along with Shuʿayb's daughter, who asked her father to hire Mūsā, and Abū Bakr, who chose ʿUmar as his successor (Ṭabarī, Thaʿlabī, Zamakhsharī, Bayḍāwī).

Several reflections of the Haggadic Potiphar are found in Muslim legends. Ḳiṭfīr dies after Yūsuf's release from prison. Yūsuf in most Muslim sources marries Ḳiṭfīr's wife and finds her a virgin. This is never explained by the fact that Ḳiṭfīr was a eunuch, as is common in the Judaeo-Christian tradition (based on a later interpretation of Bibli. Heb. *sāris*), but rather that he was a homosexual as in some Jewish midrashim (comp. Ṭabarī, i, 396, with *Soṭa*, 13b, and *Genesis Rabba*, lxxxiii, 3). According to Kisāʾī, Ḳiṭfīr had been unable to have sexual relations with his wife because he was an alcoholic (*ʿannāb*). Yūsuf's marrying Ḳiṭfīr's wife probably reflects the association of Potiphar with Potiphera (Gen. xli, 45) in the midrash.

Ḳiṭfīr is a minor character about whom little is related in Islamic tradition.

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1. Near East. Stele from Aṣwān, 263/876. Archaic type of script (Photo. Goult).

2. Near East. Umayyad mosaic inscription in the Ḳubbat al-Ṣak<u>h</u>ra, Jerusalem (Photo. K. A. C. Creswell).

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3. Near East. Umayyad inscription. Milestone of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (Photo. M. Van Berchem).

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4. Near East. ʿAbbāsid Kūfic type. Egyptian stele, 204/819 (Photo. S. Ory)

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5. Near East. Angular script, carved out, and with hooks which foreshadow palmettes. Egyptian stele, 243/857 (Photo. G. Wiet).

7. Near East. Fragment of a Fāṭimid inscription in the Mosque of al-Ḥākim, Cairo, `end of the 4th/10th century (Photo. Van Berchem).

6. Near East. Angular script, in relief, and with palmettes. Egyptian stele, 243/857 (Photo. Wiet).

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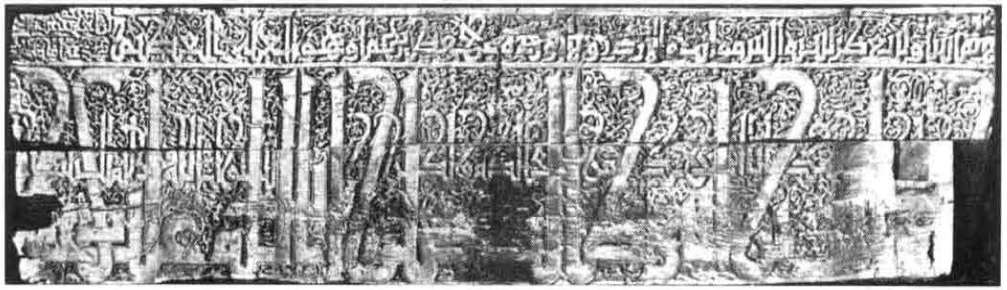
8. Near East. Fāṭimid inscription from the tomb of Fāṭima at Damascus, 439/1048 (Photo. J. Dufour).



9. Near East. Saldjūḳ inscription from the tomb of Sukayna at Damascus, carved in wood, 6th/12th century (Photo. Dufour).

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10. Near East. Cursive script type. Grave inscription (561/1166) from the cemetery of al-Bāb al-Ṣaghīr, Damascus (Photo. Kh. Moaz).

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11. Near East. Ayyūbid *naskhī* type, citadel of Jerusalem, 610/1213 (Photo. Van Berchem).

12. Near East. Mamlūk *naskhī* type. Ordinance of 889/1484 at Tripoli (Photo. Van Berchem).

13. Near East. Type of Ottoman script which is still very close to Mamlūk *naskhī*. Inscription (943/1536-7) of the Bāb al-Nāẓir at Jerusalem (Photo. Van Berchem).

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14. Spain. Almeria. Epitaph of a shaykh. 528/1133. Kūfic. (Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, No. 137).

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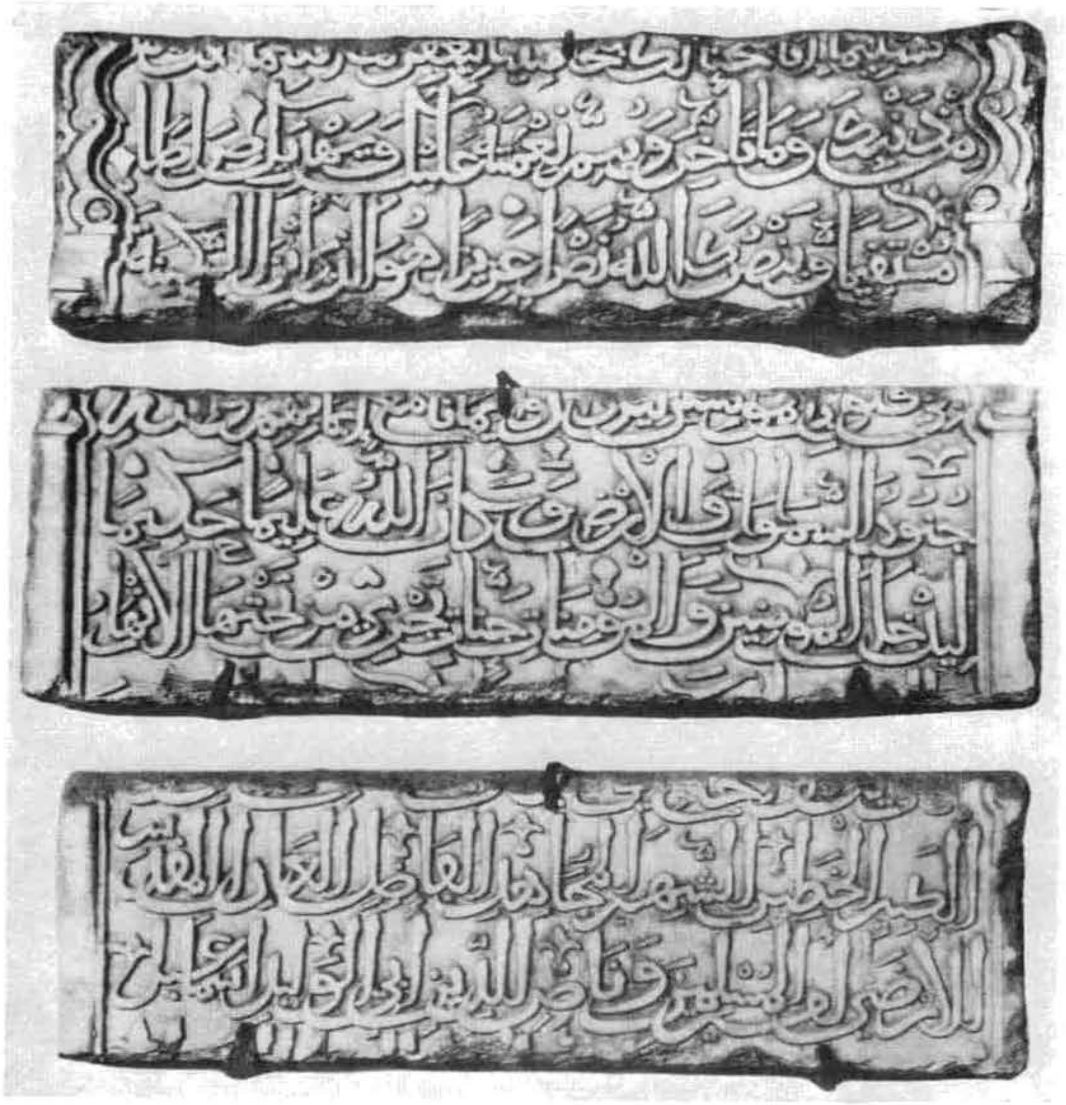

15. Spain. Granada. Fragments of the inscription commemorating the foundation of the Medersa. 750/1349. Andalusian cursive. (Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, No. 172).

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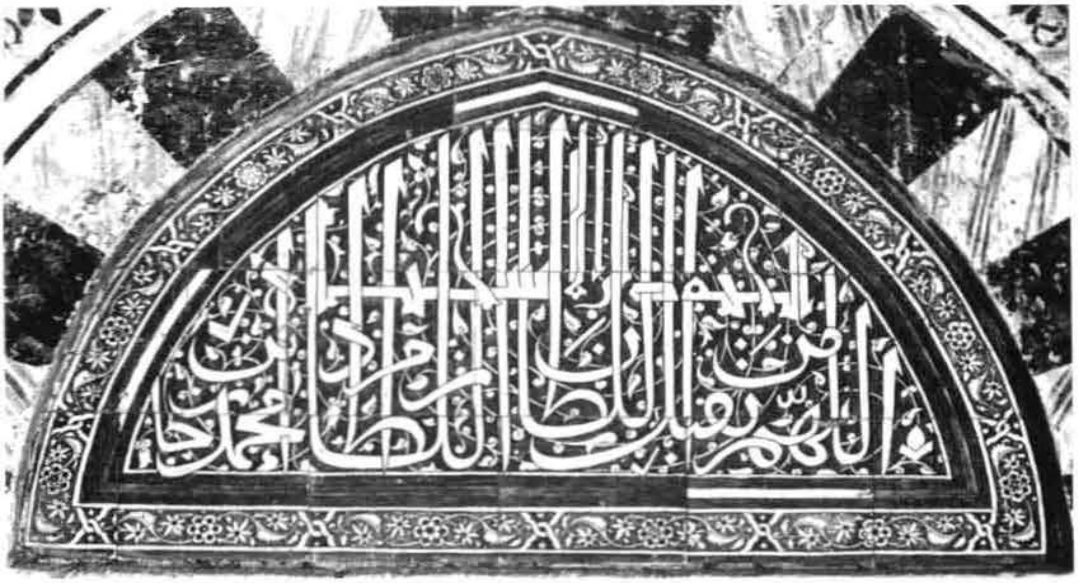
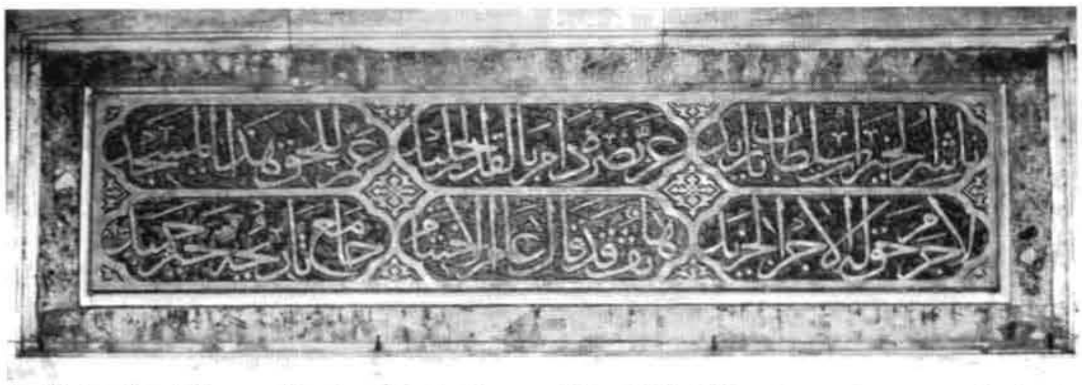


16. Turkey. Tile inscription in the courtyard of the Üçşerefeli Mosque, Edirne. *Ca.* 850/1446-7.



17. Turkey. Inscription over the entrance to the Mosque of Bāyezīd II in Edirne. Engraved on stone and painted. Reportedly designed by the famous calligrapher Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh. Dated 893/1488.

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18. Turkey. Inscription on a public fountain (*çeşme*) in Edirne. Engraved on white marble. Dated 1080/1669-70.

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19. Iran. Persepolis. Inscription of the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla in the Tachara, dated 344/955-6. Simple Kūfic.

20. Iran. Zawāre, inscription of minaret, dated 461/1068-69. Reads: *sannat iḥdā wa-sittīn wa-arbaʿ miʾa*. Floriated Kūfic (After *Āthār-i Īrān*, i [1936], 309).

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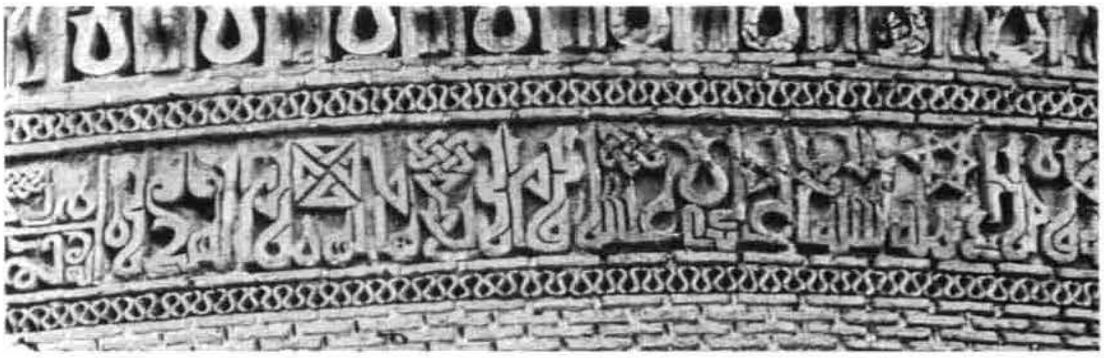
21. Transoxiana. Tashkent Museum: inscription of Maʾmūn b. Maʾmūn from Urgândj, 401/1010-11. Simple Kūfic of Khwārazm.



22. Iran. Rādkān (Neka), Māzandarān Province. Tomb of Muḥammad b. Wandarīn, 407-411/1016-17 to 1020-1. Plaited Kūfic. Reads: *wa-furigha minhu sanata iḥdā ʿashar wa-arbaʿ miʾa min al-hidjra.*

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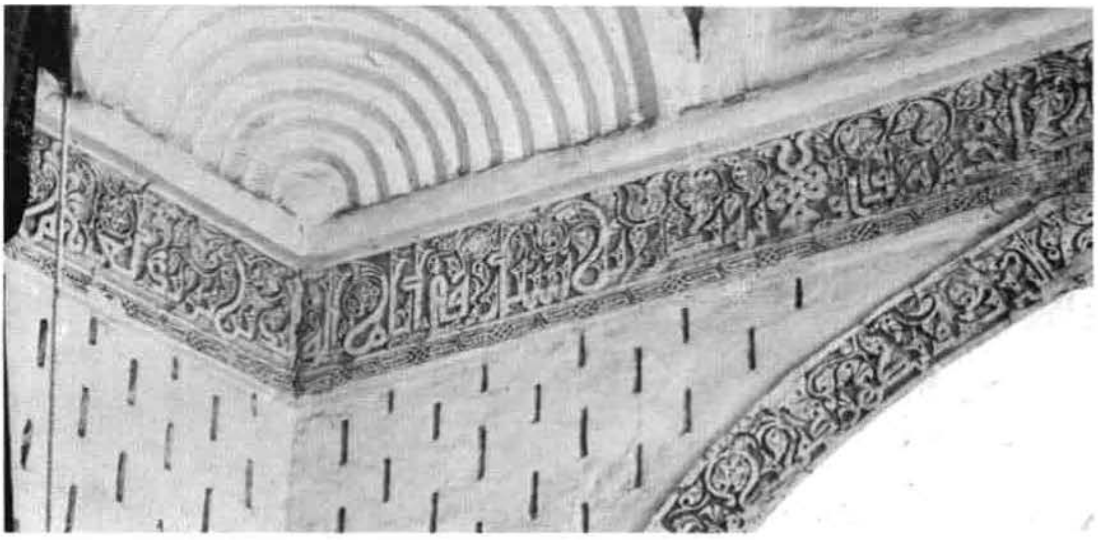
23. Iran. Rasgit (Resget), Tomb of Hormizdyār. Inscription over entrance. Late Floriated Kūfic: 6th/12th century. Bismillāh.



24. Afghānistān. Sar-i Pul. Shrine of Yaḥyā b. Zayd, known as Imām-i Khurd. Late 5th/11th century. Floriated and Plaited Kūfic. Reads: . . . *bin Aḥwaz fī wilāyat Naṣr bin Sayyār fī ayyām al-Walīd b. Yazīd laʿanahum* [*Allāh*].

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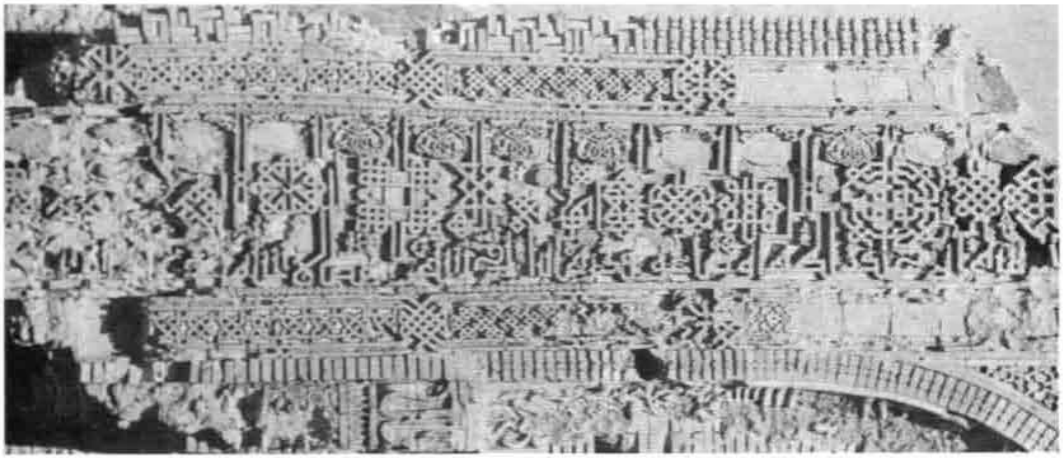

25. Afghānistān. Shāh-i Mashhad. *Madrasa* of Malika Muʿaẓẓama, daughter of Ghiyāth al-Din Muḥammad. Late 6th/12th century. Bordered Kūfic with geometrical elements. (After Casimir and Glatzer, *East and West*, xxi [1971], Fig. 8).

26. Afghānistān. Dawlatābād, nr. Balkh; lower frieze of minaret, 502/1109-10. (As in Y. H. Safadi, *Islamic calligraphy*, fig. 45; Photo Joséphine Powell, Rome).

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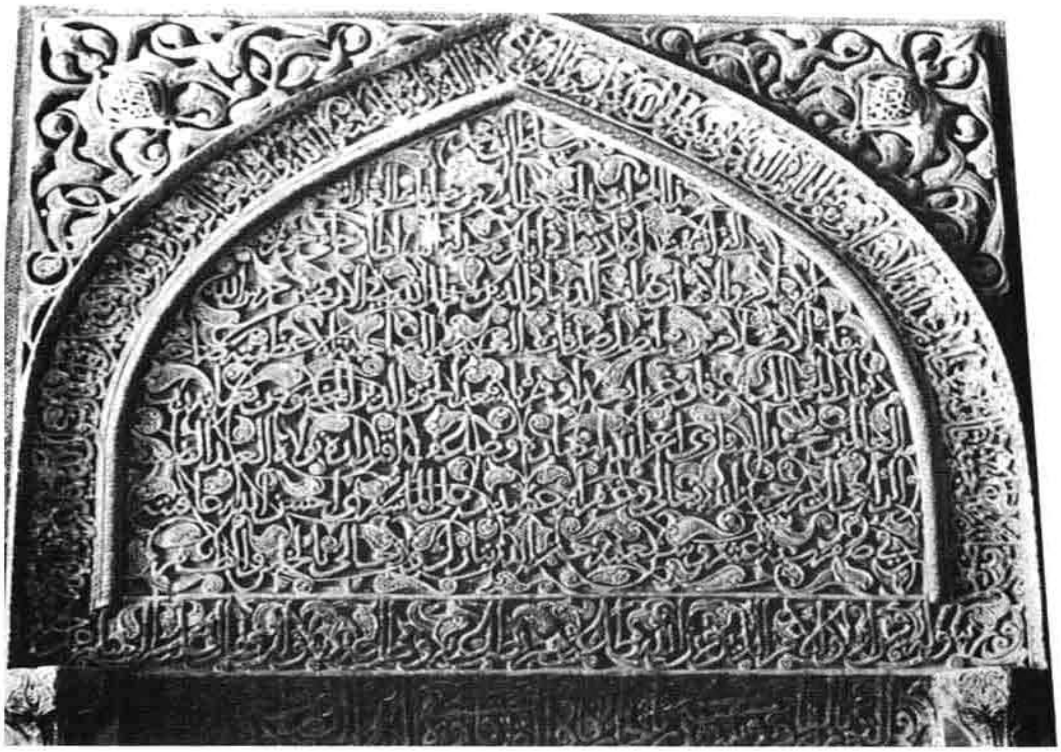
27. Iran. Imām-zāde Karrār, Buzūn: plaster *miḥrāb*, dated 528/1133-34. Early Naskhī.
(Reproduced after M. Bement Smith, *The Imamzade Karrar at Buzun*, in *AMI*, vii [1935], Pl. II, fig. 2).



28. Iran. Iṣfahān, *miḥrāb* of Öldjeytü in Masdjid-i Jāmiʿ.

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29. Iran. Sīrdjān, stone *minbar* of the Muẓaffarid Aḥmad; Ṭughrā script (Naskhī derivative with extended verticals) dated 789/1387-8. (Photo Paul Fox, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London).

30. India. Inscription from Ambūr fort in Victoria and Albert Museum, London (reproduced by permission of Keeper, Indian Section). 1196/1781-2. *Nasta'līḳ*, with unrelated graffiti in Tamil. Last line is an obscure chronogram. (Publication by J. Burton-Page forthcoming).

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Bibliography: The principal Arabic sources include Ṭabarī, i, 377-9, 381 f., 391 f. (cf. also Cairo ed. 1960, i, 335, notes, for ms. variants); idem, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1373/1954, xii, 184-6; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, 161 f. 164, 168; Ṯaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, 74-6, 80; Zamaḵẖsharī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1385/1966, xii, 309 f.; Bayḍāwī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Fleischer, 456, 464.

For secondary studies, see: L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia 1909, ii and v; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes*, Paris 1933; A. Schulman *et al.*, art. *Potiphar*, in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.

(B. Heller - N. A. Stillman)

ḲIṮHĀRA, ḲITARĀ, a musical instrument of the lyre family. It first appears in Arabic literature on music in the 3rd/9th century to denote a Byzantine or Greek instrument of this type. It was made up of a richly-decorated rectangular sound box, two vertical struts fastened together by a yoke and strings which were left free at their greatest width. Ibn Ḵẖurradādẖbih in his *K. al-Lahw* (ed. I. A. Khalifé, Beirut 1969, 19) and in his account appearing in the *Murūḏj al-ḏẖahab* of al-Masʿūdī (viii, 91 = § 3216) says concerning the *ḳiṮhāra*: "They (sc. the Byzantines) have the *lūrā* which is a *rabab* (sc. viol), which is made from wood and has five strings; they also have the *ḳiṮhāra* with twelve strings". Al-Ḵẖʷārazmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* writes that "the *lūr* (*lyra*) is the *ṣanḏj* (harp) in Greek; the *ḳitāra* is one of their instruments, and resembles the *ṭunbūr* (lute with a long neck)". The approximation of the two instruments in the sources corresponds indeed to reality, because the *lūrā* and *ḳiṮhāra* were two variations of the same instrument type in vogue since classical times and up to the first centuries of Islam. The *lūrā* was a smaller instrument played by beginners and by amateurs, whereas the *ḳiṮhāra* was the instrument for professionals who towards the Islamic period used it to show off a virtuosity frequently displayed freely. It is possibly to this that a musical aphorism alludes, this figuring *inter alia* in the *Adab al-falāsifa* of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, the *Risāla fī aḏjzāʾ ḵẖabariyyat al-mūsīḳī* of al-Kindī, the *K. al-Lahw* of Ibn Ḵẖurradādẖbih and the *Risāla fi ʾl-mūsīḳī* of the Iḵẖwān al-Ṣafāʾ; "A philosopher (Orpheus, according to Ibn Ḵẖurradādẖbih), having heard the sounds of a *ḳiṮhāra*, said to his disciple, 'Take me along to this musician, and possibly he will give us the benefit of a noble image'. But when they came upon him, they heard an unmetrical rhythm and a defective tune. So the philosopher then said to his disciple, 'The sooth-sayers assert that the raven's voice portends a man's death; if this is true, then the sound from this musician portends the raven's death'".

It seems that, at a later period, the term is used to denote a different instrument, the guitar, since this is the state of affairs in the *K. al-Imtāʿ wa ʾl-intifāʿ*, where the *ḳitār* is one of the 32 instruments described in the second chapter (ms. Madrid, Res. 246). In the same realm of ideas, we believe that the name of the North African lute, the *kwitra*, derives from the interpretation of the *ḳiṮhāra* evolved by the authors of the 3rd/9th century who compared it to the *ṭunbūr* (lute with a long neck) or to the *murabbaʿ* (lute with a quadrangular sound box).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. Shiloah)

ḲITMĀN [see ḵẖāridjites; taḳiyya]

ḲIṬMĪR [see aṣḥāb al-kahf].

al-ḲIYĀ al-HARRĀSĪ, Sẖams al-Islām ʿImād ad-Dīn Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭabarī, known especially as al-Kiyā, jurisconsult of the Sẖāfiʿī school and Ashʿarī theologian, a dialectician known in his days as one of the best practitioners of the art of disputation. (The *nisba* al-Harrāsī = "a preparer of the food called *harīsa*", wheat and meat pounded together and cooked.) A class-mate of al-Ghazālī and of the same age (they were born in 450/1058), al-Harrāsī died in 504/1010-11, one year before al-Ghazālī.

He first studied in Ṭabaristān, which he left at the age of twenty to study under the direction of the Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī [*q.v.*] in Nīsẖābūr; he was one of his most successful disciples and became one of the most able repetitors (*muʿīd*). He excelled in the field of law, both positive law (*fiḳh*) as well as its theory and methodology (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*). From Nīsẖābūr, al-Kiyā went to Bayhaḳ where he taught Sẖafiʿī *fiḳh*; this was very likely after the death of his teacher Djuwaynī in 478/1085. His class-mate al-Ghazālī had gone to Ṭūs to the court of the Saldjūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk. From Bayhaḳ, al-Kiyā went to Baghdād to assume the chair of law in the Sẖafiʿī *Madrasa Niẓamiyya*, a position which he kept until his death in 504/1110-11. He also taught *ḥadīṮ*, and one of his pupils in this field was the famous tradition-expert al-Sīlafī (d. 576/1180-1).

Al-Kiyā was accused of Ismāʿīlī sympathies and was in danger of losing his life, but was saved by a petition signed by notable scholars of Baghdād, among whom his older colleague and sparring-mate in disputations, the Ḥanbalī jurisconsult and theologian Ibn ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*].

Among his works, biographers cite the *Sẖifāʾ al-murʿẖidīn*, considered by Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī as one of the most excellent works in the field of *ḵẖilāf*; and the *Naḳd mufradāt al-Imām Aḥmad*, points of law on which he differs from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. Al-Kiyā was in turn criticised by the Ḥanbalī Sẖams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma al-Maḳdisī (704-44/1304-43), in his *al-Radd ʿalā ʾl-Kiyā al-Harrāsī*, as well as by the *Ḳāḍī ʾl-Ḳuḍāt* al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh, a student of Ibn Taymiyya (see Ibn Radjab, *Ḏẖayl*, ii 438 (l. 14) and 454 (ll. 3-4), respectively). Biographers also attribute to him a work on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and this is borne out by a discovery made by G. Makdisi of a manuscript in the library of the University of Ankara, several years ago, during a search for works on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*. Indications on the title page show that this work of al-Kiyā had three recensions: great, medium and small, the extant copy being the medium recension. The title is given as *Taʿlīḳ fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and appears to be the work by the same title cited by Suyūṭī in his *Muzhir*, i, 23. It is not to be confused with his work on *uṣūl al-dīn* as suggested in Brockelmann, *GAL*, S I, 674 (l. 11), a manuscript of which is in the National Library in Cairo, for the work is definitely on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*.

Bibliography: *GAL*, I, 390, S I, 67 (bibliography cited); G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle (Ve siècle de l'Hégire)*, Damascus 1963, 216 and n. 1 (bibliography cited), and index; idem, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 41 and *passim*.

(G. Makdisi)

ḲIYĀFA (a.), the science of physiognomancy and the examination of traces on the ground.

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In their concern for the purity of race and the

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correctness of genealogical lines, the ancient Arabs perfected a technique which permitted them to verify, and, where necessary, to research into, lines of parentage. This technique consisted partly in experience and partly in divinatory intuition. In primitive times, a specialised personnel maintained the practice: but the progressive decline, in pre-Islamic Arabia, of personnel skilled in cultic and divinatory matters led to the accumulation of numerous mantic disciplines in the répertoire of the *kāhin* [*q.v.*]. But there were numerous individuals skilled in this sphere of activity who were not necessarily *kāhin*s (cf., for example, Ibn Hishām, 115); certain tribes were noted for their practice of this art (the Banū Mudlidj, Khath'am and Khuzā'a).

Ḳiyāfa, ancestor of the Islamic *firāsa* [*q.v.*], comprised two branches:

(i) *Ḳiyāfat al-bashar*, "physiognomancy", which has the object of disclosing the lines of parentage between the child of an unknown father and his presumed father, with a view to his legitimisation. Thus by virtue of traditional *ḳiyāfa*, Mu'āwiya was obliged to recognise, as his consanguineous brother, Ziyād b. Abīhi [*q.v.*]. The principle on which *ḳiyāfa* is based is the necessary resemblance between the infant and his father. Certain parts of the body serve as points of reference, notably the sole of the foot, because, in most cases, the child has the same foot as his father (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 338 = § 1221). But these points of resemblances are not always evident; discovery of them requires a faculty of perception and a perfect memory (al-Rāzī, *Firāsa*, 13). The acute eye for detail possessed by the Bedouin contributed greatly to the perfection attained by the Arabs in this art.

(ii) *Ḳiyāfat al-athar*, the faculty of minute observation which the Arab displays, most notably in the course of everyday life. The examination of footprints permits him to find a stray animal, a fugitive chief, a lost path, etc.; he distinguishes the footprints of a man from those of a woman, those of a young man from those of an old man, those of a white man from those of a negro and those of a stranger from those of a local resident. He can even tell if the woman is a virgin or not.

This astonishing faculty of observation and deduction extended to the behaviour of animals. The legend of the sons of Nizār, interpreting, in each case according to a particular point, the traces of a camel, on their road, and the origin of the honey, the roast meat and the wine offered to them by their host (Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, iii, 228 ff. = § 1092 ff.), is a perfect illustration of the minuteness with which the *ḳā'if* dissected the most insignificant facts.

As a spiritual faculty surpassing human intelligence, *ḳiyāfa* possessed, as early as the pre-Islamic period, a sacred character which ensured its survival, as a judicial proof, in legal cases concerned with establishing the paternity of a child born of a slave (Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *al-Ṭuruḳ al-ḥikamiyya*, 208, 195-213). Shurayḥ, the famous *ḳāḍī*, was a *ḳā'if*; al-Shāfi'ī wrote a *Risāla fī 'ilm al-ḳiyāfa* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 452; ms. Süleymaniyye, Mihrimah Sultan, 185, 4, in Turkish).

A product of nomadism and the milieu of the desert where it was applied under many different circumstances, *ḳiyāfat al-athar* rather lost some of its *raison d'être* in the Islamic city, where it was to be eclipsed by *firāsa*, which evolved on totally different principles.

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 370-8; Y. Mourad, *La physiognomie arabe et le* K. al-firâsa *de Fakhr ad-Dîn ar-Râzî*, Paris 1939; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 333-8 = §§ 1217-21. (T. Fahd)

ḲIYĀMA (A.), the action of raising oneself, of rising, and of resurrection. The root *ḳ-w-m* is employed very frequently in the language of the Ḳur'ān. *Ḳiyāma* occurs there seventy times, always in the expression *yawm al-ḳiyāma* "the day of resurrection". The resurrection of bodies follows the annihilation of all creatures (*al-fanā' al-muṭlaḳ*), and precedes the "judgment" (*dīn*), the "day of judgement" (*yawm al-dīn*). This will be the Last Hour (*al-sā'a*). *Al-sā'a*, *yawm al-ḳiyāma* and *yawm al-dīn*, taken as a whole constitute one of the "necessary beliefs" which determine the content of the Muslim faith. It may be noted that the word *nushūr* is an equivalent (in the Ḳur'ān) of *ḳiyāma*.

The works of *'ilm al-kalām* and of *falsafa* deal with the whole subject of eschatology under the general title of *al-ma'ād* "the return", a word which appears only once in the Ḳur'ān (XXVIII, 85) in the localised sense of "the place to which one returns". Hence very often, in learned discussions, the idea of resurrection will be expressed by "return". We may add that it would be inappropriate to deal with judgement as such and its modalities, or with retribution, under the term *ḳiyāma*. In this respect, the present article needs to be supplemented by the articles reserved for *al-ḥisāb*, "the reckoning", *al-ma'ād*, *al-sā'a* and *yawm al-dīn* [*q.vv.*]. We shall confine ourselves here to considering (1) the succession of eschatological events which precede and accompany resurrection; (2) the Ḳur'ānic arguments which demonstrate its possibility; and (3) the setting in perspective of the philosophico-theological problems which arise as a result.

I. *The succession of eschatological events.*

(a) Prophetic signs. Resurrection will be preceded by the end of the world, by "annihilation". The Meccan sūras are insistent on this. "Signs" will foretell the end; "the earth will be shaken with its earthquake" and will "yield up its burdens" (Ḳur'ān, XLIX, 1-2); the sky will crack, the planets will be dispersed, the seas "poured forth", the graves overturned (C, 9; LXXXII, 1-4; cf. LXXXI, 1-14; especially LVI, 1-6, etc.); the mountains (will fly) like "tufts of carded wool" (CI, 5), etc. The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (viii, 179) gives a systematic list of these "signs". Al-Nasafī, in his *'Aḳā'id*, lists five of them, and the *Tafsīr* of al-Taftāzānī enumerates ten "major signs" (see the list in L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane—Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 262, n. 6).

(b) The annihilation. On that day "the Sound shall ring out, and a second shall follow it" (Ḳur'ān, LXXIX, 6-7). This "sound" will be the "sound of the trumpet" (LXXIV, 8), which according to tradition will be blown by the angel Isrāfīl. Then there will not be, it is sometimes said, a single living being that does not die—"every soul shall taste death" (XXIX, 57). This is the final annihilation, where God alone remains in His absolute power, for "all shall perish save His countenance" (XXVIII, 88). In the course of time, this vision of an absolute *fanā'* came to be modified. From commentary to commentary, the number grows of the beings who shall escape annihilation: not because they are endowed with natural immortality, but on account of a "principle of permanence" (*ḥukm al-baḳā'*) which the will of God shall concede to them (list in L. Gardet, *op. cit.*, 264-6).

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(c) The resurrection. When the "second blast of the Trumphet" has sounded, the whole of mankind, long dead or annihilated in the "great *fanāʾ*", will be revived in body, soul and spirit. "The day when the crier shall cry out from a nearby place, the day when they shall in all truth hear the cry, that will be the day of resurrection" (L, 41-2). Stress is always laid on the suddenness of this "return" to life. Resurrection is a rising up, the immediate passage, without reference to time, from non-life to life.

(d) The gathering (*ḥashr*). God "shall gather" (L, 44; LIX, 2). He shall gather men together "as if they had stayed (in their tombs) only one hour of the day" (X, 45). He will gather the believers (XIX, 85). He will gather the impious (XX, 102; XXV, 17; etc.). He will gather men and *djinn* (VI, 130), men and demons (XIX, 68). He will gather the angels (XXXIV, 40). This is the universal gathering. Also taking part in this, it is decided at a later stage, will be those protected from *fanāʾ* by divine mercy; and even, according to al-Nawawī, pack-animals and wild animals. This will be the "standing" (*al-mawḳif*) in waiting for judgement. Some traditions maintain that the first who will "rise" and arrive at the place of assembly (*al-maḥshar*) will be the Prophet of Islam. According to the most widespread beliefs, the prophets, the angels and the virtuous will be spared the terrors of waiting. But humanity in general "will sweat with agony"; they will be drenched in their sweat (*al-ʿaraḳ*), which will "bridle" them, as the bit bridles the horse (cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 436-7).

The Ḳurʾānic texts are abundantly glossed by *ḥadīth*s (al-Bukhārī, ix, 46-61; Muslim, viii, 165-210, etc.). A whole didactic literature is grafted on to this stem. For example, in al-Ghazālī, *ibid.*, the last book of the fourth volume, entitled *Dhikr al-mawt wa-mā baʿdahu*, 381 ff., in particular on the *yawm al-ḳiyāma*, 437-9; and the text attributed to the same author (wrongly, it appears), *al-Durra al-fākhira* (ed. Cairo 1347/1928). See on this subject, as indicated in *EI*[1], Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, 539 ff., taking up the "Preliminary discourse" of Sale, section 4, 73-103 of the 1734 edition (the latter itself being based on Edward Pococke, *Porta Mosis*, ii, 235-313 of the Oxford 1654-5 edition, which deals at length with Arabic passages and expressions).

Popular imagery abounds with descriptive details and continually builds on the foundations of tradition. But such imagery is irrelevant to faith. On the other hand, the very fact of the resurrection of the body is a cardinal element of the Muslim faith. A meta-historical and unique fact, linked, as if to an "opposite correlative" (*muḳābal*), to the fact, also meta-historical, of creation.

We may further note that the Shīʿī beliefs refer to a first "return" which will precede the universal ressurection and gathering; only the virtuous will take part in it under the guidance of the *Mahdī* of the last times. This is the *radjʿa* ("return to life"), a kind of millenarianism. The Rāfiḍīs, in the early centuries of Islam, insisted on this. It continues to be one of the perspectives of Imāmism, linked to the "return" of the 12th *Imām*, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the "vanished one" (*al-ghāʾib*), who, with this "first return", will be *al-Ḳāʾim*, "the riser". The Ismāʿīlī "hidden sense" has more than once transposed the foretold *parousia* on a gnostic and extra-temporal basis.

The Muʿtazilīs opposed the Rāfiḍīs and declared this first resurrection to be "vain". Al-Khayyāṭ returns to it in his refutation of Ibn al-Rāwandī (cf. al-Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, French tr. A. Nader, Beirut 1957, *passim*, in particular 95-97/118-20). The Ashʿarī reaction no longer held the idea of *radjʿa*. Sunnī thought as a whole denies or ignores the expectation of a preliminary "return" of the virtuous, a golden age on earth preceding the day of judgement. For Sunnism, the only "return" is that of the last hour which will follow the "great *fanāʾ*", sc. that of the resurrection (*ḳiyāma*) and of the gathering (*ḥashr*).

II. *Ḳurʾānic arguments*. As suggested by D. Masson (Ḳurʾān tr., Paris 1967, index, under "Resurrection"), these arguments may be grouped around three themes:

(a) A constant comparison of the creation (*ḵhalḳ*) with the resurrection, which then appears to be a "new creation" (Ḳurʾān, XVII, 49; cf. XVIII, 48; XXI, 104; XXVII, 64) or "the second creation" (LIII, 47). It is the creative power of God which is invoked in reply to the man who would doubt the resurrection (XXII, 5); and to produce a second creation is "easy" for God (XXIX, 19; XXX, 27). He has created man and "formed him harmoniously" (LXXV, 38): "Is He who has done these things not able to bring the dead to life?" (LXXV, 40; cf. LXXXVI, 5-8).

(b) A second "sign" of the resurrection is the analogy of the production of vegetables and of fruits, and the revivification of the soil by water (XLI, 39; LXIII, 11). "Thus we restore life to the earth after its death. Observe how resurrection (*nushūr*) comes about" (XXXV, 9; cf. L, 11). "God ... brings forth the living from the dead and the dead from the living" (VI, 95; X, 31; XXX, 19): "thus we shall cause the dead to arise" (VII, 57). And resurrection after death is compared to the day that follows the night (XXV, 47).

(c) Finally, the example of miracles with reference to a dead man revived by God (II, 72-3 and 259). R. Blachère compares this last account with the Ethiopic version of the *Book of Baruch*. It should be noted that the Ḳurʾān does not speak here, like the *Book of Baruch*, of a waking after a miraculous sleep (cf. "the Seven Sleepers"), but of a new life after death.

III. *Problems posed*. The most diverse "professions of faith" (*ʿaḳāʾid*) steadfastly proclaim the resurrection of the body. But very soon problems of a philosophico-theological nature arise. The influence of the *falāsifa* is predominant. Not only the *Tahāfut* of al-Ghazālī, but every *Kitāb al-Maʿād* of the major treatises of *ʿilm al-kalām* has the intention of refuting them, and, for this very reason, to a large extent adopts their methods of examining problems, and sometimes their vocabulary.

(a) The "punishment of the tomb" (*ʿadhāb al-ḳabr* [*q.v.*]). First question: is there a survival of the soul or of the spirit? Will the predicted resurrection be of the body alone, or of the whole man, body, soul and spirit? The Ḳurʾān does not talk explicitly of a survival of the soul or of the spirit after death. Man dies, then is recalled to life on the day of resurrection. Three texts, however (XL, 45-6; XL, 11; III, 169-70), are advanced by the *mutakallimūn* as evidence for the "punishment of the tomb"; at a later stage, "the pleasures of the tomb" are reserved for the virtuous. In conjunction with these texts, there are many *ḥadīth*s, recognised as authentic (*ṣaḥīḥ*), which are quoted, such as "I take refuge with You against the punishment of the tomb" (cf. further, al-Bukhārī, xxiii, 87; lxxx, 37-9). The

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punishment of the tomb and the interrogation that precedes it, the formulation thereby of a "first judgment" are mentioned in the majority of professions of faith. The Ashʿarīs accuse the Muʿtazilīs of denying them. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, on the contrary, affirms them; he locates them, however, not immediately after the "first death", but between the "two blasts of the Trumpet" (of annihilation, and of resurrection) that will sound at the last Hour. And his arguments in support of the punishment of the tomb are very close to the arguments habitually propounded by the Ashʿarīs (cf. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-ḵhamsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 732-3).

But what is at issue here is not the survival of a separate soul, by nature immortal. What is being discussed is a first and transitory resuscitation, at once corporeal and spiritual, which is not a true resurrection. It is not necessary, say some authors, that the entire body should revive; it is enough that some fundamental part or other, heart, kidney, etc., be animated afresh. Moreover, if the body has been completely devoured or reduced to ashes, it will not be difficult for God to reassemble it and restore to life a sufficient quantity of matter (cf. al-Ghazālī, *Iḳtiṣād*, Cairo n.d., 88-9). Besides, this survival of the tomb is brief. After being thus examined and punished (or rewarded), the man experiences "the second death". For a resumé of the question, see al-Djurdjānī, *Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 318. It is also declared that the prophets and the *shuhadāʾ* who have died fighting for God are excused from the interrogation and from the punishment of the tomb.

Under various influences (Mazdaean? Christian? The *falāsifa*?), or through a simple endogenous development, the belief in a survival of the soul or the spirit is developed: whether in the tomb, with, according to the circumstances, appropriate punishments or rewards; or in other places; or even in Paradise for the spirits of the prophets, of the *shuhadāʾ* and, according to some, of the Muslim children who have died before the age of reason. These spirits, in Paradise, are provided with a temporary body symbolised by "the gizzards of green birds". Furthermore, an exegesis that has come to be accepted of Ḳurʾān, XVII, 84 "the spirit proceeds from the commandment of your Lord", points to the directly divine origin of the spirit, hence to its immortality (cf. al-Ghazālī, *al-Risāla al-ladunīyya*, the second of the short treatises linked together under the title *al-Djawāhir al-ghawālī*, ed. Cairo 1353/1934).

We have here a brief revival (body and soul), prolonged or not by a survival of soul or spirit, and what is at issue is, in any case, only a transitory state. The eschatological hour of the *yawm al-ḳiyāma* and that hour alone, retains its absolute quality.

(b) The *falāsifa*. The "punishment of the tomb" could hardly be accepted in anything other than a metaphorical sense in the view of the *falāsifa* in general. In their habitual concern to integrate all the articles of faith, they refrain from rejecting it, but interpret it according to the major frameworks of their anthropology. For them, in accordance with their Hellenistic sources, the reasoning soul, a spiritual substance, is by nature incorruptible; it belongs by nature to the sphere of separate substances. It is thus that Ibn Sīnā, describing the lot of souls after death, speaks of pleasures, or of purifications, or of intellectual punishments; with this explicit statement that the souls which, on earth, have taken pleasure only in physical enjoyments are now found to be irremediably deprived of them; they will be eternally at grips with tormenting and insatiable desires of lust and anger, and will draw from the celestial bodies the view within their imaginations of their torments (cf. *Nadjāt*², Cairo 1357/1938, 297). Their "hell" is to be barred from joining the higher angelic world—which we may take to be the world of separate substances—"where are found supreme happiness and accomplished splendour" (*Sharḥ K. Uthūlūdjiyā*, published by A. Badawī, in *Arisṭū ʿind al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1947, 43). It is true, the "humble of spirit" (*buhl*), who have sought after good to the best of their ability, will enjoy a happiness that is subjectively absolute, objectively relative: an imaginative, not purely intellectual happiness, and the celestial bodies, here too, will supply them as if with an additional body. Thus, according to Ibn Sīnā, for the mass of humanity, what should hold is that which is said in the prophetic revelation about the judgment of the tomb, about punishments and potential rewards (cf. *Nadjāt*, 298; parallel texts in the *Shifāʾ*).

Are these spiritual torments and joys of the life to come connected with the *yawm al-ḳiyāma*, the day of resurrection of the body foretold by the Book? Resurrection is an article of faith too central to Islam to be explicitly and overtly dismissed by the *falāsifa*. Their position is nonetheless highly ambiguous.

It is appropriate to set aside Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Kindī, "the philosopher of the Arabs". He is the only *faylasūf* who explicitly maintained that philosophical research could be and should be strengthened and guided by prophetic revelation. Consequently, he professes, from a specifically philosophical point of view, the fact of the creation in time, and the possibility of the resurrection of the body; the latter is possible, he says, since that is what the creation was—thus he adopts the major Ḳurʾānic argument (cf. *Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 372 ff.). In works aimed at the "simple philosophers" (see *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, ed. Cairo 1328/1910, 3), Ibn Sīnā confines himself to affirming belief in the resurrection on the basis of Ḳurʾānic testimony: "The revealed law (*sharʿ*) maintains, and reason does not deny, that the body also will enjoy pleasures" (or will be plunged into misery and suffering); cf. *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326, 114-6; analogous texts in the *Shifāʾ* and *Nadjāt*. Such is, moreover, approximately the position of Ibn Rushd. It is for the sake of his respect for prophecy and the revealed law that he opposes with such vehemence the accusations of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 580-6; see translation by S. Van den Bergh, London 1954, notes on vol. ii, 203-5).

But in fact, Ibn Rushd confines himself to a statement of principle, without replying to the arguments and objections of al-Ghazālī. Now it seems probable that the latter was familiar with the esoteric treatise of Ibn Sīnā, *al-Risāla al-aḍḥawiyya fī amr al-maʿād*, which was translated into Latin (*Liber Mahad*) by Andre Alpago (Venice 1546) and has been edited recently in Arabic by Sulaymān Dunyā (Cairo 1368/1949). In this work, Ibn Sīnā attempts to demonstrate explicitly that the resurrection of the body, which he does not mean to deny, should be understood as a symbol or an allegory which has the object of inducing the mass of humanity to persist in virtuous behaviour. In reality "it is known that the true well-being of man is

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opposed by the very existence of the soul in his body, and that physical pleasures are other than true pleasures, and that the fact of the soul returning to the body would be punishment for the soul" (*Risāla aḍḥawiyya*, 53). We can understand how al-Ghazālī was able to accuse the *falāsifa* of not admitting in its explicit sense, and according to all its demands, the teaching of the Ḳur'ān concerning resurrection: this is the 20th question of the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, Beirut 1927, 334 ff.).

(c) Responses and attempts at explanation of the Mutakallimūn. Later *kalām* was to judge the *falāsifa* much more by the esoteric treatise of Ibn Sīnā than by their statements of respect towards the religious law. When al-Djurdjānī lists the various attitudes which were or could be adopted (*op. cit.*, viii, 297; cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, Cairo n.d., 169), he seems to assimilate the *falāsifa* to those "deistic philosophers" who only accept "spiritual return", the *rudjūʿ*, in the sense found in the pseudographic *Theology of Aristotle*; while the men "with certainty of truth" (*muḥaḳḳiḳūn*), like al-Ḥalīmī or al-Ghazālī for example, profess a *maʿād* that is both spiritual and corporal. It is in this sense that developments of *kalām* will tend to prove the rational possibility of the "return", then of the "gathering", and to study its conditions. We cannot follow in detail the whole series of discussions, arguments, objections and responses in all their intricacy and multiplicity (cf. L. Gardet, *op. cit.*, 266-9, and refs.). Nevertheless, we make some comments:

(1) Curiously enough, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 170) declares that all the earlier prophets preached only the "spiritual return" and that it is the Ḳur'ān that proclaims the return of the body. His opponent, the Imāmī Shīʿī Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (in the margin of the *Muḥaṣṣal*, *ibid.*) states furthermore that the Gospel does not preach the resurrection of the body, and quotes Matthew, xxii, 30 "they are like the angels in heaven". Ibn Rushd (*Tahāfut*, 580) seems to have had a better knowledge of Judaism and of Christianity.

(2) In his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (*loc. cit.*), al-Ghazālī, under the heading of a third hypothesis, and in the form of an argument *ad hominem*, concedes to his opponents that the soul may be of a wholly spiritual nature and that in it alone the human personality may reside (in the *Iḳtiṣād*, 88, he declared that this opinion "does not accord with what we believe"). Even in this case, he says, the resurrection of the body is still possible, and so it will take place, since the religious law foretells it. Also, he replies meticulously to three objections of a philosophical order (for the details of this debate, see L. Gardet, *La pensée religieuse d'Avicenne*, Paris 1951, 87 n. 3).

(3) Numerous explanations of the "return of the body" are proposed by the *ʿilm al-kalām*. The Muʿtazilīs seem to have professed the "annihilation", then the "return" of substances and of "durable" accidents (real accidents) which are necessarily linked to them (see summary in al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, ed. and tr. Luciani, Paris 1938, 211/316). Al-Djuwaynī himself (*ibid.*, 213/318) and al-Ghazālī (*Iḳtiṣād*, 87) envisage either the "annihilation" of substances (and therefore of accidents which could not alone remain in the being), and their "return"; or the "annihilation" of accidents, then their "return", the substances remaining. For al-Ghazālī, either hypothesis is possible (*mumkin*). According to the followers of Ashʿarism as finally evolved, such as al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 171) and al-Djurdjānī (*op. cit.*, viii, 297), either God brings back to life (*iʿāda*) an "annihilated" (*maʿdūm*) and the "return" is thus preceded by a reduction to non-existence (*ʿadam*), or else the return follows a total dispersion (*tafrīḳ*).

Discussion of these last two hypotheses led to developments concerning the relationship between substances and accidents, concerning an atomistic or non-atomistic view of the world, and concerning notions of being and of non-being. Three terms are constantly being repeated by the pen of the scholars: the being according to its first existence (*mubdaʾ*), to the "annihilated" (*maʿdūm*) and to the "similar" (*mithl*). For it is not a "similar" being that returns on the day of resurrection, it is the being itself, the same one that was "annihilated". No difference between the first creation (*ibdāʾ*) and the "return" (*iʿāda*) is spoken of by al-Ghazālī (*Iḳtiṣād*, 87-8), al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, 169-70) and al-Djurdjānī (*Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, viii, 292, 294). Henceforward, declares al-Djurdjānī (*ibid.*, 293-4), the subject of the first creation and the subject of the return are not at all to be distinguished in terms of their ensemble of determining characteristics (*māhiyya*), but only in terms of the essence (*huwiyya*) which places them within the being. There is between these two "subjects", that is between the thing and itself having "returned", an "interference" (*takhallul*) of non-existence, which al-Ghazālī and no doubt al-Rāzī on the one hand, and al-Djurdjānī on the other would explain rather differently. But the consensus continues to rest on the return to existence of the same being that was annihilated.

This dialectic, subtly conducted, and originally devised as a reply to the *falāsifa*, is characteristic of the procedure of the "modern" *mutakallimūn* (in the sense used by Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Cairo n.d., 326-7, tr. de Slane, iii, 60, 62), and of the type of problems that they study. Also to be noted is their extreme sobriety in regard to traditional and descriptive data. We have, thus, in Sunnī Islam, as it were two lines of development: an expression of popular faith, employed to a large extent in the sermons of preachers and of a type to strike the imagination; and an explanatory effort at rational justification. Elementary manuals of a later period take inspiration from both one and the other. To this could be added various "hidden meanings" of Shīʿī traditions. But in opposition to the *Risāla aḍḥawiyya* of Ibn Sīnā and his allegorising theses, the existential reality of the basic fact of the resurrection of the body has not ceased to be vigorously maintained.

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(L. Gardet)

ḲIYĀS (Ar.), reasoning by analogy, the fourth source of Muslim law.

1. In law.

This word is derived from the Hebraic term *hiḳḳiḳ*, infinitive *heḳḳeḳ* and from the Aramaic root *n-ḳ-ḳ* which signifies "to beat together". It is employed with reference to (a) the juxtaposition of two subjects in the Bible and the demonstration that they should be treated in the same manner; (b) the action of the exegete who applies the comparison suggested by the text; and (c) the conclusion of the reasoning by analogy which relies on the existence of a common characteristic in the "basic case" and the "analogous case" (J. Schacht, *Origins*, 99).

In a broad sense, *ḳiyās* can indicate inductive reasoning (*istidlāl*), and even deduction (*istinbāṭ*, *istikhrādj al-ḥaḳḳ*). It is thus that in *kalām*, *ḳiyās*

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al-ghā'ib ʿala 'l-shāhid (*Madjmūʿ*, i, 333) indicates the syllogistic procedure which consists in induction from the known to the unknown; it is the *ḳiyās ʿaḳlī* that is inspired by Greek syllogism. While the Muʿtazilī Abū Hāshim al-Djubbā'i retains this meaning for the *Ḳiyās sharʿī*, his disciple Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī rejects it (*Muʿtamad*, ii, 697). In the terminology of *fiḳh*, *ḳiyās* is "judicial reasoning by analogy". It is the method adopted by the Muslim jurisconsults to define a rule which has not been the object of an explicit formulation: a verse of the Ḳur'ān, a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet or *idjmāʿ*. It is *ḳiyās fiḳhī* or *sharʿī*, different from the former in the sense that it "has its own structure and its own complexity" (R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique*, 61). This specific structure results from the particular nature of the mode of reasoning by analogy; the absence of a middle term in the primitive form of *ḳiyās*, then definition of an explanatory principle (*ʿilla*) which is not a logical norm, but the prescription of a rule (*ḥukm*) established by God or His Prophet, this is the judicio-religious norm. The complexity of *ḳiyās sharʿī* results from the diversity of cases to be taken into consideration and from the detailed reflections of the *uṣūlīs* on the different procedures that may be adopted in the execution of *ḳiyās sharʿī*. The elaboration of the major treatises concerning *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [*q.v.*] develops the notion of *ḳiyās* in a systematic manner, conferring upon it a very strict and elaborate form. This work leads in the work of an author like al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) to a much-expanded concept of the fourth source of law, embracing the perspective of "Greek logic and traditional exegetical method" among the Muslims (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, 57).

The problem. The establishment of *ḳiyās* as a new judicial source responds to the need to find solutions not foreseen in the texts and to define rules applicable to new situations. The problem of *ḳiyās* comes therefore to consist in determining "grounds of procedure" (*bawāʿith*) which respect the spirit of rules dictated by the text. The putting into effect of *ḳiyās sharʿī* must, in consequence, appeal to principles of analogical deduction which enable the discovery in the rule of the derived case (*farʿ*) of the grounds which determine the rule of the basis (*aṣl*).

Like *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*], *ḳiyās* was instituted after the demise of the Prophet. With the death of Muḥammad, the community of the faithful was deprived of the "organ of revelation" and of its political and religious chief. *Idjmāʿ* was born of the need to ensure the coherence of the nascent doctrine of Islam, in the face of the dispersion of the believers and the proliferation of sayings attributed to the Prophet. The institution of *idjmāʿ* had the purpose of preserving the social and doctrinal unity of the parent-community (*umma*). In origin and in its "summary and primitive" form, *ḳiyās* in ʿIrāḳ was employed as a means of giving the force of law to certain *ḥadīths* attributed to ʿAlī which had not met with success (Schacht, *Origins*, 106-7); the extension of this practice may be considered not so much a factor of unity as of divergence. The putting into effect of *ḳiyās* would appear more and more to respond to a need for diversification and clarification of the divine law. Also, the risk of divergence (*ikhtilāf*) was the essential motivation of the Shīʿī opposition to the use of *ḳiyās*. The partisans of the Shīʿa do not accept the rule which considers that every *mudjtahid* speaks the truth (*muṣīb*), a rule implied by the practical application of *ḳiyās*. Nevertheless, the continuing crop of new cases (*ḥawādith*) that the believer is obliged to cope with justifies in the view of the *mudjtahid* recourse to personal reflection, the practice of which is encouraged by the Ḳur'ān and the Sunna (Ḳur'ān, XIII, 3; XVI, 11, 67; XXX, 21; XXXIX, 41; XLV, 12; cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, iii, 995). The Prophet said: "The study of knowledge (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*) is a duty (*farīḍa*) incumbent upon every Muslim; and the knowledge that must be studied is that of the rules which shed light upon the divine law" (*sharʿiyyāt*; *Mughnī*, xvii, 278). *Ḳiyās* is one of the means whereby reflection leading to this awareness may be exercised.

Development. The practice of *ḳiyās* thus comes to be established as a means of establishing a judicial ruling not provided for in the texts. However, reasoning by analogy is, in the view of the faithful, to be treated with caution, for the simple reason that it is exercised by a fallible being who is liable to error. *Idjmāʿ* must therefore intervene to ensure the credibility and the cohesiveness of the opinions of the *mudjtahids*. Only the information provided by the Ḳur'ān and the prophetic tradition is a source of integral truth (*iḥāṭa*). Such is the view of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), who may be regarded as the first of the *uṣūlīs*. The ruling that consists in believing that every *mudjtahid* speaks the truth (*muṣīb*; *Risāla*, ed. Shākir, § 1330; *Mughnī*, xvii, 277) will authorise the specialist to make a decision according to that which conforms most closely to the divine intention. By means of *ḳiyās*, a search must be made, not for certainty (*yaḳīn*) but the proof which will permit the deduction of a peremptory ruling (*ḥukm ḳaṭʿī*). *Ḳiyās* must be a determinant in a practical sense (*mūdjib li 'l-ʿamal*; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, Beirut 1973, ii, 159; *Mughnī*, xvii, 291-2). There is thus a need to elaborate a theory of *ḳiyās* sufficiently precise for its use to confer upon the specialist's decision the greatest possible integrity. In the practice of the Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Shafiʿī schools, *ḳiyās sharʿī* cannot provide certain knowledge, it amounts only to a "strong putative probability" (*ghālib al-ẓann*; al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iii, 256; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 140; *Mughnī*, xvii, 277).

It was at a very early stage that *ḳiyās sharʿī* began to be practised. As early as the 2nd century A.H., Ḥammād b. Sulaymān b. Rabīʿa, master of Abū Ḥanīfa and Ibn Abī Laylā, and judge at Baṣra, inaugurated its use. But the first to employ it systematically was Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767), for which reason the practitioners of his school are known as those who use reason (*aṣḥāb al-raʾy*) to distinguish them from pure traditionists (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*). The latter do not accept *ḳiyās* except as a last resort; according to them, analogy is like carrion, to be eaten only when no other food is available" (L. Milliot, 135). Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī (d. 270/884) avoided wherever possible reasoning by analogy, preferring the literal content of the Ḳur'ān and of *ḥadīth*. In the same way that he restricts the notion of *idjmāʿ*, he imposes limits on recourse to analogy, without however rejecting it absolutely. According to him, one must bow the head before the inexorable law that the finite cannot contain the infinite and admit analogy in some cases (L. Milliot, *op. cit.*, 135; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 118; al-Ṣaymarī, *Masāʾil al-khilāf*, f. 48a-b). With Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), the Ẓāhirī school replaces *ḳiyās* with the implicit sense of the text (*mafhūm*); according to this last, the notion of analogy is vague and arbitrary. *Ḳiyās* is

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rejected by the Ḥanbalīs and the Shīʿīs, but adopted by the other schools of law. In practice, it is the Ḥanafī doctrine which prevails.

In his *Risāla* on the foundations of law, al-Shāfiʿī provides the first stage in systematisation of the theory of *ḳiyās*. Having established precisely the role of the Ḳurʾān, of the Sunna and of *idjmāʿ*, he neatly defines that of reasoning by analogy. It is to him that is owed the fundamental distinction between *ḳiyās ʿilla* or *maʿnā* and *ḳiyās shabah*. The first bases analogy on an explanatory principle (*ʿilla*). This form of *ḳiyās* considers a thing according to its original meaning (*aṣl*). In this case, there is no need for disagreement. *Ḳiyās shabah* considers the thing in its similarity (*shabah*) to others; those who employ it may disagree (al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, § 1334). Al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), a Ḥanbalī *uṣūlī* who went over to Shāfiʿism, is at pains not to confuse the ruling of the basic case (*aṣl*), with that of the derived case (*farʿ*). The ruling of the former is given by the text of the Ḳurʾān or of *ḥadīth* or by *idjmāʿ*; it is certain. The ruling of the latter is deduced (*thamara nātidja*); it is putative (*al-ḳiyās lā yufīdu ghayr al-ẓann*; *Iḥkām*, iii, 264). For this reason, the conclusions of *ḳiyās* cannot in their turn provide deductive principles (*rukn*; *op. cit.*, 277). Analogy on the basis of analogy is not acceptable. Such is not the opinion of the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, who adopts the Shāfiʿī teaching and enlarges it. According to him, "there is no difference between the ruling of the basic case which is known through explicit evidence (*bi-ḍṭirār*) and that which is known through discussion (*istidlāl*); in fact, it is possible to extract a new ruling from the latter when there is a similarity between the reasons for which each of them is adopted. So there is not, in regard to knowledge (*ʿilm*), a need to take account of the different means whereby the ruling of the basic case is established. That which is known in an explicit manner may, in fact, be assimilated to that which is known through acquisition (*al-ḍarūrī fi-hi ka 'l-muktasab*). The explanatory principle (*ʿilla*) is fruitful; although dissociated from the basic case which has inspired it, it may be taken as operative, for it finds its own guarantee within itself. Thus, God (IV, 25) lays down that the punishment inflicted upon a slave woman should be half that applied to the free woman. As soon as we are aware that the reason for the existence of this *ḥukm* is the fact of slavery (*riḳḳ*), we may apply this ruling to the male slave. Similarly when we know that the reason for the prohibition (Ḳurʾān, II, 219; V, 90) of all fermented drink (*ḵhamr*) is the existence of wine (*nabīḏh*), we shall forbid the consumption of wine. For the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *ḳiyās*, when applied to scriptural or rational material, is dependent on a similar process, that of intellectual effort (*idjtihād*). Here the role attributed to the action of the subject in interpretation of the *Sharīʿa* is predominant.

Foundation. The various objections raised to the practice of *ḳiyās* which are known to us through the different treatises of *uṣūl al-fiḳh* divide into two types of argument: an argument of fact and an argument of law.

(a) The verses of the Ḳurʾān and of prophetic tradition which forbid recourse to reasoning by analogy are numerous: "We have presented to you the Book to make all things clear" (XVI, 89), "We have neglected nothing in the Book" (VI, 38), "Your Master is not forgetful" (XIX, 64). Recourse to personal opinion (*raʾy*) to extract a ruling from it amounts to imputing inadequacy to the Holy Book. The Prophet, in his turn, accuses of aberration and error those who deduce a non-existent rule from an existing rule (Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, iii, 991; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 120).

(b) The argument of law consists in denying that legal status (*ḥukm*) may be founded on reason. The "*raison d'être* of law" (*ʿilla*) is attained through its erroneously convincing nature (*shubha fī 'l-aṣl*). The text (*naṣṣ*) has never determined explicitly the 'properties" (*awṣāf*) which might provide a foundation for legal precepts. The latter are obligatory on the grounds that they result from divine decision (al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 121; Abu 'l-Ḥasan Pazdawī, *Uṣūl*, iii, 992). Reason has no competence to exact that which only the All-Powerful is entitled to impose. The object of law is beyond reason. The content of a number of divine precepts cannot be subject to personal opinion; these *aḥkām* have no foundation other than divine decision; such is the case with regard to ritual ordinances (*ʿibādāt*). The practice of *ḳiyās*, in substance, far from providing a guarantee of rectitude, can lead only to a misunderstanding of rules (*djahālāt*; al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 122). In the argument of authority there is no place for personal assessment.

According to the Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām, the process of *ḳiyās* is far from always respecting the rational model. It is not compatible with reason to impose fasting on the menstruating woman and to excuse her from prayer, when she is better able to pray than to fast. The same applies to the prohibition laid upon the man against gazing at an aged free woman, with repulsive features, while he is permitted to look at an attractive young slave. It is contrary to good sense to cut off the hand of a petty criminal (*sāriḳ al-ḳalīl*), while the judicial rule spares the man who robs on a large scale (*ghāṣib al-kaṯīr*; al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 9; *Muʿtamad*, ii, 746). In other words, in ethical questions, analogy is inoperative. It has the effect of linking together dissimilar cases and dissociating similar cases, which preludes passing from the basic case (*aṣl*) to the derived case (*farʿ*); cf. al-Ṣaymarī, *K. Masāʾil al-ḵhilāf*, f. 48a. It is interesting to observe that the Ḥazmian objection to the principle of similitude in religious questions (Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, vii, 82) is the same as that of al-Naẓẓām. Such is the criticism of *ḳiyās* raised by these two authors. Classical Muʿtazilism, as represented by the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, replies to the objection of ancient Muʿtazilism in declaring that "neither *ḳiyās* nor *iǧmāʿ* should, in the last resort to reason or to *ʿaḳl*, figure in the arsenal of judicial-religious thought ... as regards *ḳiyās*, there is the need to detach, among the elements of basic prescription, the invariants on the basis of which *ḳiyās* will be legitimate, if account is taken of the indication (*amāra*) which specifies them" (R. Brunschvig, *Rationalité et tradition chez ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, 214). The convincing validity (*ḥudjdjiyya*) of *ḳiyās* is, like that of *idjmāʿ*, based on a text; reason only intervenes in order to put the analogical deduction into effect.

The Shīʿī criticism of *ḳiyās* is directed against the diversity of opinion which is liable to result from it. The Ḳurʾān condemns divergence of opinion in many places (IV, 82; XLII, 13; VIII, 46; XXX, 31; III, 105). A number of *ḥadīth*s attack those who profess divergent doctrines (al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 10).

To these objections, the scholars of *ḳiyās* reply in their turn with scriptural and rational arguments in favour of judicial analogy.

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(a) God said: "Learn from this, O you who are clear-sighted" (LIX, 2). To learn a lesson is to associate a thing with its "homologue" (*naẓīr*); such is the process of *ḳiyās*. "If you are capable of interpreting dreams ..." (XII, 3); *ḳiyās* does nothing other than interpret the rule. "These verses are addressed to thinking people" (XII, 3; X, 24; cf. Abu 'l-Ḥasan Pazdawī, *op. cit.*, 995); what is more, the Ḳur'ān (IV, 146) employs analogy in authorising ablution with sand (*tayammum*) when water is lacking.

It is well-known that the Companions of the Prophet employed *ḳiyās* and dialectical discussions (*munāẓarāt*) and that they practised judicial consultations (*mushāwarāt*). In a general fashion, the partisans of *ḳiyās* appeal to the *ḥadīth* where it is related that when the Prophet sent Muʿādh b. Djabal to the Yemen as *ḳāḍī*, the former asked: "How will you reach a judgement when a question arises?"; Muʿādh replied: "According to the Word of God".—"And if you find no solution in the Word of God?"—"Then, according to the *sunna* of the Messenger of God".—"And if you find no solution in the *sunna* of the Messenger of God, nor in the Word?"—"Then I shall take a decision according to my own opinion (*adjtahidu raʾyī*)". Then the Prophet of God struck Muʿādh on the chest with his hand and said: "Praise be to God who has led the Messenger of God to a solution that pleases him" (Abū Dāwūd, *Aḳḍiya*, *b.* 11; al-Tirmidhī, *Aḥkām*, *b.* 3; al-Dārimī, *Sunan*, Introduction; A. J. Wensinck, KIYĀS, in *EI*[1]).

(b) The person endowed with reason, the *mukallaf*, is naturally inclined to assess the invisible (*ghāʾib*) on the basis of the perceptible tokens of experience (*ḥāḍir*). Cracks in a wall foretell its collapse, a cloudy sky and fresh wind are signs of rain, etc. (al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iv, 5). Similarly, in matters of religious law, *ḳiyās* puts into effect "the cause-norm association" (*ʿilla-ḥukm*) to assist the exercise of reflection on two similar cases, the second not being defined by this association.

The nature of *ḳiyās*. According to al-Shāfiʿī, *ḳiyās* and *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] are two terms expressing a single notion; when the rule concerning a specific case is not dictated by a particular indication (*dalāla*), this indication must be sought by a means conforming to truth with the aid of *idjtihād*. Now *idjtihād* is *ḳiyās* (*Risāla*, § 1323). The specific nature of *ḳiyās* is not yet detached, it is subjective opinion (*rāʾy*). With the elaboration of the science of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, the concepts are defined and fixed. *Ḳiyās* can then be defined as the method which consists in assimilating the derived case (*farʿ*) to the basic case (*aṣl*) in virtue of their similarity with regard to the *raison d'être* (*ʿilla*) of the norm (*ḥukm*). *Ḳiyās* is thus a form of reasoning which proceeds from particular to particular, linking a new case to an old case: "It cannot ... be considered as inductive reasoning, since it does not aim at applying to all cases of the same kind the observations made concerning one of them". (C. Chehata, *Logique juridique et droit musulman*, 20). Such is the character of the reasoning which concludes that in a case of fornication, a confession repeated four times on the part of the guilty party may be considered a sufficient proof of the offence. The basic case is defined by a Ḳur'ānic text which prescribes the execution by stoning of the guilty party in the presence of the four witnesses. This assimilation (*tashbīh*) of ancient origin belongs to a still simplistic concept of *ʿilla*. With the development of the theory of *ḳiyās*, *ʿilla* takes on a more logical quality. Whence the penalty that reduces by half the punishment applied to female slaves as compared with free women (IV, 25); the *ʿilla* of the reduction in penalty is slavery. By analogy, this reduction will be applied to male slaves as compared with free men. Of the same type is the *ḳiyās* that prohibits the lending of dry dates or raisins at interest (*ribā*), on the basis of the prohibition of lending grain (wheat, barley), with the demand of eleven measures against ten. The reason for the prohibition is that usury is forbidden.

For *ḳiyās* to be effective, four elements are necessary: (1) the appearance of a new case which causes a problem; (2) a basic case (*aṣl*) governed by a *ḥukm* defined by a text; (3) a *raison d'être* of the law (*ʿilla*) which can provide the line (*maʿnā djāmiʿ*) justifying the assimilation of the derived case with the basic case. This *raison d'être* is the "sign" (*ʿalāma*) which permits the knowledge that the ruling from a text may be applied to a case not envisaged in these terms. Once this reason is known, the jurist, proceeding by analogy, applies the law thus motivated to the case in which he sees a similar reason to pronounce judgment. This is the *taʿlīl* (L. Milliot, *op. cit.*, 138); (4) finally, a result which is the *ḥukm* applied to the derived case. Such is the prohibition against striking one's parents drawn from the prohibition against saying to them "fie!" (XVII, 24). As regards the third condition, "the Ḥanafīs only recognise *ʿilla* as endowed with a "transitivity" (*taʿdiya*), that is, susceptible to being put into effect in a derived case on the basis of a basic case (al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl*, ii, 161). The Shāfiʿīs, on the contrary, accept that an *ʿilla* may be intransitive (*ḳāṣira*), intransmissible to a derived case". In reality, the opposition between these two doctrines depends on the different manner in which the *ʿilla* is conceived in relation to *ḥukm*. According to the Shafiʿīs, on the contrary the *ʿilla* is that which confers upon the *ḥukm* its "validity of origin". According to the Ḥanafīs, the *ʿilla* of the basic case justifies itself by the derived case (R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique*, 79-80).

From the point of view of modality, several types of *ḳiyās* are distinguished: (a) *ḳiyās ʿilla* or *ḳiyās al-dalāla* (al-Āmidī separates these two) which consists in associating (*djamʿ*) the basic case with the derived case with the aid of the indication of the *ʿilla* and the qualifications which the latter entails (cf. Ibn Ḳayyim, *Iʿlām*, i, 138-9). An example is the association of wine (*nabīdh*) with alcoholic drink (*ḵhamr*), giving as "middle term" the faculty of upsetting good behaviour.

(b) *Ḳiyās shabah* is an analogy by "simple similarity" which requires no intervention of motive or of common indication (*min ghayri dalīl djāmiʿ*; *Iʿlām*, i, 148). An example is the similarity established between the slave and the free man for the assessment of the *diya* [*q.v.*] when the slave is the responsible for the offence, and that which assimilates his compensation when he is the victim (*Muʿtamad*, ii, 692).

(c) *Ḳiyās al-ṭard* is a co-extensive *ḳiyās al-ʿilla* and its contrary is *ḳiyās al-ʿaks* or "reversibility", "reverting to non-*waṣf* → non-*ḥukm*" (R. Brunschvig, *op. cit.*, 81; al-Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, iii, 261). *Ḳiyās sharʿī* would thus appear with *idjmāʿ* to be a decisive criterion for the interpretation of Islamic law. It permits the establishment of new rules. But in the extent to which it is a process of reasoning which excludes the possibility of having recourse to a purely logical

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norm, *ḳiyās sharʿī* belonging definitively to personal opinion (*raʾy*), it is for this reason limited in range. From this results the need to resort in certain cases to other methods of reasoning: *istiḥsān* [*q.v.*] or *benignitas* and *istiṣlāḥ* [*q.v.*] or *utilitas publica*.

In the modern period, the theory of *ḳiyās* is generally applied in the different schools which adopt it in the spirit of the Ḥanafī doctrine. Because of the major role accorded to personal effort by the Ḥanafī *maḏhhab*, the modern *muǧtahid* is generally eager to draw from this the norms enabling him to deduce new rulings; historically, the importance accorded to Ḥanafism results from the fact that the Ottoman empire followed the Saldjūḳ sovereigns in imposing it as an official doctrine. This ascendancy, which prevailed over a large proportion of the Muslim world, had the effect of conferring upon the Ḥanafī *maḏhhab* an official status in a number of countries "where the majority of the native Muslim population follows another school, e.g. in Egypt, Sudan, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon and Syria" (J. Schacht, ḤANAFIYYA, in *EI*², iii, 163).

Bibliography: In addition to the Arabic sources cited, see the bibls. to *Ḳiyās* in *EI*¹ and *Iǧmāʿ* in *EI*²; Djassās, *Uṣūl*, ms. Dār al-Kutub, Uṣūl 329, ff. 244b-293a; Ṣaymarī, *K. Masāʾil al-iḵhtilāf fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, ms. Chester Beatty 3757, and the treatises on the *uṣūl*; R. Brunschvig, *Valeur et fondement du raisonnement juridique par analogie d'après al-Ghazālī*, in *St. Isl.*, xxxiv (1971); idem, *La théorie du qiyās juridique chez le Ḥanafite al-Dabūsī (V*e*/XI*e *siècle)*, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, i, Leiden 1974, 150-4; idem, *Pour ou contre la logique grecque*, in *Convegno internazionale*, Rome 1971; idem, *Rationalité et tradition dans l'analogie juridico-religieuse chez le Muʿtazilite ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, in *Arabica*, xix/3 (1972), 213-21; Ch. Chehata, *Logique juridique et droit musulman*, in *St. Isl.*, xxiii (1965), 5-23; A. Turki, *Argument d'autorité, preuve rationnelle et absence de preuve dans la méthodologie juridique musulmane*, in *St. Isl.*, xlii, 59-92; R. Arnaldez, *La raison et l'identification de la vérité selon Ibn Ḥazm*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, Damascus 1956, i, 111-21; L. Milliot, *Introduction à l'étude du droit musulman*, Paris 1953; A. Turki, *Polémiques entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bāǧī*, Algiers 1976, iv; E. Tyan, *Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam*, in *SI*, x (1959), 182 ff.

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2. In Grammar.

In grammar, the word *ḳiyās* indicates the "norm", meaning the instrument which enables the grammarian to "regulate" (*ḳāsa*) the morphological or syntactical behaviour of a word, where this is not known through transmission (*naḳl*) or audition (*samāʿ*), on the basis of the known behaviour of another word, by means of a certain kind of analogy; it is synonymous with *miḳyās* (pl. *maḳāyīs*). The term is well attested in the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi (cf. G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index*, 179); Sībawayhi does not define it but he says that it may be bad (*radīʾ*, *ḳabīḥ*), constant (*mutlaʾibb*, *mustamirr*), flowing (*ǧārī*), stable (*mutamakkin*) and that it is indispensable (*lāzim*); he insists that one does not "regulate" a thing on the basis of that which is rare (*ḳalīl*) or exceptional (*shādhdh*), but that one "regulates" it on the basis of that which is in frequent use (*kaṯīr*). The expression *ʿala 'l-ḳiyās*, which he often uses, indicates "according to the norm, normally".

It is the Muʿtazilī grammarian al-Rummānī (d. 384/994) who supplies the first definition of the term, in the *K. al-Ḥudūd* (ed. M. Djawād, 50); "*ḳiyās* is the combination (*ǧamʿ*) of two things, whence results necessarily their combination in principle (*ḥukm*)".

Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) devotes to *ḳiyās* five chapters in the *K. al-Ḵhaṣāʾiṣ* (ed. M. A. al-Nadjdjār, i, 109-33, 357-69, 391-9). He asserts that the Arabs love affinity (*taǧānus*) and resemblance (*tashābuh*) and that this leads them to assimilate things that are close to one another, and to trace (*ḥaml*) a secondary thing (*farʿ*) to a primary thing (*aṣl*); he comments that this penchant of the Arabs for assimilation (*tashbīh*) sometimes leads them to trace a primary thing from a secondary thing, and that a rare thing can be the "norm", while a more common thing is not. As regards the links between the "norm" and audition and usage (*istiʿmāl*), he distinguishes four cases: (1) that which is generalised (*muṭṭarid*) according to the norm and according to usage; this is the optimum; (2) that which is generalised according to the norm, but exceptional according to usage; one adopts the word of most frequent usages; (3) that which is generalised according to usage, but exceptional according to the norm: one adopts that which is commonly heard (*masmūʿ*), but does not "regulate" anything else according to it; and (4) that which is exceptional according to the norm and to usage; this is faulty (*marḏhūl*) and should be rejected (*muṭṭaraḥ*). Finally, he observes that the grammarians considered that that which is "regulated" according to the language of the Arabs, constitutes a part of their language, even if the Arabs have not used it in speech.

In the *K. Lumaʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-naḥw*, Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 577/1181) subjects *ḳiyās* to a lengthy examination (ed. A. Amer, 44-86). He considers that it is impossible to do without it in grammar, since the latter may be defined as being the science of "norms" (*maḳāyīs*) drawn (*mustanbaṭa*) from exhaustive study (*istiḳrāʾ*) of the Arabic language. He defines it as the tracing of a secondary thing from a primary thing, by virtue of a cause (*ʿilla*) which demands the application of the principle of the primary thing to the secondary thing. He distinguishes three kinds of *ḳiyās*, according to its basis upon (1) a cause to which the principle is attached; (2) a resemblance (*shabah*) other than the cause to which the principle is attached; and (3) a generalisation (*ṭard*) of principle. Where the assumption (*iḵhāla*) of the cause is lacking in this case, only the two former kinds are utilised by the grammarians.

Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), in the third chapter of the *K. al-Iḳtirāḥ fī uṣūl al-naḥw*, classifies all the data concerning *ḳiyās* supplied by previous grammarians (ed. Ḥaydarābād, 38-72). He divides his study into three parts: (1) the primary thing, on the basis of which one "regulates" (*maḳīs ʿalayhi*); (2) the secondary thing, which one "regulates" (*maḳīs*); (3) the principle; and (4) the cause that unites them (*ǧāmiʿa*).

Finally, it should be noted that, in the *K. al-Radd ʿala 'l-nuḥāt*, the Ẓāhirī grammarian Ibn Maḍāʾ al-Ḳurṭubī (d. 592/1196) objects to the use of *ḳiyās* in grammar and calls for its abrogation (ed. Sh. Ḍayf, 156).

Bibliography: given in the text of the article.

(G. TROUPEAU)

ḲİZ (T.), basically "girl, unmarried female", but often used with the more restricted meanings of "daughter, slave girl, concubine". It is already found in the Orkhon inscriptions in the phrase *ḳız oġlı* "daughter", as opposed to *urı oġlı* "son",

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and subsequently appears in most Turkish languages. Through Türkmen forms it passed into Iranian languages like Kurdish and Ossetian, and through Ottoman usage into Balkan languages like Serbian and Bulgarian, often via the Ottoman technical expression (for which see below) *ḳïzlar aghasï* (see Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 818-9; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersische. iii. Türkische Elemente im Neupersische*, Wiesbaden 1967, 569-70, No. 1601; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 679-80).

In mediaeval Islamic usage, one of its denotations was "Christian woman", doubtless influenced by the meanings "slave girl, concubine"; Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 257, calls the Georgian King David IV "the son of Ḳïz-Malik", i.e. son of the Queen Rusudani. Under the Ottomans, the term *Ḳïzlar Aghasï* "*Aghā* of the maidens" was generally used to denote the chief of the black eunuchs in the Imperial Palace, more correctly entitled *Dār al-Saʿādat Aghasï* "*Aghā* of the House of Felicity". This officer was in charge of the sultan's harem, and was in practice the principal officer of the whole palace. From the last years of the 10th/16th century onwards, he enjoyed the prestige of vizierial rank, as a *pasha* of three *tughs*, with the title of *Mushīr*, coming in order of precedence only after the Grand Vizier and the *Shaykh al-Islām*. After 995/1587 he also displaced the Chief of the White Eunuchs from his control of the *awḳāf* or pious endowments of the *Ḥaramayn*, Mecca and Medina (see N. M. Penzer, *The Harēm*,[2] London 1965, 128 ff.; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 172 ff. and index; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the west*, i/1, Oxford 1950, 76-7, 329-31).

The element *ḳïz* also occurs in two well-known topographical features in the city of Istanbul and vicinity. First, there is the *Ḳïz-taşï* "Maiden's stone", the column of the Emperor Marcian (450-7), in the Fâtih quarter, so-called from its alleged power to distinguish virgins (in fact, the genuine "virgin's column" from near the Church of the Holy Apostles was incorporated in the Sülaymāniyye Mosque, which rose on that church's site after 1456); see E. Mamboury, *The tourists's Istanbul*, Istanbul 1953, 339-40, 41, and Baedeker, *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern*[2], Leipzig 1914, 180. Second, there is the *Ḳïz-külesi* "Maiden's tower", the signal station and lighthouse built on a rock in the Bosphorus just south of Üsküdar in the entrance to the Bosphorus, popularly called "Leander's tower", referring to Leander's death by drowning when trying to reach his beloved Hero (though this occurrence is usually located in the Dardanelles between Cestus and Abydos). The classical name for this rock was Damalis (from the wife of the Athenian general Chares), but the Turkish name is connected with the story of Meḥemmed II's daughter, allegedly shut up there in a fruitless attempt to preserve her from death by snakebite (see Mamboury, *op. cit.*, 496-7, and *Murray's handbook for travellers in Constantinople, Brûsa and the Troad*, London 1893, 107).

For the social status of women in Turkey, see MAR'A. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲIZIL AḤMADLÏ [see ISPENDIYĀR OGHLU].

ḲIZIL ARSLAN [see ILDEGIZIDS].

ḲIZIL-BĀSH (T. "Red-head"). The word is used in both a general and a specific sense. In general, it is used loosely to denote a wide variety of extremist Shīʿī sects [see GHULĀT], which flourished in Anatolia and Kurdistān from the late 7th/13th century onwards, including such groups as the *Alevis* (*ʿAlawīs*; see A. S. Tritton, *Islam: belief and practices*, London 1951, 83).

The ʿAlawīs were closely connected with the Nuṣayrīs [*q.v.*] of northern Syria and Cicilia, and the *tahtacis* (*takhtadjis* [*q.v.*]), in order to protect themselves from persecution by the Ottoman government as schismatics, later "gained the right of asylum under the all-embracing and tolerant umbrella of the Bektāshī organization" (J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 83; see also BEKTĀSHIYYA). The *ḳïzïl-bash* did not constitute a Ṣūfī order as such, but rather a religious sect (Abdülbâkî Gölpinarlı, *IA* art. *Kızıl-baş*). The common characteristics of all those designated as *ḳïzïl-bash* was the wearing of red headgear. Gölpinarlı, *op. cit.*, sees the *ḳïzïl-bash* in this respect as the spiritual descendants of early Shīʿī *ghulāt* groups such as the Khurramīs [*q.v.*], who were also known as the Muḥammira from their practice of wearing red hats and robes, and even of pre-Islamic heretical sects of the Sāsānid period, especially that of Mazdak (see also Browne, *LHP*, i, 310-13). In its specific sense, the word *ḳïzïl-bash* was a term of opprobrium (often *ḳïzïl-bash-i awbāsh*, "scoundrelly *ḳïzïl-bash*", etc.) applied by the Ottoman Turks to the supporters of the Ṣafawid house [see ṢAFAWIDS], and adopted by the latter as a mark of pride.

In Ṣafawid usage, the term derived from the distinctive scarlet or crimson hat (*tādj*) with twelve gores (*tark*) commemorating the twelve Imāms of the Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿīs, worn by the disciples (*murīds*) of the Ṣafawid *shaykhs*. According to Ṣafawid tradition, in 893/1487 Shaykh Ḥaydar [*q.v.*], instructed in a dream by the Imām ʿAlī, devised this headgear (British Museum MS. Or. 3248, ff. 21a-b). When Ḥaydar first showed this "Ṣūfī *tādj*", as it became known, to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan, the latter kissed it and put it on his head (if the date 893/1487-8 is correct, this story is clearly apocryphal, because Uzun Ḥasan died in 882/1478). His son Yaʿḳūb, however, refused to wear it, and this was the origin of the enmity between Ḥaydar and Yaʿḳūb which resulted in the breakdown of the Ṣafawid-Aḳ Ḳoyunlu alliance. After the death of Ḥaydar, Yaʿḳūb not only forbade his subjects to wear the *ḳïzïl-bāsh tādj*, but also tried to prevent the Ṣūfīs of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa* from wearing it (R. M. Savory, *The struggle for supremacy in Persia after the death of Timur*, in *Isl.*, xl (1964), 54 ff.).

Strictly speaking (as noted by Chardin; see V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, London 1943, 188 and n. 5), the term *ḳïzïl-bāsh* should be applied only to those Turcoman tribes inhabiting eastern Anatolia, northern Syria and the Armenian highlands which were converted by the Ṣafawid *daʿwa* and became the disciples of the Ṣafawid *shaykhs* at Ardabīl. However, the term was also loosely applied to certain non-Turkish-speaking Iranian tribes which supported the Ṣafawids, for instance the tribes of Ṭālish and Ḳarādja-dāgh (Siyāh-kūh), and Kurds and Lurs. The great *ḳïzïl-bāsh* tribes (*oymāḳ*) were subdivided into as many as eight or nine clans (the list in Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 16-17, is by no means complete). The most important *oymāḳs* included the Ustādjlūs, Rūmlūs, Shāmlūs, Dulghadirs (arabice: Dhu 'l-Ḳadars), Takkalūs, Afshārs and Ḳādjārs; other tribes, such as the Turkmāns, Warsāḳs and Bahārlūs, are occasionally listed among the great *oymāḳs*. During the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*], the Shāmlūs were the most powerful of the *ḳïzïl-bāsh*

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oymāḳs. The provenance of some of the great *oymāḳs* is clearly indicated by the name of the tribe: for instance, the names Shāmlū, Rūmlū and Bahārlū consist of a place-name with the addition of the possessive particle *-lū*; others, such as Afshār, Warsāḳ, and Dulghadīr, are the names of old Oghuz tribes. The origin of some names, such as Ustādjlū, is still obscure.

From the middle of the 9th/15th century, Ardabīl was the nerve centre of an extensive organisation designed to keep the Ṣafawid leadership in close touch with its *ḳizil-bāsh murīds* in eastern Anatolia, Syria and elsewhere. This organisation was controlled through the office of *khalīfat al-khulafā'i*, felicitously called by Minorsky (*op. cit.*, 125) "the special secretariat for Ṣūfī affairs". The *khalīfat al-khulafā'*, who was necessarily a *ḳizil-bāsh* and usually a Turcoman, appointed representatives termed *khalīfa* in the region in which the Ṣafawid *da'wa* was active, and the *khalīfas* in their turn had subordinates termed *pīra*. The presence of large numbers of *ḳizil-bāsh* Ṣafawid supporters in eastern Anatolia constituted a serious threat to the Ottomans. In 907/1502, Sulṭān Bāyazīd II transferred large numbers of Shī'īs from Asia Minor to the Morea, yet in 917/1511 there was another serious *ḳizil-bāsh* revolt at Tekke [see BĀYAZĪD II], and Sulṭān Selīm I, before invading Iran in 920/1514, massacred 40,000 of them in order to secure his rear (see Savory, *The consolidation of Safawid power in Persia*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 86-7).

The *ḳizil-bash*, as the *murīds* of the Ṣafawid *shaykhs*, owed implicit obedience to their leader in his capacity as their *murshid-i kāmil* ("supreme spiritual director"). After the establishment of the Ṣafawid state, the Ṣafawid *shāhs* transferred this *pīr-murīdī* relationship from the religious to the political plane, since they were now not only their followers' *murshid-i kāmil* but their king (*pādishāh*) as well. As a consequence, what had formerly been an act of disobedience on the part of a Ṣūfī against the orders of his spiritual director now became an act of treason against the king or a crime against the state, and as such, punishable by death. The term *ṣūfigarī*, "proper conduct for a Ṣūfī", was extended to mean, "conduct becoming to a *ḳizil-bāsh* officer"; the converse, *nā-ṣūfīgarī*, came to mean "failure to obey orders; rebellious or treasonable conduct". As late as 1023/1614-15, for instance, when Shāh 'Abbās put to death some *ḳizil-bāsh* who had defected to the Ottomans, the charge was *nā-ṣūfigarī* (Savory, *The office of khalīfat al-khulafā under the Ṣafawids*, in *JAOS*, lxxxv (1965), 501). A passage in the *Tā'rīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, Tehran 1334/1955, i, 68, where an officer is described as *mard-i ṣūfī wa yakdjihat wa dawlatkhwāh*, makes it clear that being a Ṣūfī and a *ḳizil-bāsh* was considered to be tantamount to being loyal to the shāh and the régime.

When the Ṣafawid state was established in 907/1501, the *ḳizil-bāsh* constituted the military aristocracy. Since they had been largely responsible for bringing the Ṣafawids to power, they considered it only right and proper that they should both fill the principal offices of state in the central administration and also hold the most important provincial governorships. The use of such terms to describe the Ṣafawid empire as *ḳalamraw-i ḳizil-bāsh* ("the *ḳizil-bāsh* realm") (*Tā'rīkh-i 'Ālam-ārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, i, 206); *dawlat-i ḳizil-bāsh* ("the *ḳizil-bāsh* state") (*ibid.*, i, 152); and *mamlikat-i ḳizil-bāsh* ("the *ḳizil-bāsh* kingdom") (*ibid.*, i, 523), makes it clear that, in the view of the *ḳizil-bāsh*, the Tādjīk or Persian elements did not count for much in the new order of things. Similarly, the shāh is commonly referred to as *pādishāh-i ḳizil-bāsh*, again a term which appears to ignore the existence of the Tādjīks altogether.

Initially, the two principal offices of the central administration, that of the *wikālat* and that of the *amīr al-umarā'i*, were both held by the same *ḳizil-bāsh* officer. Under Ṭahmāsp I [*q.v.*], the office of *amīr al-umarā'* declined in importance, and was superseded by the office of *ḳūrčī-bāshī* [see ḲŪRČĪ], which was also a *ḳizil-bāsh* prerogative. The government of the provinces of the Ṣafawid empire during the early period was allotted almost exclusively to *ḳizil-bāsh amīrs*, who ruled as petty princes in their provinces. The provincial governors had courts which were replicas of the royal court, and the system of provincial administration in many respects resembled that of the central administration. These provincial governorships were assigned to the *ḳizil-bāsh amīrs* as fiefs known as *tiyūl* [*q.v.*]. The governors, in return for the obligation to provide the king with a stated number of fully-equipped troops when required, were allowed to consume locally the greater part of the revenues collected in the provinces under their jurisdiction; such provinces were known as *mamālik* or "state" provinces.

After the conquest of Khurāsān in 916/1510, Shāh Ismā'īl made Harāt the second city of the Ṣafawid empire, and it became the seat of one of the Ṣafawid princes and frequently of the heir-apparent. The royal prince was placed in charge of the *ḳizil-bāsh* governor-general of Khurāsān who, in his capacity as *lala* or *atābeg* ("guardian") of the prince, was responsible for the moral and physical welfare of his ward. It was his duty to see that the prince was trained in archery, horsemanship and the like, and also to see that he received his apprenticeship in statecraft.

Since the *ḳizil-bāsh* were "no party to the national Persian tradition" (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 188), their assumption that the principal offices of state would automatically fall to their lot led to immediate friction with the Persian elements in the administration. The Persians, or "Tādjīks" as the *ḳizil-bāsh* contemptuously called them, were the "men of the pen" who had traditionally filled the ranks of the bureaucracy in Iran and had provided administrative continuity under a succession of foreign rulers, Arabs, Turks, Mongols, Tatars and Turcomans. In the Persian view, the *ḳizil-bāsh* were "men of the sword", and were not expected to have any knowledge of statecraft. On the other hand, in the *ḳizil-bāsh* view, "Tādjīks" were fit only "to look after the accounts and *dīwān* business. They had no right . . . either to maintain private bodyguards or to command troops in the field. If *ḳizil-bāsh* were asked to serve under a Persian officer, they consider it a dishonour" (Savory, *The qizilbāsh, education and the arts*, in *Turcica*, vi (1975), 169). Ismā'īl I attempted to maintain a balance between these two forces by appointing Persians to the all-important office of *wakīl*, but this merely aggravated the tension between them, and the *ḳizil-bāsh* brought about the death of three of the five Persians appointed to that office under Ismā'īl I (see Savory, *The significance of the political murder of Mīrzā Salmān*, in *Islamic Studies, Jnal. of the Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi*, iii (1964), 181-91).

When Shāh Ṭahmāsp succeeded his father in 930/1524, at the age of ten-and-a-half, the *ḳizil-bāsh* took advantage of his youth to assume control of the

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state. Their mystical belief in the quasi-divine nature of Ismāʿīl I as their *murshid-i kāmil* had been shattered by the latter's disastrous defeat at Čāldirān [*q.v.*], and they now reverted to their primary loyalty to their tribe. This led to almost a decade of civil war as the great *ḳizil-bāsh oymāḳs* fought for political supremacy, and between 932/1526 and 940/1533 either individual *ḳizil-bāsh* tribes or coalitions of tribes ruled the state. In 937/1530-1 the Takkalūs attempted to seize the person of the shāh, but the other great *oymāḳs* rallied to his defence and, in the ensuing fighting, large numbers of Takkalūs were killed. The survivors fled to ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab; some of them subsequently entered Ottoman service, and one of their chiefs, the renegade Ulama (Ulāma), was involved in the rebellion of Alḳāṣ Mīrzā [*q.v.*]. These events virtually ended the political influence of the Takkalū *oymāḳ*.

In 940/1533 Shāh Ṭahmāsp managed to reassert the authority of the crown, and for some forty years remained in control of affairs, but in 982/1574, when he fell ill, there was immediately a recrudescence of dissension among the *ḳizil-bāsh*. The political situation, however, was very different from the situation obtaining in 932/1526, at the outbreak of the civil war between the *ḳizilbāsh* tribes. The new factor was the introduction of a "third force" to the political scene in the form of Armenians, Georgians and Circassians, who became *ghulāmān-i ḵhāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*, "slaves of the royal household". These men, many of whom had been taken prisoner in Ṭahmāsp's campaigns in Georgia between 947/1540-1 and 961/1553-4, or were the offspring of women brought to Iran at that time, adopted Islam, and were given special training to fit them for service either in some branch of the administration of the royal household, or in one of the newly-constituted *ghulām* regiments. The *ghulāms*, instead of being paid on a quasi-feudal basis like the *ḳizil-bāsh*, were paid direct from the royal treasury, and their primary loyalty was therefore to the shāh and not to any tribal unit. When therefore there was a fresh outbreak of factionalism in 982/1574, "it was no longer a struggle to determine which tribe could outstrip its rivals in a state in which the *Ḳizilbāsh* tribes as a whole enjoyed a dominant and privileged position, but whether the *Ḳizilbāsh* tribes as a whole could maintain their privileged position against the threat from the new elements in Persian society, the Georgians and Circassians" (Savory, *Ṣafavid Persia*, in *Cambridge History of Islam*, i, 407-8). This struggle was not resolved during the remainder of Ṭahmāsp's lifetime, or under his successors Ismāʿīl II and Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh [*qq.v.*].

When ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] was placed on the throne in 996/1588 by the powerful *ḳizil-bāsh amīr* Murshid Ḳulī Khān Ustādjlū, he realised that not only his personal future but the continued survival of the Ṣafawid state depended on his being able to establish his authority over the *ḳizil-bāsh* as rapidly as possible. The Ottomans, taking advantage of *ḳizil-bāsh* factionalism, had made large inroads into Persian territory in the west, as had also the Özbegs in the east. ʿAbbās's solution of curbing the power of the *ḳizil-bāsh* and increasing that of the *ghulāms*, though successful in the short term, ultimately seriously weakened the military and political effectiveness of the Ṣafawid state. The *ḳizil-bāsh* regarded the *ghulāms* with contempt, and dubbed them *ḳarā-oghlu*, "sons of black slaves". The *ghulāms*, though some great commanders emerged from their ranks, did not have a fighting élan comparable to that of the *ḳizil-bāsh*, the only troops in the Islamic world who had earned the grudging respect of the Ottoman janissaries. Essentially heavy cavalry, the *ḳizil-bāsh* carried a formidable arsenal of weapons—bow, lance, sword, dagger and battle-axe; in action, the *tādj* was replaced by a helmet with mail cheek-pieces (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 32); as they charged, they set up a rhythmic chant of "Allāh! Allāh!" (*Tāʾrīḵh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ii, 699). The basis of their fighting spirit, however, was their fierce tribal loyalty (*taʿaṣṣub-i oymāḳiyyat*; *taʿaṣṣub-i ḳizil-bāshiyyat*). Shāh ʿAbbās I was well aware of this and, in pursuance of his policy of curtailing the power of the *ḳizil-bāsh*, not only reduced the strength of the *ḳizil-bāsh* regiments but also deliberately weakened the all-important attachment of the *ḳizil-bāsh* soldier to his tribe. He did this in a variety of ways: he placed an officer in charge of a tribe who was not himself a member of that tribe; in certain cases, alleging that a particular tribe did not possess an officer worthy of holding the rank of *amīr*, he appointed a *ghulām* as *amīr* of the tribe; he transferred groups of men from one tribe to a district belonging to another tribe. The continuance of these policies by his successors ultimately undermined the military strength of the Ṣafawid empire.

In Afghānistān, there exists a substantial Shīʿī minority group of *ḳizil-bāsh*, living mainly at Kābul and in the high valleys of Foladi on the western edge of the Hazāradjāt [*q.v.*]. These people are the descendants of garrison troops left behind by Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] in 1150/1738 during his Indian campaign. The *ḳizil-bāsh* hold clerical posts in government offices, engage in trade or are craftsmen; in short, they constitute an important and politically-influential element in the population. Estimates of their total number vary from 60,000 to 200,000 (see H. W. Bellew, *The races of Afghanistan*, Calcutta 1880, 107; D. N. Wilber, *Afghanistan*, New Haven, Conn., 1962, 49-50; and V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan*, Stanford 1969, index *s.v. Ḳizil-Bash*).

As recently as 1945, the fact that the name *ḳizil-bāsh* still had an emotive power in Ādharbāydjān, the nerve-centre of the Ṣafawid organisation in earlier times, was demonstrated by the choice of this name for the regular troops recruited by the short-lived autonomous republic of Ādharbāydjān.

Bibliography: Given in the text. For a detailed description of the rites and ceremonies of the Anatolian *ḳizil-bāsh*, see article *Kızılbaş*, in *İA*. For additional textual references, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, *Türkische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1967, 470-2.

(R. M. Savory)

ḲIZIL-ELMA (or **ḲIZIL-ALMA**), "Red Apple" is an expression which occurs in written sources from the 16th century onwards; it also occurs in Turkish oral traditions from Anatolia and Ādharbāydjān as well as in modern Greek, Bulgarian and Rumanian folklore, current to this day. It refers to a legendary city which was to be the ultimate goal of Turko-Muslim conquests, and some versions explain the term from the resemblance between a red apple and the golden dome of a building—in this latter case it refers to a large church situated in the area. In the Ottoman period Ḳizil-Elma tended to be identified with the large cities associated with Christianity—Constantinople, Budapest, Vienna and Rome—which the armies of the *Pādīshāh* were hoping

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to conquer (see J. Deny, *Les pseudo-prophéties concernant les Turcs au XVI^e siècle*, in *REI*, x/2 (1936), 201-20; E. Rossi, *La leggenda turco-bizantina del Pomo Rosso*, in *Actes du V^e Congrès international des études byzantines*, Rome 1936, 542-53).

Another tradition, which must have developed before the Ottoman one, identifies Ḳızıl-Alma with Dāghistān, beyond Demir-Ḳapu. It has been supposed that this legend originated from the ceremony for enthroning the Shamkhal of Dāghistān, in which the claimant to the throne is involved in throwing a "golden ball"; because of this ball, Dāghistān was called "The land of Ḳızıl-Alma" (see Fahreddin Çelik, *Kızıl-Almanın yerleri*, in *Cınaraltı*, Jan. and March 1942; Banıçiçek Kırzıoğlu, *Kars ili ve çevresindekilere göre Kızıl-Alma*, in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 181, Aug. 1964).The idea of Ḳızıl-Alma being situated in Dāghistān as the furthest point of Muslim expansion has persisted in the oral tradition of Eastern Anatolia among the residents of Kars, Ardahan, Kağızman and both parts of Ādharbāydjān. The legendary place is mentioned in the 18th century by two poets from the fringes of the Caucasus. The one, ʿĀshıḳ Şafī, speaks of it in a song composed to celebrate an expedition of Nādir Shāh (1736-47) against the Russians in Dāghistān (see F. Çelik, *op. cit.*). But drawing on information given by a certain Bahrām of Damascus in his geographical work which was translated from Latin (Nūr-i ʿOthmāniyye Library, ms. 2996), Çelik suggests that the country of the Khazars was called Ḳızıl-Alma since the 4th/10th century.

A popular legend, which probably rose in the oral tradition of the Janissaries, has survived in written recensions. One version is dated 13 Shaʿbān 1084/23 November 1673 and is found in the National Library at Ankara ("cönk" collection, No. 72). A second, dated 15 Djumādā II 1179/29 November 1765 is in a collection of folk narratives from manuscripts brought together by P. N. Borotav. The narrative is written in the form of a letter and it combines the motif of "Ḳızıl-Alma, the ultimate goal of the Ottoman conquests" with that of a Christian king who, having been vanquished and wounded by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālīb, was plunged into a deep sleep, and is waiting for a favourable day to revive and to take his revenge on the Muslims. In this version of the legend, an attempt can be seen at an identification and a localisation, which has ended in contradiction and anachronism. The Christian king is called Rum Papa "The Pope of Rome", so Ḳızıl-Alma is thus being identified with Rome. But the narrative also locates the same legendary place at Bec (Vienna), and links this legend with the account of the Ottoman raid carried out during the reign of Süleymān II in 1532 by the historical person Ḳāsım Voyvoda (see P. N. Borotav, in *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, IV^e section, 1966-7, 263-4). The motif of the resurrection of a king is certainly Christian and probably Byzantine. It is linked with the cycle of pseudo-prophecies at the end of the period of Turkish domination (Deny, *op. cit.*), but later on it must have been integrated into Turkish tradition.

Oral versions of this narrative are still being told today. The present writer has recorded five versions in Turkish folklore (1) Ispartalı Hakkı, *Köyümden geliyorum*, Ankara 1971, 34-5 (the material in this book dates from 1916); (2) H. I. Erginol, in *Gediz*, No. 33 (1944)—cf. P. N. Borotav, in *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xxviii (1958), 16; (3) Kurt Bittel, *Legenden vom Kerkenes-Dağ (Kapadokien)*, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1960), 33; (4) a version noted by Boratav in the villages of Han Köy and Ak-Dere (Afyon province) in 1950; and (5) a version noted by Oğuz Tansel in the village of Meyre (near Bozkır, Konya province). The two last versions are part of Borotav's own manuscript collection and are unpublished. A Greek version from Asia Minor has also been recorded; it comes from a village in the region of Ephesus (see Dido Sotiriou, *D'un jardin d'Anatolie*, a novel translated from Modern Greek, Paris 1965, 22). For an Arabic version, see Yakoub Artin Pacha, *Seize haddouta, contes populaires racontés au Caire*, Cairo 1903, 11-12.

Bibliography: A full bibliography is provided by J. Deny and E. Rossi in their articles. Apart from works cited in the article, see for the motif of the Ḳızıl-Elma Elmas Yılmaz, *Kızıl-Elma efsanesi* in *Türk folklor araştırmaları*, No. 146, Sept. 1961. (P. N. Boratav)

ḲIZIL-IRMĀḲ (T. "Red River"), the ancient Halys ("Ἅλυς) or Alys ("Αλυς), the largest river in Asia Minor. It rises in the mountains which separate the *wilāyet* of Sīwās from that of Erzerūm, waters the towns of Zarra (4,530 feet high) and Sīwās (4,160 feet high), then enters the province of Ankara where it meets the mountain of Ardjīsh and the Ḳodja Dāgh range which force it to make an immense detour of over 160 miles. Its course is at first south-east, then it turns northwards, and finally it reaches the Black Sea below Bāfrā in the middle of marshes. It is nearly 600 miles long. Its waters, of a dark yellow colour when they are in flood, diminish enormously in the summer; its bed is wide and its banks high. Its principal right-bank tributaries are the Khān-ṣūyu and the Delidje-Čay; those on the left are the Ṣārūmṣāḳ-Čay which flows by Ḳaysariyye, the Dewrek-Čay from Ṭosya, the Gök-Irmāḳ which comes from the Ighāz-Dāgh (the ancient Olgassus) and waters the town of Ḳasṭamūni [*q.v.*]. According to Strabo (xii, 561), the river Halys ("Αλύς) took its name from the mines of rocksalt, the product of which was exported in the form of large blocks; these mines thirty miles to the north of Yūzghād (Yozgat) near the village of Ṣārī-Ḳāmish, are worked among the red sandstone, covered with clay and marl of a reddish colour; this soil washed down by the heavy rains gives the river a reddish colour, whence its name.

In ancient times, this river marked the boundary between the autochthonous peoples of Asia and those who had come from Europe to colonise the country. Herodotos (i, 72) makes it a frontier between Lydia and Media. It seems to have been known to the Arabs by its ancient name, if it is this river that is referred to by the name *Ālis* in a verse of Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī (S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*[2], iii, text, 45, tr. 109, gives by mistake "Alous", an error reproduced by Defrémery, *Mémoires d'histoire orientale*, ii, 221).

Bibliography: ʿAlī Djewād, *Djughrāfiyā lughātī*, 609; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 626; Ch. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, 538; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, i, 19, 272, 639, iv, 433; Fr. Spiegel, *Ērānische Alterthumskunde*, i, 183 ff.
(Cl. Huart*)

ḲIZIL-ḲUM (T. "Red sand"), a desert between the Sīr-Daryā and Āmū-Daryā rivers [*qq. v.*, and also ḲARĀ-ḲUM], falling within the modern Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan SSRs. The country is less uniform, especially in the central part, than in the Ḳarā-Ḳum; the sand desert is crossed by several ranges of hills, and in some places is rocky. The Ḳızıl-

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Ḳum becomes more and more inhospitable as one goes southwards. The region called Adam-Ḳırılghan ("where man perishes") between the Āmū-Daryā and the cultivated region of Bukhārā, consisting of sandhills (*barkhān*), is considered especially uninviting and dangerous. In summer, there is absolutely no life in the desert; in the winter, there is vegetation, such as the *saksaul* shrub, and a few springs and wells are visited by Kazakh nomads. Schuyler noted that "Kirghiz" (sc. Kazakh) nomads crossed into the Ḳızıl-Ḳum from north of the Sīr-Daryā on the river ice and returned in the spring when there were still ice floes in the river. Moreover, the mediaeval Islamic sources show that the winter, when the desert was carpeted with snow, was normally the time for military and other movements across the Ḳızıl-Ḳum. Thus the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī noted that it was the absence of snow which prevented the Oghuz ruler of Djand, Shāh Malik, from restraining the rebel in Khʷārazm Hārūn and his Saldjūḳ allies from invading Khurāsān in spring 426/1035 (*Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, 683-4); and in the 6th/12th century the raids of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs to Djand and against the Ḳıpčaḳ were always made in winter [see DJAND in Suppl.]. At the south-eastern extremity of the Ḳızıl-Ḳum lay the Ḳaṭwān Steppe, to the north of the Samarḳand-Khudjand road, where in 536/1141 Sultan Sandjar was defeated by the Ḳarā-Khiṭāy [*q.v.*]. In recent times, the desert sands have encroached on the cultivated fringes, and in the later 19th century several villages on the lower course of the Zarafshān river became buried in the sands.

Bibliography: E. Schuyler, *Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 68-9; W. Moralskiy, *Turkestanskiy krai*, St. Petersburg 1913, 25 ff.; F. Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch-Turkestan*, Stuttgart 1921, 286 ff.; V. Peltz, *Očerk yuznīkh Ḳızıl-Kumov*, Samarḳand 1912.

(W. BARTHOLD - C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲIZIL-ÜZEN (in Āzerī Turkish "Red River"), the ancient Amardus, a river which flows through Ādharbāydjān and enters the Caspian Sea forty miles east of Sefīd-Rūd, "White River", at its junction with the river Shāh-Rūd at Mendjil. Its source lies in the province of Ārdilān, and it begins by crossing ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī to the north; its right-bank tributary is the Zandjān, on the left it receives the Ḳara-göl at Miyāne, then it runs along the southern slopes of Elburz, describing a great arc 125 miles long and crosses this range through the defile of Rūdbār and the narrow valley of Rustamābād, a kind of couloir through which rush violent winds from the south in winter and from the Caspian in summer. It was known to the Arabs as Nahr al-Abyaḍ "White River" (tr. of the Persian *Sefīd-Rūd*) (cf. Dimashḳī, *Cosmography*, tr. Mehren, 145); at one time the Turks called it the Hūlān (Ḥādjdjī Khālifa, *Djihān-numā*, 304).

Bibliography: A. Chodzko, *Popular poetry of Persia*, 479, No. 2; Fr. Spiegel, *Ērānische Alterthumskunde*, i, 75 ff.; Rawlinson, in *JRGS*, x, 64; Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane*, ii, 98; H. L. Rabino, in *RMM*, xxxii, (1915-6), 262-3; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 169; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 217; M. de Kotzebue, *Voyage en Perse*, Fr. tr., Paris 1819, 186 (view of the bridge of Ḳaplān-tāgh as frontispiece); Fr. Sarre, *Reise von Ardebil nach Zendschan*, in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, xlv (1899), 215-17.

(CL. HUART)

KIZIMKAZI, in full, KIZIMKAZI-DIMBANI, a small hamlet in south-west Zanzibar situated in lat. 6° 26l S, which possesses the earliest datable mosque in East Africa. Its *miḥrāb* has a dedicatory Kūfic inscription recording its foundation by Shaykh Abū ʿImrān Mūsā al-Ḥasan Muḥammad in 500/1106-7. This is flanked by Ḳurʾānic verses and two inscriptions in roundels, all of great elegance. The nearest analogy is with a grave cover found at Sīrāf: the *ensemble* was either imported from there or executed in Zanzibar by a Sīrāfī mason. This Persian connection accords with traditions of trading relations attested by inscriptions in Somalia and by the Kilwa histories. Otherwise, the mosque is an undistinguished rectangular structure. H. N. Chittick excavated it and the adjacent site in 1960. The hutted settlement dates from the 11th century or earlier: a ruined stone house and defensive enclosures are probably 18th century, when, as is commemorated by another inscription dated 1184/1772-3, the mosque and *miḥrāb* were largely rebuilt, the earlier inscriptions being incorporated into the fresh structure. An oral tradition claims that it was the capital of Bakari, a 17th century Swahili ruler of southern Zanzibar, but this seemingly contradicts the archaeological evidence; the fortified residence and the rebuilding of the mosque are more congruent with the 18th century development of the eastern African slave trade.

Bibliography: *Chrónica dos reyes de Quiloa, apud* J. de Barros, *Da Ásia*, (1552), ed. A. Baião, Coimbra 1932; *History of Kilwa* (Arabic text), ed. S. A. Strong, in *JRAS* (1895); S. Flury, *The Kufic inscriptions of the Kizimkazi mosque*, in *JRAS* (1922); H. N. Chittick, *Preliminary report on the excavations at Kizimkazi Dimbani*, in *Annual report of the Antiquities Division, Tanganyika*, 1960, Dar es Salaam 1962; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa Island*, 1965; idem and B. G. Martin, *A preliminary handlist of the Arabic inscriptions of the Eastern African coast*, in *JRAS* (1973); P. M. Garlake, *The early Islamic architecture of the East African coast*, 1966; W. H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar, its history and its people*, 1931; anon., *Zanzibar guide*, Govt. Printer, Zanzibar 1952; D. B. Whitehouse, *Excavations at Sīrāf*, in *Iran*, vii (1969), 62 and pl. VIII.

(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

KİZKĀHĀN [see KILĀT].

ḲIZLAR AGHASİ [see ḳız].

ḲOČ ḤIṢĀR, a name of several towns and villages in Asia Minor, derived from Ḳodja-Ḥiṣar; compare such names as Ḳoč Ḥiṣārī, Ḳoyun Ḥiṣārī, Ḳoyul Ḥiṣārī, Keči Ḥiṣārī and Ṭoḳlu Ḥiṣārī. Confusion is often prevented by the addition of the name of the nearby provincial capital or of another word, e.g. Čankırı Ḳoč-Ḥiṣārī, Sherefli Koč Ḥiṣār. For the same reason, the toponyms of places with this name have been changed in recent times.

I. SHEREFLI ḲOČ ḤIṢĀRĪ (in modern usage *Şerefli Koçhisarı*, centre of an *ilçe* (previously *ḳaḍāʾ*) formerly called Esb-keshān, in central Anatolia nowadays within the *il* (*wilāyet*) of Ankara (formerly of Konya), 8 km east of the northeastern shores of the Tuz Gölü [*q.v.*]. The town is situated on the road connecting Ankara with Adana via Aksaray, nowadays a major line of communication. The countryside around it is watered by a mountain stream and yields a varied agricultural produce; there is also sheep-raising. Since ancient times salt has been produced at Kaldırım on the lake. In 1950 Serefli-koçhisar town had a population of 4,458 and the

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ilçe (then called a *kaza*) one of 46,300, the latter including within its boundaries 97 villages.

Bibliography: B. Darkot art. s.v. in *İA*; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegennetz*, Leipzig 1924-6, i, Table 6*; *Ankara il yıllığı*, Ankara 1967; İ. H. Konyalı, *Şereflikoçhisar tarihi*, 1971.

II. Čankīrī Ḳoč Ḥiṣārī, in modern usage Çankırı Koç Hisar, since *ca.* 1923 centre of an *ilçe* (*ḳaḍā*[3]) in the *il* (*wilāyet*) of Çankırı (Čankīrī [*q.v.*], Ḳānghrī before 1925) in central Anatolia, nowadays called Ilgaz. In the 19th century it was a *nāḥiye* in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳānghrī, in the *wilāyet* of Anadolu, and since 1864 in that of Kastamonu. Situated in the valley of the River Devrez (= Devrek) on the southern slopes of the Ilgaz Mountains at an altitude of 905m. the town is an agricultural market centre, lying near the crossroads of the routes from Ankara to Kastamonu via Çankırı and of that from Istanbul via Bolu and Tosya to Erzurum and the east. Islamisation came after the conquest by the Dānishmend *amīrs* in *ca.* 468/1075. Afterwards the region became part of the dominions of the Isfendiyāroghlu [*q.v.*] or Djandārid dynasty of Kastamonu (Ḳasṭamūnī [*q.v.*]). The Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd I took it in 795/1393. After the invasion and restoration of the amīrates in Anatolia by Timūr (after 804/1402), Ḳoč Ḥiṣār definitively became Ottoman territory in 855/1451. It then became an important halting-stage in the Ottoman network of routes of the so-called "left wing" (*sol ḳol*) of Anatolia. In 1950 the town of Ilgaz itself had a population of 1,783, and the *ilçe* (then called a *kaza*) one of 24,800, the latter including in its boundaries 76 villages.

Bibliography: [R. Bozkurt] *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda kollar ulak ve fase menzilleri*, Ankara 1966, 12, 15, 22 and map; *Çankırı il yıllığı 1967*, Ankara 1967; R. Leonhard, *Paphlagonia. Reisen und Forschungen im nordlichen Kleinasien*, Berlin 1915, 69, 122 f., 391, 398; F. Taeschner, *Wegennetz*, i, 26, 198, table 26; O. Yalçın, *Çankırı*, Istanbul 1961; Y.Yücel, *Kastamonu'nun ilk fethine Kadar Osmanlı-Candar münasebetleri*, in *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* (1963), i.

III. Ḳočḥiṣār (Sivas) nowadays Hafik, centre of an *ilçe* in the province of Sivas situated on the old main road and caravan route from Sīvās to Erzindjan [*q.vv.*] and the East 37 km. N.E. of Sivas on the right bank of the Ḳïzïl-Irmaḳ at an altitude of 1340 m. The population of the town in 1970 numbered 3,156. Nearby is Lake Todurgha (Tödürge, now Kaz Gölü or Demiryurt Gölü). Kočḥiṣār is identical with Hāfik Ḳal[ʿ]esi (Hāwīk), a stronghold of some importance during the amīrate of Sivas of Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*]. In the 19th century the town had a mixed Armenian and Turkish population.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 695; B. Darkot, art. *Sivas* in *İA*, with list of older sources; H. W. Duda, ed. and tr., *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bībī*, Copenhagen 1959, 248 and n.b.; F. Taeschner, *Wegennetz*, ii, 2 f., 11 n. 1, 3, table 36; Y. Yücel, *Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devleti (1344-1398)*, Ankara 1970, 32 f., 45 f., 52, 73.

IV. Ḳočḥiṣār (Mardin) nowadays called Kızıltepe, the centre of an *ilçe* of the province of Mardin in southeastern Turkey (*Djazīra*) on the Zerkan Suyu, a tributary of the Khābūr, to the south-west of the city of Mārdīn [*q.v.*]. Its population numbered 16,376 in 1970. In early Islamic times this, Ḳočḥiṣār was called Dunaysir (Dunaysar) [*q.v.*]. During the rule of the Artuḳids [*q.v.*], the town was an important caravan centre, and a medical school existed here. The present ruins of the Ulu Djāmi[ʿ] are a monument of that period (*ca.* 601/1204-5). At the time of Sultan Selīm I's campaigns against the Ṣafawids, an Ottoman army commanded by Bïyïḳlï Meḥmed Pasha, *beglerbegi* of Diyār Bakr, defeated a Persian force under Ḳarakhān Ustādjalū near the town in 922/1516. Afterwards the whole region came under Ottoman rule, with Mārdīn as a *sandjaḳ* (*liwā*) of the new *eyālet* (*beglerbegilik*) of Diyār Bakr [*q.v.*]. Ḳočḥiṣār was a part of the *ḳaḍā*[3] of Mārdīn in 924/1518 and remained a subdivision of that district, being a *nāḥiye* of the *sandjaḳ* of Mārdīn during the 19th and 20th centuries and a *ḳaḍā*[3] of the *wilāyet* of Mārdīn since the Republic was founded.

In 1766 the well known traveller Carsten Niebuhr visited Kočḥiṣār ("Kodsje hissar" in Arabic "Gunässar" or "Dunässar"), finding five minarets still standing (cf. *Reize naar Arabie*, Amsterdam-Utrecht 1776-80, ii, 366-7).

Bibliography: *Dunaysar Ta*[3]*rīkhi*, MS by İlalmish [ʿ]Ömer b. Durmush al-Turkī, cited by O. Turan, *Selçuklular tarihi ve Türk-Islam medeniyeti*, Ankara 1965, Istanbul 1969[2], 283, 293, 367; İ. Artuk, *Dunaysır'da Artukoğullarının Ulu Camii*, in *Belleten*, x (1946), 167-9; A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 191; J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Mesopotamia*, London 1827, i, 378 (view of Ḳočḥiṣār in 1826); N. Göyünç, *XVI. yüzyılda Mardin sancağı*, Istanbul 1969, 18, 25 f., 30, 39, 62-72, 75, 115; *Sālnāme-i wilāyet-i Diyārbekir 1308, 13 Def[ʿ]a*, Diyārbekir 1308/1890, 127.

V. Ḳočḥiṣār also Ḳodja Ḥiṣār, identical with the Byzantine fortress of Trikokkia in the Sakarya region to the south-east of Iznīḳ [*q.v.*]. This place was conquered by Sultan Orkhān [*q.v.*] in 708/1308 (713/1313).

Bibliography: İ. H. Danişmend, *Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, i, 8; D. E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, 37; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, i, Ankara 1972[3], 110 and n. 1. (A. H. de Groot)

Ḳoči Beg, also called Göridjeli Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Beg, Ottoman writer of treatises on statecraft.

Ḳoči Beg was a native of Göridje (Gorča, Korytza) in Macedonia. He entered the Palace service as a *devshirme* [*q.v.*] during the reign of Aḥmed I and served under successive sultans until his retirement to his native place in the early years of Meḥemmed IV's reign. He seems never to have served in any capacity outside the Palace. He gained the especial confidence of Murād IV and Ibrāhīm, and it is for his memoranda to these sultans that he is famous. He was also tutor to the historian Na[ʿ]īmā [*q.v.*] (for a full biographical account see M. Çağatay Uluçay, *İA* art. *Koçi Beg*).

Ḳoči Beg's best-known work is his *Risāle*, presented to Murād IV in 1040/1630, where he analyses the causes of Ottoman decline and suggests remedies. There are several printed editions of the work: Aḥmed Vefīḳ Pasha (ed.), *Ḳoči beg risālesi*, London 1279/1862-3, Istanbul 1303/1885-6; A. K. Aksüt, *Koçi bey risalesi* (in Latin script), Istanbul 1939; German translation by W. F. A. Behrnhauer, in *ZDMG*, xv (1861), 272 ff., with comments by Fleischer in *ZDMG*, xvi (1862), 271. The work is summarised in J. von Hammer, *GOR*, v, 291. A second *risāle* attributed to Ḳoči Beg was apparently compiled from memoranda submitted to Sultan Ibrāhīm on that Sultan's order. There is no critical edition of the work. The first published version is an incomplete but fairly full

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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German translation by Behrnhauer, entitled *Das Naṣṭhatnâme*, in *ZDMG*, xviii (1864), 699 ff., based on manuscripts now in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Mix. 477, A. F. 188, Hist. Osman. 150). The translator states that the author is anonymous. The second published edition is in A. K. Aksüt, *op. cit.*, 78 ff. (in Latin script), based on a manuscript in Millet Library, Istanbul, no. 474. In a third published edition, based on a manuscript in Nuruosmaniye Library, no. 4950, the editor attributes the *risāle* to the Grand Vizier Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha (F. R. Unat, *Sadrazam Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa lâyihasi*, in *TV*, ii, no. 6, 443 ff.). There are divergences between the published versions and between them and other existing mss. (for details and discussion, see M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Koçi Bey'in Sultan Ibrahim'e takdim ettiği risale ve arzlar*, in *Z. V. Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, 177 ff.).

The contents of Ḳoči Beg's *risāle* presented to Murād IV resemble those of an earlier analysis of Ottoman decline, the anonymous *Kitāb-i müsteṭāb*, (ed. Yaşar Yücel, Ankara 1974) and are entirely conservative in outlook. The spread of corruption, he argued, had brought about a decline in the old institutions and bred disrespect for the *sharī'a* and old laws (*ḳānūn* [*q.v.*]). Remove corruption, restore respect for the *sharī'a* and *ḳānūn*, and the Empire would return to its former glory. In the old days before the reign of Süleymān I, the sultan had attended the *Dīwān* personally. Süleymān had abandoned this practice. Before the year 982/1574-5 the Grand Vizier had been independent, with no intermediary between him and the sultan. The sultan's favourites (*nüdemā'*) had never interfered in affairs of state. Bribery was unknown and *beg*s were never unjustly dismissed. There was strict control over the emoluments of Palace officials and they never received lands whose rightful use was as *timar*s or *ze'āmet*s [*qq.v.*].

After 982/1574-5 Palace officials and Sultan's favourites were able to engineer the dismissal of Grand Viziers, *beglerbegi*s and *sandjaḳ begi*s and acquire lands rightfully allocated to timariots, as freeholdings (*temlīk*) or fief-holdings (*pashmaḳlīḳ*, *arpalīḳ*). As a result, the state lost its worthiest officers and no longer had the timariots available for war. A similar decline occurred in the *'ilmiyye* hierarchy. After 1003/1594-5 *sheykhülislāms*, *ḳāḍī 'asker*s and *ḳāḍī*s [*qq.v.*] frequently suffered wrongful dismissal. *Mulāzemet*s and *ḳāḍī*-ships were offered for sale, allowing ignorant men to enter the profession. Promotion, too, had come to depend on age, rather than ability. In the old days, the *'ulemā'* had been upright men. Because they had feared God, the people had feared them, and the integrity of the *sharī'a* had been preserved.

The *timar*-system had underlain the Empire's former military strength. In 992/1584-5, however, Özdemir-oghlī 'Othmān Pasha had allocated *timar*s to deserving *re'āyā*. After him, the principle was extended, and unworthy *re'āyā* and Palace nominees had received *timar*s. These made bad and rebellious troops. Few bothered to present themselves for campaigns. Many had contradictory *berāt*s [*q.v.*], giving rise to disputes and a decline in the respect due to the sultan's decrees. Finally, the abolition of the *yürük*s and *müsellem*s, who had acted as a pioneer corps on campaigns, meant that the timariots, the picked troops of Islam, now had to perform menial tasks. The Janissaries and other *ḳapïḳulu* corps [see ORDU] had also become corrupt. It was again Özdemir-oghlī 'Othmān Pasha who, in 992/1584, had admitted suitable non-*ḳul*s into these corps, and after 1003/1594-5 this had become a flood. The *devshirme* system broke down; tradesmen and others secured posts lawfully due only to *ḳul*s, and admitted their relatives to the corps. The number of so-called *ḳul*s increased enormously, many of them retiring early without performing their military or other duties, and consequently they became a heavy burden on the treasury. Previously, they had resided only in Istanbul, Edirne and intermediate villages. They now resided throughout the empire, often exercising dictatorial powers in a region.

The swollen number of *ḳul*s, together with a decline in *khāṣṣ-i hümāyūn* lands [see KHĀṢṢA], which had either passed to enemies or else been allocated as *pashmaḳlīḳ*, *waḳf* or vizier's *khāṣṣ*, meant a vastly increased burden of taxation on the *re'āyā*. The sale of tax-collecting rights exacerbated the situation. Excessive taxation had impoverished the *re'āyā* and this, in turn, led to insufficient treasury revenue. This led to military weakness which undermined the authority of the sultan. The result was internal dissension and military defeat.

Ḳoči Beg's remedy for the decline was as conservative as his analysis of its causes: a return to the imagined perfections of the era before Süleyman I. Bribery should be removed by restoring the independence of the Grand Vizier and neutralising the influence of Palace favourites in affairs of state; by keeping *beg*s in their posts without fear of unjust dismissal; by dismissing ignorant *'ulemā'* and replacing them with learned men; by distributing *timar*s only to men worthy to receive them, and ceasing the practice of distributing *timar*-lands as *pashmaḳlīḳ*, *waḳf* or other form of tenure. Only *beglerbegi*s should appoint timariots. They should make a roll-call (*yoḳlama*) of present incumbents in their provinces (*eyālet*), renewing the *berāt*s of qualified timariots and removing the unqualified. *Ḳul*s with high pay should receive *ze'āmet*s, thus creating a warrior's fief (*ḫïlïč*) and removing a burden from the treasury. Able-bodied timariots should serve on campaigns with the number of retainers (*djebelü*) which the old *ḳānūn*s specify. This would produce 400,000 to 500,000 troops and provide a counterbalance to the influence of the *ḳapïḳulu*s. Similarly, all innovations (*bid'at*) in the Janissary and other *ḳapïḳulu* corps which contravene the old *ḳānūn*s should be abolished. There should be a graduation (*čïḳma*) from the Palace once in every seven years, and at these times the *ḳapïḳulu* corps should receive only enough recruits to replace dead members. Officers (*ḍābiṭ*) of these corps should never be unjustly deposed.

Ḳoči Beg's second *risāle* is a straightforward description of various state institutions and governmental practices, interspersed with political maxims. Its purpose was to guide the new and totally inexperienced sultan, Ibrāhīm, and its language, in accordance with that ruler's mental capacities, is extremely simple (see M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *IA*, art. *İbrahim*, and IBRĀHĪM).

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Geschichtsschreiber, 184 ff., 414 ff.; E. I. J. Rosenthal, *Political thought in mediaeval Islam*, Cambridge 1968, 226-7. (C. H. IMBER)

ḲODJA ELI, modern Turkish Kocaeli: a region between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara, covering a part of ancient Bithynia with its centre Izmīd [*q.v.*] (ancient Nicomedia), and the name of a *sandjaḳ* of the Ottoman empire. Nowadays it is the name of a province (*il*) of Turkey (population 385,408 in 1970), with Izmit as its capital. In 1954 the eastern part of the province Kocaeli was separated to form the Sakarya (Saḳārya) province with its capital Adapazarı. Since this administrative reform, Kocaeli has comprised the *ilces* (formerly *ḳaḍā*'s) of (Izmit-) Merkez, Gebze, Kandıra, Gölçük (before 1936, Değirmendere) and Karamürsel. The province is traversed by the main route of communication between Istanbul and Ankara and the East, nowadays by the Anatolian railway (since 1873) and the motorway No. 1/E5. Modern industries have been founded along the Gulf of Izmit (Izmit Körfezi) in the Republican period, complementing the already existing ones (e.g. the Imperial Ottoman textile and carpet factory at Hereke). Thanks to the large forests prevailing in the region (in 1970 42,1 % of the area was still considered as forestland), the province became a centre for shipbuilding already in ancient times (cf. the mediaeval type of (rowing- and sailing) transport vessel, *Caramusali*, Turkish *Karamürsel*, called after the port of Karamürsel).

The Gulf of Izmit was a base area of the Ottoman navy from the 10th/16th century onwards. A dockyard and naval establishment existed at Izmit till World War I. Since 1926 Gölcük has been one of the main bases of the modern Turkish navy.

Ḳodja Eli was one of the earliest Ottoman *sandjaḳs*, formed during the reign of Orkhān in the years 1327-38. Its name is derived from that of one of the *ghāzī* leaders of the first two Ottoman rulers Aḳčaḳodja, who with Ḳara Mürsel and Ḳonur Alp first raided this then Byzantine region, and was buried on Baba Tepe near Ḳandıra in 728/1327. During the Ottoman interregnum 1402-13 the Byzantines were able to regain their territory, but in 1419 Timūrtāshoghlu Umur Beg reconquered Ḳodja Eli definitively for the Ottoman Sultan. Before the end of the 10th/16th century, the *sandjaḳ* became part of the *eyālet* of the *ḳapudān pasha* and its *sandjaḳ-begi* a commander of a naval squadron. In 1867, within the framework of the new system of provincial administration, Ḳodja Eli was incorporated in the *wilāyet* of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*]. From 1888 till the end of the Ottoman period it became the independent *sandjaḳ* (*mutaṣarrıflıḳ*) of Izmīd, with the 5 *ḳaḍā*'s of Adapazari, Ḳandıra, Geyve, Karamürsel and Izmīd-Merḳez. In *ca.* 1890, V. Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv, 303 ff., 371) estimated the population of the *sandjaḳ* at 223,000, of which 129,000 were Muslims, 49,000 Armenians, 41,000 Greeks and 2,500 Jews.

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KŌHĀT (P., "mountains"), a directly-administered District of what was the North West Frontier Province of British India and of Pakistan till 1955, covering some 2,694 sq. miles and with its administrative centre at the town of Kōhāt. The District is bounded by the Khyber Agency [see KHAYBAR Pass] on the north, by the Kurram and North Wāziristān Agencies in the west, by the Bannū District [*q.v.*] on the south, and by the Indus River and the ʿĪsā Khēl *taḥṣīl* of the Pandjāb on the east.

The terrain of the District is that of a rugged tableland lying at an average of 2,000 ft., with low ranges of arid hills which rise to 3,000-4,000 ft., and with more fertile valley bottoms in which agriculture, sometimes by irrigation, is possible; the climate shows considerable variations in temperature and rainfall averages only 15 inches per annum. The region is connected with the Kabul River valley and the Khyber region by the Kōhāt Pass, called locally the *Darra* (2,866 ff.), whose control was in British times much disputed by the local Afrīdī tribesmen; the area round the Pass, a strip of unadministered territory, has for long been the site of a flourishing Afrīdī gun-making factory. An important commodity of the Teri village neighbourhood of Kōhāt has always been rock salt, of which there are extensive deposits at Bahādur Khēl; until recent years, these were owned by the *Nawāb* or titular head of the Khaṭak tribes. The Government of India's increase of the tax on Kōhāt salt in 1896 to a level with that on cis-Indus salt was one of the pretexts for the tribal rising along the Frontier in 1897.

The population of the District is essentially Pathan, mainly of the Bangash in the western parts, the Khaṭak [*q.v.*] in the eastern tracts down to the Indus shores, the Orakzay and Ādam Khēl Afrīdīs in the northern parts, and the Niāzīs along the Indus in the south of the district; of these, the Bangash speak the northeastern or "hard" variety of Pashto, and the Khaṭak and Niāzī the southwestern or "soft" one [see AFGHĀN, iii. The Pashto language].

The Khaṭak seem to have moved into Kōhāt from the west in the 8th/14th century, whilst the Bangash entered the district in the following century as allies of the Khaṭak against the Orakzay. The Mughal adventurer Bābur [*q.v.*] made his first foray into India in 910/1505 down the Kabul River valley to Peshāwar, then into Kōhāt and Bannū and through the Deradjāat to the Indus; he scattered the local Pathans, and built towers of skulls of the slain in Kōhāt (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, 230-2). In 1029/1620 the Mughal Emperor Djahāngīr's general Mahābat Khān [*q.v.*] campaigned in Kōhāt against the Rōshaniyya sectaries [*q.v.*] amongst the local Pathans.

In the early 19th century, Peshāwar, Kōhāt, Bannū and the Deradjāt came under the control of the Sikh ruler of the Pandjāb, Randjit Singh, although Sikh authority was contested by the local tribes. The British envoy Mountstuart Elphinstone passed through Kōhāt in early 1809 on his way to the Durrānī court in Kābul, and waxed lyrical about the green valleys and the fruits of "Cohaut" (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*², London 1842, i, 49 ff., ii, 50-1). After the downfall of the Sikh empire

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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and the annexation of the Panḏjāb in 1849, the British penetrated through the low Khaṭak hills and Kōhāt to the Kurram River valley at Thāl. The regions of Peshāwar, Kōhāt and Hazāra were then briefly placed directly under the Board of Administration for the Panḏjāb. In 1876 these three northern regions of the Frontier were formed into the Commissionership of Peshāwar. Then after the frontier tribal wars of the late 1890s and in the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon, the North West Frontier Province was formed in 1901 as an administrative unit separate from the Panḏjāb, with Kōhāt as one of its four trans-Indus districts; Kōhāt District itself comprised the three *taḥṣīl*s of Kōhāt, Terī and Hangū. A road was made in 1901-2 connecting Peshāwar and Kōhāt via the Pass, and a narrow-gauge railway was also begun to connect Khushḥālgaṛh on the Indus with Kohāt town, Hangū and Thāl, thereby stimulating local trade with Tīrāh and Kābul. Kohāt town had already become an important garrison centre from which control was exercised over the turbulent Pathan tribes, and Sir Louis Cavagnari, who for more than a decade had been Deputy Commissioner in Kōhāt, had built himself a fine official residence there.

During the inter-war period, Kōhāt was, with Peshāwar, Bannū and other parts of the Frontier, the scene of disturbances caused by the political movement of the *Khidmatgārān* or "Redshirts" of ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Khān. The postpartition position has not been greatly altered since British days. The District continues to be divided into three *taḥṣīl*s, with the names Kōhāt, Hangū and Karak; Kōhāt town is an important military base for the Pakistan Army and there is also a military airfield. A plan for a barrage across the Toi River, the "Banda Tanda Dam", in order to harness flood waters, has long been mooted. The 1961 census enumerated a total population for the District, including the attached tribal areas in the north, of 627,795, a 45 % increase since 1951, with a population for Kōhāt town and cantonment of 75,000.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KŌHĒN AL-ʿAṬṬĀR, ABU 'L-MUNĀ (DĀWŪD) B. ABĪ NAṢR B. ḤAFFĀẒ AL-ISRĀ'ĪLĪ AL-HĀRŪNĪ, Jewish pharmacist who in 658/1260 wrote in Cairo "for himself and his son" a pharmacopoeia under the title (changing slightly in the manuscripts) *Minhāḏj al-dukkān wa-dustūr al-aʿyān fī tarkīb al-adwiya al-nāfiʿa li'l-abdān*, which became very widely spread. About his life almost nothing is known, and his relation to Abū Manṣūr Sulaymān b. Ḥaffāẓ al-Kōhēn, the author of a *muntakhab* from which al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār quotes, is uncertain (see Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, 233 f.; M. Plessner, in *Oriens* xxiii-xxiv [1970-1], 454. The *Minhāḏj* has the following 25 chapters: 1. The duties of the pharmacist. 2. Drinks (*ca.* 1/6 of the whole work). 3. Concentrated fruit-syrups. 4. Preserved fruits. 5. Pastes. 6. Electuaries. 7. Powder. 8. Lozenges. 9. Remedies to be sucked. 10. Pills. 11. "Hallowed substances" (*iyāraḏjāt*). 12. Eye-powder. 13. Eye-salves. 14. Pomades. 15. Oils, etc. 16. Plaster. 17. Tooth-powder. 18. Suppositories. 19. Compresses, settings, sternutatories. 20. Substitutive drugs. 21. List of simple drugs. 22. Apothecaries' measures and weights. 23. Admonitions for a sensible way of living. 24. Professional instructions. 25. Test of the usefulness of the simple and the composite drugs. At the end, the author promises a monograph on generally-known simple drugs, which was probably not written.

Thus the work is a typical dispensatorium (*aḳrābāḏhīn*, from Greek γραφίδιον via Syriac *graphīḏhīn*), in which, after the Galenic example, the composite drugs (*al-adwiya al-murakkaba*) are grouped according to classes (κατὰ γένη). In the present work, the simple drugs (*al-adwiya al-adwiya al-mufraḍa*), usually dealt with in separate works, have equally been treated from certain view-points in chapters 21, 24 and 25. The recipes are partly of the author himself, but the majority come from sources mentioned by name. Most conspicious among the latter are the *Dustūr al-bīmāristānī* of Ibn Abi 'l-Bayān [*q.v.*], teacher and somewhat older contemporary of al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār, and the *Irshād* of Ibn Djumayʿ al-Isrāʾīlī, another pupil of Ibn Abi 'l-Bayān. In the introduction, al-Kōhēn claims to be the first to compose an extended pharmacopeia especially for chemists; the earlier ones, Ibn Abi 'l-Bayān's book included, are said to have been written for physicians in the traditional manner. This specialisation has possibly been one of the reasons for the wide dissemination of the work, a second one apparently being the very conveniently arranged survey of the current measures and weights (ch. 22), which must have met a generally felt need. For an officially-regulated standard did not exist, and the units of measures, so countlessly varying, were overseen with more or less care by the *muḥtasib* only. A third reason for the popularity of the work may have been its useful indications for the chemist's profession (purchase, efficient storage, cleaning, protection of the drugs against blight etc., chapter 24). Finally, the abundant use of popular Arabo-Egyptian names of drugs made the work easily accessible to every user.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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KOIL [see KOYL].

AL-KŌHĪN [see AL-KŪHĪN].

KÖKBÜRI [see BEGTEGĪNIDS].

KOKČA [see BADAKHSHĀN].

ḲŌMIS [see ḲŪMIS].

KOMOTEN [see GÜMÜLDJĪNE in Suppl.].

KONAKRY (usual orthography, Conakry), capital of the Republic of Guinea.

With its site fixed in the tables of latitudes of Ptolemy, Konakry has only been regularly inhabited since the second half of the 18th century. It is situated on the west coast of Africa in lat. 9° 31′ N. and long. 13° 43′ W., and occupies three distinct natural sites: part of the Kaloum peninsula, the island of Tumbo and the archipelago of Loos. Manga Damba, chief of the Susu people, founded Kaporo there in 1780, after having subjugated the Baga and the Mandenyi. The Loos islands, originally occupied by the Portuguese (Los Idolhos), were occupied by Britain in 1848. After the "Mulatto War" of 1865-70, there were four villages, sc. Kaporo, Bulbinet, Tumbo and Camayenne, which were placed together at the time of the first French post's foundation, when the corvette "Goëland" passed there on 26 January 1887. On 1 August 1889, Conakry became the capital of the colony of the Rivières du Sud and Dependencies, and then in 1890 of French Guinea, of which Ballay was the first governor.

It became the departure-point for roads into the interior after 1895, and then for the Conakry-Niger railway completed in 1914, and the town and its port enjoyed a rapid development facilitated by the filling-in of the Tumbo channel. Its vitality was shown by the increases of population: 13,000 in 1899, 78,000 in 1958 and 250,000 in 1975. The Loos islands were attached to it in 1904, and also the convict settlement of Fotoba, where the Wali of Gumba, Tierno Aliou, leader of the revolt of the Houbbous, died in 1912.

It became a Commune Mixte in 1913, with full powers in 1955, and then on 2 October 1958 Conakry became the capital of the Republic of Guinea. It has 1,853 m. of docks, 10 hectares of platforms, a volume of traffic amounting to 2 1/2 million tonnes and an airport with a 3,300 m. runway; it is thus a lively industrial centre. Despite the ending to the mining of Kaloum's iron deposits in 1966 and the slackening of the exploitation of the bauxite of Kassa, it remains the main outlet of the Fria Company, and also possesses many factories, including for tobacco and matches, furniture, tanning, shoes, plastics, brewing, fruit juice, etc. Since 1963 Conakry has had the Gamal Abdel Nasser Polytechnic Institute, with seven faculties, including one for medicine, and it also has several Écoles Nationales (Arts and Crafts, Meteorology, etc.).

The majority of the population is Muslim (71 % in 1955). The conversion of the Baga and Susu was achieved at the beginning of the 19th century by the Yattara family, the Diulas. Christianity came with the Anglican mission at Fotoba in 1864, and the Catholic mission, which built the cathedral of St. Mary, in 1890. On 18 October 1897 Conakry became an Apostolic prefecture, on 18 April 1920 an Apostolic vicariate, and on 15 September 1955 an Archidioces.The diocese contained 13,400 Roman Catholics in 1965, two-thirds of these in the capital. The strength of Islam is easily discernible from these figures. The main *ṭarīḳa* there remains that of the Ḳādiriyya, which resisted the penetration of the Tidjāniyya in the 19th century under the double influence of the *zāwiya* of Touba and of the Senegalese auxiliary troops of the French who adopted Murīdism. These last built a mosque on the island of Tumbo, still called the Senegalese mosque.

Despite the efforts of Malinka scholars, Wahhābism has remained only embryonic. One should further note a certain persistent strain of animism among the Baga population, characterised till 1963 by the cult of the tree of Bassicole, on the isthmus of Tumbo, cut down then to allow the building of the People's Palace at the expense of the People's Republic of China.

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KONG, corruption of *Kpon*, name of a place in the northern part of the Ivory Coast near to the watershed between the basins of the Comoé and that of the Nzi which flows into the Bandama. Kpon was founded in a very ancient period by the Senoufo of the Falafala tribe who to this day have retained their predominant rights over the land, while playing now only an unobtrusive role.

Kong is an illustration of the advance of the Malinka towards the south and towards the regions producing gold and kola. This immigration took place in the period following the 16th century and these Dioula who supposedly came from Macina founded Bobo Dioulasso on their way. Having established themselves in Kong they were reinforced at the beginning of the 18th century by contingents of Sohondji Malinka pagans, with whose help they were able to police the trade-routes. There can be no doubt that it was at the end of the 18th century that a Malinka chief, Sekou Ouattara, whose family was linked with the inhabitants of Boron on the Bandama, united a group of Malinka families coming from the north. From Macina he passed through Dé near Bandiagara, Téwélé near Bobo Dioulasso, then Teninguera near Kong where he ousted a red-haired chieftain named Lassiré Gombélé, taking his place and establishing Islam. Lassiré Gombélé would no doubt have been a Mandé, ruling over the autochthonous Falafala and the Paralha (Koulango).

Sekou Ouattara established his twelve sons so firmly in the villages that when his brother Famarha attempted to gain power, the resistance offered by the sons forced him to leave and to settle in Bobo Dioulasso, opening a long series of quarrels between the two cities.

From the city of Kong the power of this Dioula aristocracy spread throughout the neighbouring country, largely as a result of the superiority of their cavalry. To assure themselves of a supply of remounts, they founded on the Bani the village of *So fara* (stallions).

While the children of Sekou Ouattara received various appanages, the sixth son, Sambakari, at-

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tempted to conquer Lobi and spent several years fighting interminable campaigns against the Léa, the Teguessié and the Dian. The authority of the Dioula over the land of Lobi seems to have been purely nominal.

Among campaigns involving external powers, one was repulsed by the *Tondion* of Biton Kouloubali in 1725. Also, the Ashanti army which, according to Bowdich, had reached as far as Kong, was defeated there and its leader injured by a lance-blow at a place which is still pointed out in the vicinity of the town.

Abo (1720-46), the ruler of the Abron, was pursued by the Ashanti king Opokou Ouaré and took refuge in Kong, where the sovereign's mother handed him over to the Ashanti who put him to death.

With its control over the gold and kola routes, the city of Kong took on greater and greater importance, and the authority of the sovereigns extended over the whole of the land from the Comoé to the Marahoué and, towards the Djimini in the south, where the Dioula had constructed terraced dwellings in the Sudanese style. Five mosques with twin pyramid-shaped minarets dominated the quarters of the city.

The military power of Kong depended on contingents of pagan soldiers. But commercial prosperity induced the more gifted elements to turn away from military pursuits, to such an extent that when the Pallaka pagans rebelled and closed their territory to caravan traffic, the punitive expeditions mounted by Kong came to nothing.

Although Mungo Park had heard tell of Kong, it was Binger who, on 20 February 1888, arrived in the town and stayed there until the 11th March. In December of the same year, Treich-Laplène made the sovereign of that time, Karamoko Oule Wattara, sign a treaty placing Kong under French protection. This treaty was signed on 10 January 1889 in the presence of Binger, who had occasion to return to Kong in 1892.

Two years later, Kong was visited by Captain Marchand, *Kpaki Bo* (= "feller of the forest"), who had heard of the threats made by Samori against Kong. It was then that Lt.-Colonel Monteil was recalled to the area; he had been preparing to attempt a regrouping of forces on the Upper Nile. Mustering at Grand Bassam in August 1894, the column encountered the utmost difficulties in making progress. Joining battle with the armies of Samori in March 1895, it was forced to retreat and on 15 May 1897, Samori razed the city to the ground and massacred those of the inhabitants who had not succeeded in escaping towards Bobo-Dioulasso. Only the houses of the Falafala were spared.

In January 1898, a French detachment established a post there, which was soon laid under siege but was relieved by Commandant Caudrelier. With Samori captured, and peace re-established, the French administration invited the refugees to return. Some accepted, but the majority remained in Bobo Dioulasso. Kong was never to regain its former eminence. It was to remain a mere regional capital with some 3,000 inhabitants, and an important centre of Muslim proselytism.

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KONYA (Arabic and Turkish orthography, Ḳūniya), known in antiquity as Iconium, an important town lying on the edge of the Anatolian plateau, on a diagonal line connecting the Dardanelles with the Taurus passes leading into Syria.

1. History.

Konya was, during the centuries of Arab invasion, a Byzantine military base which the attackers seem for this reason to have more or less deliberately avoided and circumvented, in preference either for Tarsus [see TARSŪS] to the south or especially for Cappadocia by the northern routes; this would seem to explain the fact that the town is seldom mentioned in military histories. It is probable, however, that Konya, like other towns, had suffered previously in the Persian invasion, and that it occupied only a section of its former territory. It is difficult to describe with certainty its history in a period for which no archaeological investigation has been performed, but the common and widespread re-use of older materials in the Saldjūḳ monuments would seem to indicate that many buildings were in ruins and the town only partially reconstructed. It reappears, however, in a better light at the time of the Turkish invasions of the 5th/11th century and at the time of the Crusaders who passed that away in 1097. The latter found no serviceable fortifications there, but were able to derive benefit from the gardens in the vicinity of the town.

It was the Saldjūḳ régime which marked the zenith of the history of Konya. The site, well irrigated in contrast to the neighbouring desert, commanded the southern route at a time when the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*] denied the Saldjūḳs access to the northern route to the Dardanelles, and it must have found favour with the new masters when they became aware of the need for a secure political and military base as a focus for their still semi-nomadic peoples. The real development of the town dates from the reign of Masʿūd (512-50/1118-55), who resolving to make Konya a capital, built a mosque there and other monuments which his successors must have completed. It was already a city of note when in 1190 the German army raised in Cologne by Frederick Barbarossa passed through it. The progressive unification of Turkish Asia Minor under the rule of the Saldjūḳs evidently contributed to the prosperity of the capital. Besides the principal mosque, from about 1190 onwards the city possessed a number of smaller ones, as well as *madrasas*, *ḵẖānḳāhs* [*q.vv.*], flourishing markets and reconstructed ramparts. The development of the power of the sultans in the first half of the 7th/12th century was also reflected in the town, where apparently social hierarchy was judged by the importance and height of houses rather than by the allocation of separate quarters to the various ethnic groups. In Konya there were evidently Greeks (with their monastery, reputedly dedicated to Plato), Armenians and some Jews; the records make few references to Turks, a term reserved in this context for the Turcomans of the plains, but rather speak of Muslims, a designation normally embracing both indigenous Turks, who in a town of this kind were largely Iranised, and Iranian immigrants, arriving especially in the period following the Kh^{w}ārazmian and Mongol invasions, who, besides their involvement in craftsmanship, were sometimes promoted to the most important civil posts of the régime. Three social groups deserve special attention, the *idgish*, the *akhis* and the

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Ṣūfīs or dervishes. The *idgiṣh* were a kind of militia recruited among the half-breed sons of indigenous fathers converted to Islam and married to Turkish women; the *aḵḵi*s [*q.v.*] were a Turkish form of the Muslim *futuwwa* [*q.v.*], and were to play an important role especially in the period of the Mongols and their immediate successors; as for the Ṣūfīs, there were a number of different orders, but, from the middle of the 7th/13th century the prestige of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī must have drawn numerous disciples to him, although this was not an organised order (that of the Mevlevīs or Mawlawiyya, from Mevlānā/Mawlānā) until the 8th/14th century. Naturally, Konya also had a military garrison, composed to a large extent of slaves of Byzantine stock captured on the north-western marches of the kingdom. The sultans lived in the palaces which they had built in Konya and the surrounding area. The ramparts of the town had been extended and strengthened in the time of the great sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kay Ḳubād [*q.v.*] with the compulsory co-operation of the senior *amīr*s of the region. The buildings erected in this period are studied below, but the abundance and importance of the mosques, *madrasa*s, *ḵḵānḳāh*s, hospitals, *ḵḵān*s/caravanserais, etc. testify to the considerable development of the Saldjūḳ capital, which the present-day remains continue to evoke, in an original and compelling style.

The progressive establishment of the Mongol protectorate over Saldjūḳ Anatolia in the second half of the 7th/13th century was naturally prejudicial to the importance of Konya, although in a slow and partial fashion. The rivalry between the brother sultans ʿIzz al-Dīn Kayḵāʾūs and Rukn al-Dīn Ḳïlïdj Arslan represented in fact the struggle between the partisans of collaboration with the Mongols, the naturally dominant force in eastern Asia Minor beyond Kayseri, and the partisans of resistance, whose headquarters was at Konya and who relied to a large extent on the Turcomans of the southern and western frontiers. The decline of central authority was accompanied by a boost to the prestige of peripheral Turcoman principalities in such a way that centres of political activity, etc. were transferred to new regions, to the detriment of Konya in particular. The episode which marked this evolution for the first time was the temporary occupation of Konya in 675-7/1277-8 by the Ḳaramānids [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARĪ] of the western Taurus, who installed there a bogus Saldjūḳ known by the name of Djimri. Their independent government survived however until 713/1313; but in that year it was definitively annexed, although the Ḳaramānids did not lose their capital, henceforward to be situated at Laranda/Ḳaramān [see LARANDA]. The cultural and religious importance of the town and the relative importance of its population ensured, however, that it retained a certain vitality, as is attested by a number of buildings and pious foundations erected by Ḳaramānid princes and dignitaries. Once occupied by Bāyezīd Yïldïrïm, the town was definitively annexed to the Ottoman state, together with the remainder of the Ḳaramānid state, in 880/1475, and Ottoman documentary archives give evidence that *waḳf*s and Saldjūḳ and Ḳaramānid institutions were in general maintained there. Naturally in this vast empire, far removed from all the important areas, Konya could no longer be more than a provincial centre. The fact that it was under its walls that the Ottoman army of Reshīd Pasha was crushed by the Egyptian army of Ibrāhīm Pasha, the son of Muḥammad ʿAlī, at the end of 1832, proves that the town could still occasionally play a strategic role.

A number of travellers have visited and briefly described Konya. One of the most valuable accounts is that of Henri de Laborde, who has left us plans of the town as it was in 1828, a period in which many buildings today in ruins were still standing. The population of the town, which in the time of Cuinet (end of the 19th century), was about 50,000, passed the 100,000 mark in the middle of this century (119,841 in 1960) and has continued to increase slowly since then.

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2. Monuments.

There are some eighty monuments surviving in Konya, but many are so heavily restored that only fragments of decoration survive of the first foundation. An example is the Hoca Hasan Mescid, *ca.* 1200. Major buildings lost but recorded include the *bedesten*. The number of houses and *konaks* dating from the 18th to the 20th centuries is declining rapidly, but the private Koyunoğlu Museum survives. A study of relative documents was made by İ. H. Konyalı, *Konya tarihi*, Konya 1963, and of ceramics by M. Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*, Tübingen 1976. His datings are here accepted unless otherwise stated, while an asterisk indicates buildings dated by inscriptions.

Walls and palaces. The walls were destroyed within living memory. C. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1882, and others recorded the wealth of antique and Saldjūḳ decoration incorporated in them, especially in the vicinity of the 108 towers, including fabulous beasts, a decapitated Hercules and extensive verses, all of which were gilded. The grandeur of the city is confirmed by the ruined kiosk of Ḳïlïdj Arslān II (1155-92), which was once a square chamber clad in ceramics with balconies carried on large consoles above a vaulted hall. Illustrated in F. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konya*, Berlin 1936, it is situated in the citadel area which has yet to be excavated in depth and where such remains of the *kale* as exist are attributed by Konyalı to 618/1221, although it was founded in 569/1173.

Mosques and complexes. Adjacent is the Alaeddin Cami begun by Kaykāʾūs I [*q.v.*]. The consequences of frequent repairs are as important as the damage they mask. The area immediately round the *miḥrāb* is the oldest dated by the inscription to Sulṭān Masʿūd on the outstanding *miḥrāb*, *ca.* 1155. The west half of the prayer hall was completed in 617/1220* and the east pillared hall was added in 1235 when the *miḥrāb* (its heart mutilated irreparably) in the typical Anatolia ceramic manner was added. Among inscribed names are those of Ustād Ḥādjdjī Mengubirti (reading provisional) al-Ḵhilāṭī (on the *minbar*), Muḥammad b. Ḵhawlān of Damascus, an overseer, and of Atabeg Ayāz, the official in charge of work 1219-20.

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Contiguous with the enlarged mosque and now entered from it is the duodecagonal *türbe* named after Ḳılıdj Arslān and dated 616-17/1219-21ǧ. The cenotaphs are covered in white inscriptions on deep cobalt blue grounds. Except for Kaykāʾūs I, buried at Sivas, from 1192 onwards this was the mausoleum of the dynasty.

Externally, the courtyard wall is monumental, with two marble portals in a style developed from that of 12th century Zangid Damascus. The İplikçi Cami, 1220-30, was first rebuilt in 733/1332*, but the *miḥrāb* survived. The central aisle has three domes, and the three on each side are vaulted. The mosque is now the museum. The Larende or Sahip Ata Cami, 656/1258*, has lost its second brick minaret in the Iranian or Central Asian style. The stalactite porch, incorporating detritus from Christian monuments, is 13th century workmanship at its apogee, which was increasingly heavy and flamboyant. The fine faience *miḥrāb* and semi-domed *īwān* survived rebuilding. It is united with the *ḫānagāh* (of the four-*īwān* type retaining some original decoration) by the family tomb in a manner suggestive of ancestor worship. This mausoleum is of the domed *īwān* type with a crypt, where the cenotaphs retain some of their faiencework. The inscription on the mosque to the master Kalūk b. ʿAbd Allāh (reading provisional) makes this his only dated building. The Sadreddin Konevi Cami, 673/1274-5*, has lost two deeply-carved shutters to the Türk ve Islâm Eserleri Museum, Istanbul.

Kayḳubād I [*q.v.*], as patron of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*], created Konya's greatest spiritual memorial, which is expressed materially as the Mevlevi complex and museum, to which the mosque of Selīm II is related. The *tekke* originated in 628/1231 (Meinecke, 342; Konyalı, 630), but the earliest *īwān* which contains the cenotaph of the poet is dated 672/1273-4. Its scalloped dome was-recovered in Kütahya tiles externally in 1818, 1909 and 1949 (Konyali, 654) and the wooden cenotaph, 674/1277, completely covered in inscriptions, is hidden under the gold embroidered velvet cloth donated by ʿAbd Ḥamīd II. A second dome was built over the tombs of the successors of the Mewlānā, but the complex is largely 16th century in date. Bāyazīd II restored the mausoleums and added three domed units together with a typical Ottoman minaret in 910/1504, while Selīm I installed the garden fountain, 918/1512. Süleymān I rebuilt the *masdjid* and *samāʿ-ḫāna*, 973/1565, and Selīm II the *ʿimāret*, now destroyed. The cells of Murād III were transformed in the 19th century. Important repairs were effected by Murād IV, 1044/1634 and 1048/1650, and by Meḥemmed IV, 1060/1650. Four typical Ottoman *türbes* in the garden court are dated *934/1527, Khürrem Pasha; 981-2/1573-4, Sinān Pasha; 994/1585, daughters of Küčük Murād Pasha; 1006/1597, Shaykh Khalīl. The museum houses textiles and other treasures of the order which is active again. The Selimiye Cami, begun by Süleymān I and completed by Selīm II, has a seven-domed portico carried on six Byzantine limestone columns. Its plan is based on that of the Fatih mosque in Istanbul, but without a *miḥrāb* apse. Erroneously attributed to Sinān, it is typical of the stark style that preceded his appointment as *miʿmār baṣhī*. Beside the mosque is the library of Yūsuf Agha, 1209/1794. Pir Paşa Cami, *ca.* 926/1519, is a typical Ottoman mosque, but with a *türbe* incorporated into a corner of the portico. Şerefeddin Cami was founded 1220-30, rebuilt by the Ḳaramānoghlu Ibrāhīm II, 848/1445, and transformed in 1046/1636 into an imitation of Ḳılıdj ʿAlī Pasha mosque, Tophane, Istanbul. Fragments of 13th century ceramic can be seen in the mortar, and there are patches of brickwork amid the ashlar. Heavily restored, 1299/1881, the interior painting is in the 19th century fairground manner and includes a typical folk art representation of the Süleymaniye Cami, Istanbul, over the *miḥrāb*. Kapı Cami, 1060/1650 (Konyalı, 429), owes its light, open style to the repairs in 1226/1811*. Abdülaziz Cami, *minbar* 1293/1876; also replaces an older building, and its florid École des Beaux-Arts appearance is likely to be the work of Sarkis Balyan of the 19th century dynasty of court architects.

Colleges or medreses. The Sırçalı Medrese, 640/1242-3, is a partially-ruined two-*īwān* type. The outstanding faience *miḥrāb* is set in an *īwān* which retains a quantity of its décor. The carving of the portal is also notable. Inscriptions include those to the founder Badr al-Dīn Muṣliḥ and the master Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān al-Ṭūsī.

The Karatay Medrese, 649/1251-2*, ruined, but retaining its famous marble portal, which was an Anatolian variant of the Damascus style (see Alaeddin Cami), and also the starscape dome with an oculus over the pool of the court-hall supported by deep fan-shaped tiled pendentives. This monument now houses a collection of Saldjūḳ ceramics. Only the *īwān* remains of the Küčük Karatay Medrese nearby, 646/1248-9.

The İnce Minareli Medrese, *ca.* 663/1264-5, built by Kalūk (Kölüg) b. ʿAbd Allāh, heavily-restored, lost two-thirds of its brick minaret in 1317/1899. It was a foil to the portal's giant inscriptive bands developed out of simple established decorative forms more appropriate to wood. Overweighted decoration which masks structure was the Achilles heel of later Saldjūḳ architecture.

Masdjids. These include Beşarebey Mescid, 610/1213 (inscription disputed), and Abdülaziz Mescid, 611/1214-5, both rebuilt with fragments of original ceramics remaining, as with Şekerfurus Mescid, 617/1220*. The Taş (Stone) or Haci Ferruh Mescid, 612/1215 (Konyalı, 364), has an inscription to the master Ramaḍān and idiosyncratic carved stone porch and *miḥrāb*. The Hatuniye Mescid, 627/1229-30*, retains most of its thick Güdük Minaret, built of glazed brick. The Bulgur Tekke Mescid 1240-50, still has its plain, hexagonal dado tiles, as does the Karatay Mescid, 646/1248-9, but the Sirçalı Mescid of the same date retains its brick minaret and its renowned *miḥrāb*. The *miḥrāb* of the Beyhekim Mescid, 1270-80, is now in the Staatliche Museum (Islamische Museum, Cat. No. 81), Berlin. Both the Kararslan and the Tahir ile Zühre Mescids, *ca.* 1280, have restored *miḥrāb*s.

Of many later examples, the Kadı Mürsel Mescid, 812/1409, has lost its dependencies which once were distinctively Ḳaramanīd in style, including the *miḥrāb*.

Lesser monuments. The Hasbey Darülhuffaz, 824/1421* built by Ḳaramānoghlu Meḥmed Bey, has a traditional ceramic *miḥrāb*. The marble panels have fallen from the façade below the sixteen-ribbed dome. A rare, extant *namazgāh* is the Musalla, 948/1541.

Among several, a typical *īwān* type *türbe* is the Gömeç Hatun, 674-84/1275-85, built of brick above ashlar with an ornamental tile façade and crenellations. It has two triangular buttresses and double stairs raised over the sepulchral vault. Fakidede Türbe, 824-60/1471-56, built of stone is transitional in style.

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Of the fountains, Kapu Çeşme rebuilt in Ottoman times has claim to Saldjūḳ origins. A standard Ottoman example is the Akçeşme, 936/1555*. The Balıkh Çeşme incorporates a Byzantine plaque depicting two fishes.

Monuments in the vicinity. The large, pillared mosque at Meram of Ḳaramānoghlu Meḥmed Bey, 805/1402*, stands beside the *ḥammām* of Ibrāhīm Bey, 837/1424*, which is fed by the lime springs.

Local mid-13th century caravanserais each with portal, court and hall and all partially ruined, are Kandemir (Yazıönü) Han, 603/1206*; Kızıl Ören Han, *ca.* 604/1207; Dokuzun Han, 607/1210*; Altunba (Altunapa) Han, early 13th century. The Zazadin (Sadaddin) Han, 633/1235-6*, is in better repair and noteworthy for the extensive re-use of classical material and early Christian tombstones.

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(G. Goodwin)

KOPAK [see SIKKA].

KÖPRÜ [see VEZĪR KÖPRÜ].

KÖPRÜ ḤIṢĀRĪ "fortress of the bridge", a village in the Ottoman province of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*] in northwestern Anatolia, and situated on the Čürük Ṣū river near Yeñishehir. It owes its historical fame to its being the site of a Byzantine fortress taken in 688/1289 by ʿOthmān b. Ertoghrul, chief of the ʿOthmānlī group of Türkmens based on Eskishehir, after the previous capture of Biledjīk and during the course of the extension of Ottoman influence within the province towards Bursa [*q.v.*]; cf. H. A. Gibbons, *The foundation of the Ottoman empire*, Oxford 1916, 32-3.

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(Cl. Huart)

KÖPRÜLÜ, a family of Ottoman viziers who rose to prominence in the latter half of the 11th/17th century and dominated Ottoman life for much of that period, bringing a halt for some time to the decline of the empire, instituting internal reforms and gaining new conquests. The name derives from the close association of the founder of the family, Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha, with the town of Köprü [*q.v.*] (then in the *sandjaḳ* of Amasya), which, in turn, was later called Vezīr-Köprü through its association with the family (and to distinguish it from the near-by Tash Köprü). That Meḥmed Pasha was born in Albania, however, is clearly shown by his *waḳfiyya*, drawn up in Edirne in Radjab 1070/March 1660, in his own lifetime, in which it is stated that his homeland was the village called Rudnik, attached to the *ḳaḍā'* of Arnawut Belgrade (Berat). His first visit to Köprü appears to have occurred only when he departed the palace service to go there as a *sipāhī*, but he thereafter settled there, marrying and establishing a home to which he repaired when out of office.

The leading members of the Köprülü family are the following:

I. Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha (?986-1072/?1578-1661), the Ottoman Grand Vizier who gave his name to the family. If, as his contemporary, Findiklili Meḥmed Agha asserts (Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 226), he died at the age of 86, he must have been born in *ca.* 986/1578 (for other estimates of Meḥmed Pasha's age, see Defterdār Ṣarī Meḥmed Pasha, *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ al-ʿOthmāniyya*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 2382; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865, i, 6; ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1291-3/1874-6, ii, 69; Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Köprülüler*, Istanbul 1331/1914, 19; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1951, 410) in Albania (see above). Brought to Istanbul in his youth, he was taken into the palace and by 1623 was a cook in the palace kitchens. He secured the backing of Khosrew Agha [see KHOSREW PASHA, BOSNIAK], then in the *khāṣṣ-oda* [*q.v.*], and entered first the *büyük oda*, then the *khazīne-odasī*. His quarrelsomeness and disobedience led to the termination of his career within the palace, and he went out to the provinces as a *sipāhī*: it was thus that he first went to the town of Köprü in Anatolia where he settled and married ʿĀʾisha Khānim, the daughter of the vaivode of Köprü, Yūsuf Agha, from the Ḳayadjīḳ *čiftlik* in Havza. During Khosrew Agha's tenure as *agha* of the Janissaries, Köprülü again entered his service, and when Khosrew became Grand Vizier (1037/1628) Köprülü became his treasurer (*khazīnedār*). Following Khosrew's execution (1041/1632), Köprülü served in certain provincial posts, as vaivode or *agha*, probably in or near Köprü: according to Ḥüseyn Ḥusām al-Dīn, for example, he was *sandjaḳ begi* of Amasya for some eight months in 1044/1634-5 (*Amasya taʾrīkhi*, iv, Istanbul 1928, 61). He subsequently came again to Istanbul where he held a variety of posts such as those of Inspector of the Guilds (*Iḥtisāb aghasī*), Inspector of the Arsenal (*Topkhāne nāẓırı*), Commander of the *Sipāhī*s (of the *altī bölük*: *Sipāhīler aghasī*) and Commander of the Armourers (*Djebedjī-bashī*). Taking part as *sandjāḳ begi* of Čorum in the siege of Baghdād (1048/1638), in which he was wounded, he became attached to the Grand Vizier Kemānkesh Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha and was appointed *Ḳapıdjılar-kethkhudāsī* and, later, *Mīr-ākhūr*. In 1053/1643-4 he held the post of *sandjaḳ-begi* of Amasya a second time, for some five months. Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha's successor, Sulṭān-zāde Meḥmed Pasha, gave Köprülü the governorship of Trabzon with two *tughs*. How long he remained in that post is unknown, but he later resided for a time in Köprü and then, in 1057/1647, became *mütesellim* for the *eyālet* of Damascus when that province was given to the seventh *khāṣṣekī* as a *bashmaḳlīḳ* by Sultan Ibrāhīm (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3/1864-7, iv, 243; Silāḥdār, i, 225). While in this post, he was ordered to campaign, acting as *beglerbegi* of Ḳaramān, against the rebellious

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wālī of Sīwās, Warwar ʿAlī Pasha, who was advancing on Istanbul. Having fallen prisoner to ʿAlī Pasha in the battle which ensued near Čankırı, he was rescued by Ipshīr Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*], who had also been deputed to deal with ʿAlī Pasha (1058/1648; cf. Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314-8/1896-1900, ii, 452). The following year Köprülü was sent against Boynu-Yaralı (Boynu-Eğri) Meḥmed Pasha, for whose execution an imperial rescript had been issued because of his oppression of the peasants. Köprülü avoided bloodshed by sending him a letter recommending that he immediately seek pardon from the Wālide Sulṭān, which advice Boynu-Yaralı Meḥmed Pasha took and thus was forgiven and spared (Naʿīmā, iv, 459-60).

During the Grand Vizierate of Gurdju Meḥmed Pasha (1061-2/1651-2), the architect Ḳāsım Agha [*q.v.*], *ketkhudā* to the Wālide Sulṭān, knowing of her dissatisfaction with the Grand Vizier, recommended Köprülü to her, but the initiative led only to Köprülü's holding the office of *ḳubbe altı* vizier for a week or so before the jealous Grand Vizier brought about his virtual banishment as *sandjak begi* of Köstendil (Ḳara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *Rawḍat al-abrār ḏhayli*, Istanbul University TY3272, fol. 63; Naʿīmā, v, 178). He was later dismissed and, according to Silāḥdār (i, 225-6), scraped a living during this period in certain minor posts, suffering imprisonment for debt. While spending some time in Köprü, he met in Kütahya (February 1655) with Ipshīr Pasha, who was on his way to take up his appointment as Grand Vizier and who appointed him governor of Ṭarabulūs al-Shām. Before Köprülü could take up his post, however, Ipshīr had fallen; and Köprülü, dismissed, returned to Köprü (Naʿīmā, vi, 22, 125). Although Ḳāsım Agha advised the Grand Vizier Süleymān Pasha to seek Köprülü's help (February 1656), Süleymān Pasha did not heed the recommendation (Naʿīmā, vi, 142), Köprülü met with the newly-appointed Grand Vizier Boynu-Yaralı Meḥmed Pasha in Eskishehir a few months later and came with him to Istanbul: some time afterward he was once more appointed governor of Ṭarabulūs al-Shām. But as the result of efforts made on his behalf with the Wālide Sulṭān by such as Ḳāsım Agha and the *reʾīs al-kuttāb* Shāmī-zāde Meḥmed Efendi, Köprülü was himself proposed for the Grand Vizierate, which post he agreed to accept on four conditions, which were such as to guarantee him absolute independence and freedom from interference. The Wālide Sulṭān accepted these conditions on oath, and the sultan appointed him the next day (26 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1066/15 September 1656).

Köprülü's appointment to the Grand Vizierate aroused great astonishment at first, since his career thus far had not been characterised by any great success (Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, ed. A. Refīḳ in *TOEM*, supp. [1340], 44), but before long his considerable abilities came to be widely recognised. Among his first acts was to deal with the Ḳāḍī-zādeler, who, since the time of Murād IV, had been engaging in troublesome sectarian quarrels in Istanbul and who attempted to provoke such a quarrel after Köprülü had been in office only eight days. Having tried persuasion, Köprülü caused their ringleaders to be banished to Cyprus (see Kātib Čelebi, *The balance of truth*, tr. G. L. Lewis, London 1957, 132-4; Naʿīmā, vi, 227 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 57-9). Köprülü continued his efforts to bring peace and order to Istanbul. Along with causing the executions of certain individuals, among them Ābāza Aḥmed Pasha, accused of laxity in the defence of Bozdja-ada which he had surrendered to the Venetians, and the Orthodox Patriarch Parthenius III, who was accused of seditious activities, he succeeded in quelling a rebellion of the *sipāhī* dissidents (*zorbas*) and purging their number (18 Rabīʿ I 1067/4 January 1657: for details, see *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 44; Naʿīmā, vi, 246 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 62 ff.).

Köprülü then set about preparations for a campaign to end the Venetian threat to the Straits and in particular to recover Bozdja-ada and Limnos. Having sent the fleet out first, under the Ḳapudan Pasha Ṭopal Meḥmed Pasha, he himself set out, as commander-in-chief, on 1 Ramaḍān 1067/13 June 1657. The Ottomans fared badly at first in the clashes at sea, but their fortunes changed when, on 19 July, a ball fired from the Anatolian shore struck the powder magazine of the flagship of the Venetian admiral Mocenigo, destroying it and throwing the Venetian fleet into confusion (*Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 44 ff.; Naʿīmā, vi, 279 ff.; P. Rycaut, *The history of the Turkish empire from the year 1677*, London 1680, 54 [Meḥemmed IV]. Köprülü rewarded the successful gunner and others who had fought bravely but executed a number of high-ranking commanders held responsible for the earlier failures. This action disquieted even his supporters in Istanbul and led to agitation for Köprülü's removal by Ḳara Ḥasan-zāde Ḥüseyn Agha, an influential member of the Janissary corps: his efforts were in vain, however (Naʿīmā, vi, 295 ff.). The Grand Vizier meanwhile continued his efforts to take Bozdja-ada, which goal his forces achieved on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1067/31 August 1657 (for a letter sent by Köprülü to the Ḳızlar-aghasi Meḥmed Agha, see *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 47; for other details, see Naʿīmā, vi, 289 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 69 ff.), an event which caused great joy in Istanbul. In an imperial rescript sent to Köprülü, the sultan ordered him to remain until Limnos was taken, and Köprülü's existing forces were strengthened by timariots from Bursa and other *sandjaks*. Having repaired, supplied and garrisoned Bozdja-ada, Köprülü dispatched Ṭopal Meḥmed Pasha to Limnos. After a 60-day siege from both sea and land, the defenders surrendered the fortress on 8 Ṣafar 1068/15 November 1657 on condition that those in the fortress be allowed to leave with their goods.

Having countered one danger to the state by opening the Straits and recovering the two islands lost to the Venetians in his predecessor's time, Köprülü went to Edirne (25 November 1657) where he had been summoned by the sultan on account of pressing problems in Transylvania [see ERDEL]. The ambitious George Rákoczy II, prince of Transylvania since 1648, had, as a result of an agreement made with the King of Sweden in December 1656, marched against Poland with Transylvanian forces; and when he incited the *begs* of Wallachia and Moldavia to act with him, in defiance of the Ottomans, the imperial *dīwān* felt it necessary to take measures against him, deciding that a campaign should be undertaken, first by the Khān of the Crimea, and later under the command of the Grand Vizier (for details, see Szilágyi Sándor, *Erdély es as eszakkeleti hábarú*, Budapest 1891, ii, 244 ff.). The *begs* of Wallachia and Moldavia were also replaced (N. Iorga, *Histoire des Romains et de la romanité orientale*, Bucharest 1940, vi, 226 f.; Naʿīmā, vi, 321 ff.). Köprülü left Edirne on 22 Ramaḍān 1068/23 June 1658 and went to Belgrade. His army was strengthened by Crimean and Cossack forces, by the provincial forces from Buda and Silistria, and

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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by a force of 12,000 men sent by the King of Poland. Entering Transylvania, he moved first against Yanova (Kis Jenö), a key point taken in Ḳānūnī Süleymān's time but subsequently lost, and received the surrender of the fortress on 31 August. Rákoczy, who, under Ottoman pressure, had been replaced at the end of 1657, had returned and driven out the Ottoman-backed prince and re-established himself (see Szilády Áron and Szilágyi Sándor, *Török-Magyarkori állam-okmánytár*, Pest 1870, iii, 442 ff.; Hóman Balint and Szekfü Gyula, *Magyar történet*, Budapest 1935-6, iv, 80; Decei-Gökbilgin, *İA* art. *Erdel*). After the taking of Yanova, Köprülü caused the Crimean and Cossack forces to plunder Erdel Belgrad (Fehérvár), the centre of government, in order to seize Rákoczy, but the latter was understood to have escaped to a fortress on the Austrian frontier. Köprülü's desire to pursue him was thwarted by a summons from the sultan because of a revolt in Anatolia. He therefore appointed Akos Barcsay as prince on condition that he pay *kharādj* and that he hand over the areas (*mulḥaḳāt*) of the fortresses of Sebeş and Lugoj, together with the cannon and munitions within them; and at the same time he charged the *beglerbegi* of Buda, Ken'ān Pasha, with the oversight of that area (for the appointment of Akos Barcsay, see Uzunçarşılı, *Ekoş Barçkay'ın Erdel krallığına tayini hakkında bir kac vesika*, in *Belleten*, vii [1943]; idem, *Barçsay Akoş'un Erdel kıralliğına âid bazı orijinal vesikalar*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, iv [1952-3]; Na'īmā, vi, 354 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 126 ff.).

For some time a revolt of serious proportions had been building up in Anatolia. To the long-standing causes of unrest there were added the uncertainty and fear inspired in many *sipāhīs* and commanders by Köprülü's harsh behaviour. The leader of the dissidents was the *beglerbegi* of Aleppo, Ābāza Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], who realised that his past actions constituted a cause for the sort of punishment which Köprülü had meted out to the *zorbas* in the capital. With him, in Konya, gathered a number of commanders, among them the *wālī* of Damascus, the vizier Ṭayyār Pasha-zāde Aḥmed Pasha; the *beglerbegi* of Anatolia; and some fifteen other active or retired *beglerbegis* who, fearing for their fates, sought to replace Köprülü with Ṭayyār Pasha-zāde Aḥmed Pasha. At first replying to the summonses from the capital to join the Transylvanian campaign with excuses, they subsequently openly declared their rebellion, saying that they could not join a campaign with Köprülü, who had caused the deaths of so many Janissaries and *sipāhīs* (Na'īmā, vi, 344 ff.). Ignoring an imperial command that they should either disperse to their several places or engage in the defence of Baghdād, the rebels came as far as the vicinity of Bursa. Summoned by the sultan, Köprülü arrived in Edirne on 14 Muḥarram 1069/12 October 1658 and was present at an *ayaḳ dīwānī* three days later in the sultan's presence at which the *fatwā* given by the *Shaykh al-Islām* for the punishment of Ābāza Ḥasan was read out. Though a punitive force under the *beglerbegi* of Diyār Bakr, Murtaḍā Pasha, was already in the field, it was decided that Köprülü himself should campaign; and, accompanied by the sultan, he crossed to Üsküdar on 13 November 1658. Ābāza Ḥasan, meanwhile, using the pretext of the distribution of pay to the army in Istanbul, dispatched some 5000 *sipāhīs* to Üsküdar, ostensibly to collect their pay but in fact to assassinate Köprülü. The latter, however, apprised of the plot, removed the names of 7000 *sipāhīs* from the rolls and executed about 1000 who were caught. The unrest caused in the army by this fresh show of force led him to abandon the campaign and leave the matter to Murtaḍā Pasha. Although Ābāza Ḥasan defeated the latter near Ilgīn (15 Rabī' I 1069/11 December 1658), he was compelled to winter in 'Aynṭāb. Murtaḍā Pasha, having received reinforcements, pressed the rebels closely from Aleppo, depriving them of provisions and other necessaries. When Ābāza Ḥasan's forces began gradually to desert to Murtaḍā Pasha, the rebel leaders went to Aleppo to submit to the government, only to be deceived and executed (23 Djumādā I 1069/16 February 1659: *Ta'rīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 54 ff.; Na'īmā, vi, 378 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 132 ff.).

Following this outcome, Köprülü busied himself with the solution of internal problems like the local *ḳul* soldiery in Damascus who had been acting disruptively for some time, whom he struck from the rolls and replaced with five *odas* of garrison Janissaries from Istanbul; and the revolts of Čerkes Meḥmed Beg in Egypt and of Muṣṭafā Pasha, known as Kör Beg, in Antalya. Coming to Bursa with the sultan (19 July 1659), Köprülü instituted a sweeping attempt to bring order to Anatolia by summoning Ismā'īl Pasha, who had been left as *ḳā'im-maḳām* in Istanbul, and charging him with carrying out investigations (*taftīsh*) throughout Anatolia, "from Üsküdar to 'Arabistān", specifically to seize and punish any whom he found to have been involved in the Djalālī revolts [see DJALĀLĪ in Suppl.], whatever their rank or station; to restore to *re'āyā* status those falsely claiming to be *'askerī*; to deprive those unable to prove their claim to be *sayyids* of their distinctive turbans; and to seize and send to the imperial arsenal any arms or weapons found in the possession of the *re'āyā* (Na'īmā, vi, 415-6). But during these years he was also guilty of certain injustices such as bringing about the execution of the famous Deli Ḥüseyn Pasha [see ḤUSAYN PASHA DELI], in spite of the opposition of the *Shaykh al-Islām*, by concocting false complaints (Rabī' II 1069/December 1658); and of Seydī Aḥmed Pasha (1071/1660-1), long in state service and most recently active in the continuing struggle in Transylvania (for the defeat and death of Rákoczy in this period and for the conquest of Oradea by Köse 'Alī Pasha (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1070/August 1660), see *İA*, art. *Erdel*).

Köprülü divided the remaining months of his life between Edirne, to which he returned with the sultan in November 1659, and Istanbul. Age and illness greatly weakened him, and while journeying with Meḥemmed IV to Edirne in July 1661, Köprülü recommended, and the sultan agreed, that his son, Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha, should succeed him on his death. Aḥmed (Köprülü-zāde) was immediately brought from Damascus and made *ḳā'im-maḳām* in Istanbul. When his father's condition worsened, he was summoned to Edirne and acted as *ḳā'im-maḳām* for his father for 48 days until Köprülü's death on 7 Rabī' I 1072/31 October 1661. His body was brought to Istanbul and buried in the mausoleum near the *dār al-ḥadīth* which he had built near Čenberli Tash (Silāḥdār, i, 219 ff.).

During his five years in power, in a period when confusion reigned in all the institutions of state, Köprülü succeeded in crushing the prevailing spirit of rebellion and disorder through harsh and merciless acts. On this latter count, certain historians have characterised him as cruel and bloodthirsty (Silāḥdār, i, 226; 'Othmān-zāde Tā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271/1854, 166); but while he was not

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guiltless of unjust acts, such judgements must be tempered by the recognition of the disabling turmoil which had afflicted the state since the death of Murād IV and of the great services which he performed in office (ʿAṭāʾ, ii, 69 ff.). In fact, historians like Meḥmed Khalīfe, ʿAbdī Pasha, Naʿīmā and Rāshid are united in praising Köprülü. When Köprülü came to the Grand Vizierate, he said to those around him that the state expected service, not show from him, and he remained true to this principle to the end of his life (cf. the relation of Durmush Efendi, the *kātib* of the *Dār al-saʿāde aghasi*, in Rāshid, i, 18).

Köprülü caused the straits at Čanaḳ-ḳale to be strongly fortified [see ČANAḲ-ḲALʿE BOGHAZI]. His benefactions, estates, and endowments are to be found in a great many places: for example, a mosque, a school and shops in Yanova; a mosque and school in Rudnik; and a mosque and a school in the town of Taraklī in the *sandjaḳ* of Bolu (see further the listing in *IA*, art. *Köprülüler* (Gökbilgin), vi, 897b). His sons-in-law, Ḳıbleli Muṣṭafā Pasha, Ḳaplan Muṣṭafā Pasha, Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha (Merzifonlu) [*q.v.*] and Siyāwush Pasha, all held high positions during his own and his son's Grand Vizierate.

II. Fāḍıl Aḥmed Pasha (Abu 'l-ʿAbbās) (1045-87/1635-76), the elder son and successor of Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha, was born in Köprü in 1635. Brought to Istanbul at the age of 7 by his father, he studied under the leading learned men of the period, first under ʿOthmān Efendi, later under Ḳara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿĀzīz Efendi [see ḲARA-ČELEBI-ZĀDE (4)]. Through the influence of his father he was, while only 16, appointed a *müderris*, first at *khāridj*, then at *dākhil* level. Now known as Pasha-zāde, his lessons proved popular, and in 1657 he was raised to the *Ṣaḥn-i thamān*. Shortly after, however, upset by gossip amongst the *ʿulamāʾ*, he abandoned the learned profession and took up an administrative post. In 1069/1659 he was, at the request of his father, appointed to the governorship of the *eyālet* of Erzurum with a vizierate. One year later he was transferred to Damascus. There he won great popularity by causing an imperial rescript to be issued removing two taxes, called *dashīsha* and *ḳarība*, which his predecessors had levied on the people of Damascus and which had sometimes risen as high as 3-4 million *akčas*. Under orders from the central government he moved against the Durūz [*q.v.*] and defeated the Maʿnids and Shihābids, thereby securing the payment of a tribute of 500 purses and the abandonment of the brigandage in which they had been engaging for some time. He also caused to be made into a *beglerbegilik* the region where the Maʿnids and Shihābids lived together with the areas of Ṣaydā, Bayrūt and Ṣafad which till then had been governed by a vaivode (1660: for details, see *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh der aḥwāl-i Fāḍıl Aḥmed Pasha*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 2242, fol. 4; Silāḥdār, i, 214-16). Although he was later appointed *beglerbegi* of Aleppo, he was summoned to Istanbul as *ḳāʾim-maḳām* before he could take up the post and subsequently succeeded his father as Grand Vizier (see above).

Amongst the new Grand Vizier's first concerns was the continuing unsettled situation in Transylvania. Some measure of order was established there, however, without Köprülü-zāde's direct intervention, by the victory in January 1662, near Sighisoara, of the *beglerbegi* of Yanova over Rákoczy's successor, János Kemény, which ensured the control of the Ottoman-supported Mihály Apafi. Though a campaign against Venice was mooted for 1663, this was abandoned in favour of a campaign against Austria, which had constantly been attacking Ottoman frontier forts and outposts and which was seen as the more dangerous enemy. The army moved out from Edirne on 5 Ramaḍān 1073/13 April 1663. During discussions in Belgrade and Osijek with Austrian ambassadors, Köprülü-zāde demanded the destruction of a newly-built Austrian fortress (Zerinvár) facing Nagykanizsa in western Hungary; the withdrawal of Austrian troops from Transylvania; and the restoration of the annual 30,000 florin tribute which the Austrians had paid from the time of Süleymān I until 1606 (later, in Buda, modified to a demand for a single 200,000 *ghurūsh* payment like that agreed at Zsitva-Torok in 1606). The Austrians were unable to accept the last of these conditions, and Köprülü-zāde set off from Buda against the fortress of Nové Zámky (24 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1073/30 July 1663; see Kātib Muṣṭafā Zuhdī, *Taʾrīkh-i Uyvar*, Istanbul University TY2488; Rāshid, i, 25 ff.; *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*), to which he laid siege on 17 August and which finally surrendered on terms on 21 Ṣafar 1074/24 September 1663 (22 September in Montecuculi, *Mémoires de Montecuculi*, Paris 1712, 332 ff.). Having deputed subordinates to take several near-by fortresses, among them Neugrad and Nitra, Köprülü-zāde returned with the army to winter quarters in Belgrade, intending to move out from there against the Austrians in the spring. The campaign by the Hungarian commander Zrínyi and General Hohenlohe in January 1664, during which Berzence, Babócsa and Pecs were occupied (*Magyar történet*, iv, 168), led the Grand Vizier to move toward Osijek; but on hearing that the local commanders had gained control of the situation, he returned to Belgrade (21 February 1664).

The fall of Nové Zámky, regarded as the last major block to the Turkish advance into Europe, had aroused great anxiety in Europe and led to contributions of men and money to the Habsburg cause from the Papacy, Spain, some of the German princes and even France and to the formation of a sizeable force under the command of Montecuculi. A Christian force laid siege to Nagykanizsa, in response to which Köprülü-zāde advanced on that fortress. The siege having been lefted at his advance, he took and destroyed Zerinvár (6 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1074/30 June 1664), the building of which had been one of the ostensible causes of the present campaigns, and then moved northward, his forces taking Kiskomárom (14 July), Egerseg, Egervár and Kemendvár (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fols. 82 ff.) and advancing to the river Rába (Raab). Here, near the village of St. Gotthard, they came face to face with the imperial forces under Montecuculi. Though Köprülü-zāde was actively engaged in peace negotiations with the Austrian ambassador, he decided to cross the river and engage the enemy. The bridge proved inadequate, however, and only a part of the Ottoman forces got across. In the battle which ensued (8 Muḥarram 1075/1 August 1664), these at first had some success but were ultimately driven back, both sides suffering heavy losses (for details, see Montecuculi, 416; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 181 ff.; Aḥmed Mukhtār, *Sen Gotar'da ʿOthmānlī ordusu*, Istanbul 1326/1908).

This defeat, though by no means decisive, forced a more defensive policy on the Ottoman army, which had previously moved as it willed (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fols. 90 ff.). But within ten days the two sides had signed the Treaty of Vasvár (17 Muḥarram 1075/10 August 1664) which largely satisfied Ottoman

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aims and, in particular, left them in possession of Nové Zámky and assured their influence in Transylvania (for a Hungarian view of the treaty, see *Magyar történet*, iv, 169; for the treaty, see Baron de Testa, *Recueil des traités de la Porte Ottoman*, ix, Paris 1898, 50 ff.; *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 90 ff.; Silāḥdār, i, 361; Rāshid, i, 78 ff.). After advancing to the area of Nové Zámky, which he had heard was to be besieged, Köprülü-zāde received there the confirmed copy of the peace treaty from Vienna and therefore returned to Belgrade where he wintered in order to oversee the implementation of the treaty. He returned to Edirne only in July 1665, and from there to Istanbul, inspecting the fortifications of the Dardanelles in company with the sultan on the way.

At a consultative assembly in December 1665, Köprülü-zāde proposed a major effort to take Ḳandiya [*q.v.*] in Crete, the siege of which had for years been the cause of heavy losses; and it was agreed that preparations for such a campaign should be put in hand. Departing from Edirne in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1076/May 1666, Köprülü-zāde crossed from Monemvasia, chosen as the mainland base for the campaign, to Canea in early November. The fleet was strengthened during the course of the winter and spring, and on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1077/25 May 1667 Köprülü-zāde convened an assembly of the leading commanders in which the plans for the conduct of the siege were laid (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fol. 112; Defterdār Ṣarı Meḥmed Pasha, *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, Süleymaniye-Esad Efendi 2382, fols. 4 ff.; Rāshid, i, 164 ff.). The siege was pressed vigorously, with varying fortunes, until mid-November when Köprülü-zāde, who had lived in the trenches from the beginning of the siege in order to encourage the troops, suspended operations for the winter. During this period Köprülü-zāde received Venetian commissioners and was in correspondence with both the Doge of Venice and the Venetian captain-general Morosini with regard to negotiations about the fate of the fortress (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa, 231; Rāshid, i, 185 ff.). Both sides gathered reinforcements in the spring and, with Köprülü-zāde entering the trenches once more on 12 Muḥarram 1079/22 June 1668, the issue was again hotly contested through the summer (for details, see *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*; Rāshid, i, 208 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 311 ff.). Knowing that Köprülü-zāde would accept only the surrender of Ḳandiya, the Venetians approached the sultan, then in Yeñishehir (Lárissa), in Thessaly, for more favourable terms, as a result of which Meḥemmed IV demanded to know of the Grand Vizier the situation, warning that it would be impossible to raise men and supplies were the siege to last another year. At an assembly convened by Köprülü-zāde on 8 Radjab 1079/12 December 1668, it was agreed that the fall of Ḳandiya seemed close at hand, and arrangements were made to winter in the trenches (Rāshid, i, 218 ff.). Friction amongst the Venetians and their allies led to the withdrawal of the allied fleet at the end of August 1669, which act left the Venetians little choice but to surrender. After six days of discussion, terms were agreed on 8 Rabīʿ II 1080/5 September 1669 (see Rāshid, i, 240 ff.; *Muʿāhadāt Medjmūʿasi*, ii, 141 ff.; Noradounghian, *Receuil d'actes internationaux de l'empire Ottoman*, i, Paris 1897, 132 ff.). Köprülü-zāde received the 80 keys of the evacuated city and fortress of Ḳandiya on 27 September. He remained through the winter to repair the fortress and to have a new land survey (*taḥrīr*) made in the Mediterranean islands. He also pacified the Mainotes with a letter which he sent, and he forgave their outstanding taxes (for details, see *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fols. 122 ff.; Köprülü-Mehmed Asım Bey 724, fols. 231-6; Başvekalet arşivi, tahrir defterleri; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii 498 ff.; Silāḥdārı i, 538). Returning by way of Tekirdagh, he arrived in Edirne in mid-Ṣafar 1081/early July 1670 and surrendered the sacred standard to the sultan.

(For diplomatic relations with France in the early 1670s, leading to a renewal of the capitulations on 5 June 1673 (19 Ṣafar 1084), see J. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, Paris 1811, i; A. Vandal, *L'odysée d'un ambassadeur. Les voyages du Marquis de Nointel (1670-80)*, Paris 1900; Saint-Priest (ed. Schefer), *Mémoires sur l'ambassade de France en Turquie*, Paris 1877; A. Galland, *Journal d'A. Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672-1673)*, Paris 1881; L. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux*, Paris 1735, iv; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 341 ff. See also IMTIYĀZĀT ii. The Ottoman empire, esp. at p. 1185a).

In 1672 a campaign was undertaken against Poland on behalf of Peter Doroshenko, hetman of a group of Ukrainian Cossacks, who had accepted Ottoman suzerainty in 1669; and on 7 Ṣafar 1083/4 June 1672, Köprülü-zāde left Edirne with the army, accompanied by Meḥemmed IV, who was to take an active interest in the campaign (for correspondence between Köprülü-zāde and the King of Poland in May 1672, see Rāshid, i, 261 ff.). The principal object of the campaign, the fortress of Kamenets Podolskiy [see ḲAMĀNIČA], was taken on 3 Djumādā I 1083/27 August 1672 after a nine-day siege (Nābī Yūsuf, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳamāniča*, Istanbul University TY2418; al-Ḥādjdjī (Ḥādjdjīl) ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳamāniča*, Süleymaniye-Lala Ismail Efendi 308; ʿAbdī Pasha, *Waḳāʾiʿ-nāme*, Süleymaniye-Halet Efendi 615, Topkapı Sarayı-Bağdat köşkü 217). The rapid Ottoman advance in Poland, and particularly the siege of Lwow, compelled the Polish King, Michael Wiśnowiecki, to sue for peace; and terms were agreed at the recently-taken fort (*palanka*) of Buchach (18 October 1672: ʿAbdī Pasha; Rāshid, i, 284 ff.; Noradounghian, i, 52). The harsh terms of the treaty, which included the loss of Podolia and the Ukraine and the payment of tribute, made it unacceptable to the Polish Diet. Their refusal to ratify it and implement its terms led to further Ottoman campaigns in the following years, of which Köprülü-zāde, once again accompanied by Meḥemmed IV, directed those in 1673 and 1674. In the main action of the former year, Köprülü-zāde was appointed commander to save Khotin [*q.v.*] from the attack of John Sobieski, but the fortress was lost before he could arrive. The latter year saw a successful campaign into the Ukraine (Khotin having been retaken by the Khān of the Crimea) in response to Russian incursions. Köprülü-zāde, now in poor health, returned to Edirne with the sultan on 22 Shaʿbān 1085/21 November 1674 (see Rāshid, i, 317 ff.), and the campaigns of 1675 and 1676 against the Poles were left to others.

In his last years, Köprülü-zāde's illness worsened through his addiction to drink. Although he followed the sultan when the latter left Istanbul for Edirne with the army in early Shaʿbān 1087/mid-October 1676, he was too ill to get even as far as Edirne and died on the Kara Biber *čiftlik*, near Ergene köprüsü (between Čorlu and Kırklareli), on 26 Shaʿbān 1087/3 November 1676 at the age of 41 (ʿAbdī Pasha), his death resulting from acute

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dropsy brought on by drink (Silāḥdār, i, 659). His body was brought to Istanbul and buried in his father's mausoleum near Čenberli Tash.

Köprülü-zāde's tenure in the Grand Vizierate was one of the two or three longest in Ottoman history. Tall and stout, with a round face and large eyes, he is described as dignified and inspiring respect. Especially significant is the high praise accorded his virtues by Silāḥdār (i, 659) in view of that historian's harsh judgements on Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha. Köprülü-zāde saw to the completion of pious foundations begun by his father, such as a half-finished *khān* and mosque in Rumeli, and also of his foundations in Čenberli Tash in Istanbul (*Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, fol. 14); and, as evidence of the great value which he himself placed on learning, one may cite the library which he established near his residence (formerly that of ʿĀʾisha Sulṭān, daughter of Sultan Ibrāhīm and wife of Ipshīr Pasha) in the vicinity of Aya Ṣofya (Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, 438) and which he enriched with many very valuable books acquired both while as *müderris* and in later times. The *wakfiyya* for the library, which was drawn up two years after his death, in 1089/1678, and which makes provision for students and the teaching of certain subjects there, is now in the Köprülü library (no. 4 of the *wakfiyya*s of the Köprülü family; M. Gökmen, *Kütüphânelerimizden notlar*, Istanbul 1952, 52; Shaykhī, *Waḳāʾiʿ al-fuḍalāʾ*, Istanbul University TY81, fol. 691). His other foundations include a mosque in Kandiya (for a copy of the imperial grant of the land (*mulknāme*) given him in Kandiya, dated Rabīʿ II 1081/August-September 1670, as well as other documents demarcating boundaries, see the above collection of *wakfiyya*s in the Köprülü library); mosques in Nové Zámky and Kamenets; and an uncompleted *khān* (later completed) in Izmir (Silāḥdār, i, 659).

Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha was also the patron of a number of men of learning and the arts, among them his private secretary (*mühürdār*), Ḥasan Agha, author of the *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, which is based on the documents committed to his charge (there exists in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, a Latin translation of this work, made in 1680 and entitled *Annalium gemma, authore Hasanaga* .... Cf. A. Galland, *Journal*, tr. N. S. Örik, *Hatıralar*, Ankara 1949, 197, n; Babinger, 216-17); Mazāḳī, who was with him throughout the siege of Kandiya; Nābī; Zuhdī, the author of the *Taʾrīkh-i Uyvar*; the *reʾīs al-kuttāb* Ṭālib Aḥmed Efendi; the poet Fennī; and Ḥuseyn Hezārfenn [*q.v.*] (cf. Ṣafāʾī, *Taḏkira*, Istanbul University TY3215, fols. 189 ff., 242 ff.; Shaykhī, fols. 680-786).

III. Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha (1047-1102/1637-91), Ottoman Grand Vizier, the younger brother of Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha. Born in Köprü in 1047/1637, he began *medrese* education together with his elder brother. Whether he received a *medrese* appointment is not known, but in 1070/1659 he is seen to have received a *zeʿāmet* and to have entered the ranks of the sultan's guards as a *müteferriḳa* (Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/2, Ankara 1954, 431). In view of the facts that he was in Crete, together with his mother, for the whole of the final siege of Kandiya (1667-9), that he was at Fāḍil Aḥmed's side when the latter died and that he bore the Grand Vizier's signet ring to the sultan (for the *berāt* granting him a *zeʿāmet* at this time, see Başvekalet arşivi, Ali Emiri tasnifi, period of Meḥemmed IV, 229), one may suppose that he spent most of his time with his elder brother, on campaign. On 1 Djumādā II 1090/29 June 1680 he became seventh vizier at the instigation of his brother-in-law, the Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [see ḲARA MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, MERZIFONLU]. In November of the same year he served as guard (*muḥāfiẓ*) to the Wālide Sulṭān and the princes Süleymān and Aḥmed when they went to Edirne; and he performed the same function the following year, now as sixth vizier, when they remained in Edirne after the departure of the army for Istanbul (Rabīʿ I 1092/March 1681) following the conclusion of peace with Russia. At the time of the army's departure on the Austrian campaign of 1683 (Rabīʿ II 1094/April 1683) he remained in Edirne as guard to the Wālide Sulṭān, with the posts of fifth vizier and *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of Edirne. He was later appointed to the governorship of the *eyālet* of Silistria with the addition of Nicopolis (i.e. the Özü *muḥāfiẓlīghī*) and became commander at Babadaghī [*q.v.*]. With Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha's dismissal and execution (December 1683) following the failure of the second siege of Vienna, and on the report that John Sobieski, King of Poland, was making preparations against Kamenets and Moldavia, it was decided to replace Fāḍil Muṣṭafā with a more experienced commander: he was summoned to the capital as *ḳubbe altı* vizier, but kept the estates (*khāṣṣ*) he then possessed (Rabīʿ II 1095/March-April 1684; Silāḥdār, ii, 127). Reaching Edirne in mid-May, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā occupied the position of third vizier in the *dīwān*; but before long he chose retirement, no doubt grieved by the enmity of the new Grand Vizier toward the Köprülü family. One year later, as the war with the Venetians in the Morea intensified, he was appointed commander (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Chios (according to Silāḥdār, ii, 222, transferred there from the command of Boghaz [Ḥiṣārī] = Sedd al-baḥr), subsequently being transferred to the command of Boghaz Ḥiṣārī on 4 Rabīʿ II 1097/28 February 1686 (Silāḥdār, ii, 230).

On 30 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1098/7 October 1687, shortly after a rebellious army had made his brother-in-law, Siyāwush Pasha, Grand Vizier and begun a march on the capital, Fāḍil Muṣṭafā was summoned to Istanbul as second vizier and *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. Though Meḥemmed IV had some hope that Fāḍil Muṣṭafā might help him save his throne, past slights by the sultan made Fāḍil Muṣṭafā unsympathetic, and the latter was in fact closely involved in the deposition of Meḥemmed IV (2 Muḥarram 1099/8 November 1687). He soon fell out of favour with the army, the instruments of the deposition, however, through resisting their demands for donatives and attempting to establish discipline; and though his position was once saved by the new sultan, Süleymān II, he was subsequently effectively exiled by being appointed again to the command of Boghaz Ḥiṣārī (7 Rabīʿ II 1099/10 February 1688: Silāḥdār, ii, 318 ff.; *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fols. 87 ff.; Rāshid, ii, 25). He was spared a worse fate by the refusal of the *Shaykh al-Islām* to sanction his execution. A little later he was moved to the command of Canea, then to that of Ḳandiya, then, in Ṣafar 1100/December 1688, to that of Chios.

With the war against the Holy League going badly for the Ottomans in 1688-9, particularly on the Austrian front, it was agreed by the *ʿulamāʾ* to recommend to the sultan the appointment of Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha to the Grand Vizierate, and he was accordingly summoned to Edirne (11 Muḥarram 1101/25 October 1689). His first act was to issue a declaration (*beyān-nāme*) designed to restore morale and to encourage the willing performance of military service. He also took steps to ease the lot of the tax-paying

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subjects (*reʿāyā*) by removing a number of onerous extraordinary taxes such as the *resm-i ḫamr ve ʿaraḳ*, a recently-imposed tax on drink which had led many Christian subjects in Rumeli to make common cause with the enemy (cf. *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fol. 122). During the winter he was engaged in preparations for a campaign which he himself was to lead; and on 6 Shawwāl 1101/13 July 1690 he left Edirne. He succeeded in recovering Pirot (10 August), the fort (*palanka*) of Mūsā Paşha, and, after a 23-day siege, the important stronghold of Niş (9 September). Despite the lateness of the season and the opposition of his commanders, Fāḍıl Muṣṭafā determined to march to Belgrade. Semendria fell after a three-day siege, on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥiddja 1101/27 September 1690, and Belgrade after an eight-day siege, on 4 Muḥarram 1102/8 October 1690 (Silāḥdār, ii, 501 ff.; *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fols. 169, 171, 173; Rāşhid, ii, 123 ff.; cf. İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1947-55, iii, 470). Detachments sent out from Belgrade succeeded in taking Boghur-delen (Šabac) and re-establishing control over the Danube at Orşova but failed to recover Osijek. Having seen to the repairing and supplying of Belgrade, Fāḍıl Muṣṭafā set out for Istanbul (4 November 1690). During his return he was mindful of the *reʿāyā*, sending prisoners to their homes at the treasury's expense and also restoring lands and goods and providing the means of agriculture to those who had lived between Niş and Belgrade but had been moved across the Danube by the Austrians and now wished to return. He spent the winter of 1690-1 dealing with matters such as uprisings in Egypt (by Ibn Wānī) and Cyprus (*Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fol. 182) and instituting reforms in the Janissary Corps, the imperial stables and the imperial larder whereby expediture was cut (Silāḥdār, ii, 559-60).

Though Fāḍıl Muṣṭafā proposed that he remain in Istanbul in 1691 in order to oversee all fronts during the year and that another commander be sent to Hungary, it was thought best that he lead the campaign. By the time the army was ready to move (Shaʿbān 1102/May 1691), Süleymān II was near death, and a faction opposed to Fāḍıl Muṣṭafā was making efforts to restore Meḥemmed IV to the throne. Having taken measures to forestall these, Fāḍıl Muṣṭafā left strict instructions, on departing from Edirne (18 Ramaḍān/15 June), that, in the event of the sultan's death, his brother, Aḥmed, should be placed on the throne. When, on 25 Ramaḍān 1102/22 June 1691, Süleymān II died, Aḥmed II ascended the throne without incident and confirmed Fāḍıl Muṣṭafā Paşha in the Grand Vizierate.

Having reached Belgrade on 23 Shawwāl/20 July, Fāḍıl Muṣṭafā bridged the river Sava; and when the Austrians, encamped at Varadin (Petrovaradin), advanced and then retreated, the Grand Vizier set off in pursuit, overriding the advice of his commanders that he should await the arrival of the Crimean Tatars and the provincial forces. When the Ottomans took up a position before the fort of Slankamen, the Austrian commander, his road to Varadin threatened and fearing being caught between the Ottomans and the Tatars, engaged the Ottomans in battle (24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1102/19 August 1691). The Ottoman right wing having been broken, Fāḍıl Muṣṭafā himself led the attack to restore the position; but just as this was about to be achieved, he was struck in the forehead by a bullet and killed: the confusion consequent on his death led to the defeat and withdrawal of the Ottoman forces. The battle of Slankamen thus saw not only a serious military reverse but also the death of an able Grand Vizier from whom much might have been expected. Despite a thorough search, Fāḍıl Muṣṭafā's body was not found. (For details, see Silāḥdār, ii, 583 ff.; *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fols. 184 ff.; Rāşhid, ii, 161 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 319 ff.).

Fāḍıl Muṣṭafā Paşha, though Grand Vizier for less than two years, grasped the true needs of the state and demonstrated the ability to implement necessary reforms. He appreciated the political necessity of countering European hopes of defections from amongst the Christian subjects by taking account of their interests and by making reforms in connection with the *djizya* and other obligations laid upon them [for the effects of the *djizya* reforms, however, cf. DJIZYA ii—Ottoman, especially 565b]. To ensure the independence of the Grand Vizierate, he took steps to limit the number and influence of the *ḳubbe altı* viziers. The practice of giving gifts (*ʿīdiyya*) to the sultans at *bayrams* by state officials was ended. In every provincial city he created councils of notables (*medjlis-i aʿyān*), modelled on the imperial *dīwān*, to prevent the growth of local despotisms and to check abuses by keeping an eye on the judgements and procedures of *ḳāḍīs* and *nāʾibs*. In Istanbul, however, his failure to enforce the *narḫ*, or fixed prices, on the grounds that the practice was not justified in the *sharʿ* and that trade should rest on the consent of the two parties, resulted in an increase in profiteering in his time of office. His learning, particularly in the fields of *ḥadīth* and lexicography, his devotion to the *sharʿ*, his dignity and his sense of justice are widely attested. He had three sons: Nuʿmān, ʿAbd Allāh and Esʿad (Silāḥdār, ii, 286, 587 ff.; *Zubdat al-waḳāʾiʿ*, fols. 187 ff.; Rāşhid, i, 530; ii, 115, 148 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 307; Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, 242 ff.; Shaykhī, ii, 3216 ff.; *Amasya taʾrīḫi*, iv, 212 ff.; U. Heyd (ed. Ménage), *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973, 155).

IV. ʿAmdja-zāde Ḥusayn Paşha (nephew of Köprülü Meḥmed Paşha)—see ʿAMŪDJA-ZĀDE ḤUSAYN PAŞHA.

V. Nuʿmān Paşha (?1081-1131/?1670-1719), Ottoman Grand Vizier, the eldest son of Fāḍıl Muṣṭafā Paşha. Born in Istanbul, he studied under Demir-Ḳapılı Fāḍıl Süleymān and Ḳayserili Ḥāfiẓ al-Sayyid Aḥmed Efendi, among others, and became *mutawallī* of the Köprülü *awḳāf* after his father's death. While Muṣṭafā II was preparing for his second campaign against the Austrians, in 1696, he decreed that Nuʿmān, like the administrators of other rich foundations, should take part in the campaign, providing 150 infantry. In Muḥarram 1112/July 1700, Nuʿmān Beg became sixth vizier and was betrothed to ʿĀʾişha Sulṭān, a daughter of Muṣṭafā II (*Silāḥdār dhaylı*). He became *beglerbegi* of Erzurum in Ramaḍān 1112/March 1701 and then, in Djumādā I 1114/October 1702, of Anatolia. His marriage to ʿĀʾişha Sulṭān, set for the spring of 1703, was delayed in the confusion surrounding the uprising known as the *Edirne waḳʿası* which led to the deposition of Muṣṭafā II (9 Rabīʿ II 1115/22 August 1703), who was replaced by Aḥmed III. Following this event, Nuʿmān Paşha was appointed commander (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Eğriboz (Euboea), and by June 1704 he had become *muḥāfiẓ* of Crete, being charged with making a land survey (*taḥrīr*) of the fiefs on the island (Rāşhid, iii, 137). Transferred to the command of Boghaz Ḥiṣārı on 26 Shawwāl 1117/10 February 1706, he was shortly after returned again to Crete. Though

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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the marriage ceremony with ʿĀʾisha Sulṭān was celebrated in Muḥarram 1120/April 1708, it was still to be several years before the marriage was consummated.

Appointed again to Eğriboz in Djumādā II 1121/August 1709, he was summoned to Istanbul four months later (Ramaḍān 1121/December 1709) to consummate his marriage (Rāshid, iii, 311-2; cf. *ibid.*, iii, 317-8, however, where the consummation is said to have occurred in Muḥarram 1122/March 1710). He was made *beglerbegi* of Bosnia on 8 Shawwāl 1121/11 December 1709 but was then appointed to the command of Belgrade on 3 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1121/4 January 1710 (Rāshid, iii, 313; cf. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, Ankara 1959, 291, who dates this appointment on 17 Rabīʿ I 1122/16 May 1710). On 18 Rabīʿ II 1122/16 June 1710, Nuʿmān Pasha was elevated to the Grand Vizierate in the hope that he would be more resolute against the Russians and better able to handle the problem of the suppliant Swedish king, Charles XII, than his predecessor, Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha, had been (see ʿALĪ PASHA ČORLULU; Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Isveç Kıralı Karl XII.'ın Türkiye'de kalışı* . . ., Istanbul 1943, 227, 229); his appointment was met with general satisfaction. Despite a strong movement in the government to concentrate attention on the Black Sea and the Polish question, Nuʿmān Pasha, trying to maintain peace with Russia, contented himself with announcing simply that a large army would see the Swedish king to his own country in the spring (see Rāshid, iii, 327; Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Memālik-i ʿOṯmāniyye'de Demirbaş Sharl*, Istanbul 1332/1913-14, 30 ff.; A. N. Kurat, *op. cit.*, 232 ff.; idem, *XVIII. yüz yılbası Avrupa umumı harbinde Türkiye'nin tarafsızlığı*, in *Belleten*, vii, 1943, 268 ff.; Saint-Priest, *Mémoires*, 120-1).

Disappointed in his handling of both external and internal affairs, Aḥmed III removed Nuʿmān Pasha from the Grand Vizierate on 21 Djumādā II 1122/17 August 1710; he was subsequently appointed *muḥāfiẓ* of Eğriboz (*Silāḥdār ḏhayli*; Rāshid, iii, 330-1. For a relation concerning his wish to resign from the Grand Vizierate, see Behdjetī, *Taʾrīḵh-i sülāle-i Köprülü*). In the nine years before his death he held administrative and military positions continuously in various parts of the empire. He became *muḥāfiẓ* of Canea in Shawwāl 1122/December 1710, and of Ḳandiya in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1123/December 1711, while on 19 Shawwāl 1125/8 November 1713 he was given the *sandjaḳ* of Yanya (Ioánnina) as an *arpalīḳ* (*Silāḥdār ḏhayli*). The next year he was given the *eyālet* of Bosnia together with the military command of the Ḳaradagh [*q.v.*] area. While in this post he moved against the rebels of Ḳaradagh, who were receiving aid from the Venetians, hunted them down and drove those who escaped to take refuge with the Venetians (Shawwāl 1126/October 1714: Rāshid, iv, 22-3. For the decree sent to him about this problem, see Başvekalet arşivi, Ibnülemin, dâhiliye, 2411).

Following this success, he was moved to the command of Belgrade (January 1715: *Silāḥdār ḏhayli*), where affairs were at a delicate stage; but under him, as in his predecessor's time, disorder in this frontier fortress increased, as did desertions from the local levies and the *ḳapıḳulu* soldiery. Dismissed because of this in Rabīʿ II 1127/April 1715, he was transferred to the governorship (*mutaṣarrıflıḳ*) of the *sandjaḳs* of Içil and Menteshe and given the task of following the activities of the bandits who were profiting from the absence on campaign of the viziers and *beglerbegis* of Anatolia (Rāshid, iv, 237, 240 ff.). In Shawwāl 1128/September 1716 he was made *beglerbegi* and *muḥāfiẓ* of Cyprus (*Silāḥdār ḏhayli*); and three months later he became commander (*serdār*) in Bosnia while retaining the governorship of Cyprus (for part of the firman of appointment, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iv/2, 294, n. 1). During the period when the Austrians gained Belgrade (Ramaḍān 1129/August 1717), Nuʿmān Pasha beat back the enemy attack on Bosnia and forced the raising of the siege of Izvornik (October 1717). He remained active in the defense of Bosnia until after the signing of the Treaty of Passarowitz (22 Shaʿbān 1130/21 July 1718) (see Rāshid, iv, 383; and for a copy of a decree sent to him in mid-Ramaḍān 1130/August 1718, see Başvekalet arşivi, Ibnülemin, dâhiliye, 2436) and was then transferred at his own request to the governorship of Crete in Ramaḍān 1130/August 1718. Falling ill as soon as he reached the island, however, he died in Ḳandiya on 16 Rabīʿ I 1131/6 February 1719 and was buried beside the mosque of Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pasha.

Nuʿmān Pasha was accounted an honest and pious man of whom one author remarks that he would have been better suited to the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* than to that of Grand Vizier (Charles de Ferriol, *Correspondance du Marquis de Ferriol*, Antwerp 1870, 120). He is said to have taking nothing from the estates attached to the various offices he held, but rather to have met his expenses exclusively from the income of the estates which he had inherited from his father (Behdjetī).

Both his younger brothers and, of his sons, particularly Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmed Pasha (d. 1183/1769) made a mark in public life, as have other descendents of the family down to the present day [see KÖPRÜLÜ MEHMED FUAD].

Bibliography: For further details and a more complete bibliography, especially of archival materials, see *İA* art. *Köprülüler*, by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, on which this article is largely based.

(M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN - R. C. REPP)

KÖPRÜLÜ, MEHMED FUAD, until 1934 KÖPRÜLÜZĀDE MEḤMED FUʾĀD (1890-1966), prominent Turkish scholar and the pioneer of Turkish studies in the modern sense in Turkey. Born in Istanbul, he was the son of Ismāʿīl Fāʾiz Bey, a civil servant, a descendant of the sister of the famous Ottoman grand vizier Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] who married Ḳıbleli Muṣṭafā Pasha, one-time vizier of Meḥemmed IV. His mother Khadīdja Khānım was the daughter of ʿĀrif Ḥikmet Efendi, a member of the *ʿulamāʾ* of Islimye in Rumeli (Sliven in present day Bulgaria). He was educated at Ayāspasha junior high school (*rüshdiyye*) and at Merdjān high school (*iʿdādī*) in Istanbul. Later, for two years he attended the School of Law (*Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ*), which he left in 1909, but he was mainly self-taught. After teaching in various schools, he was appointed in 1913, with Ḍiyāʾ (Ziya) Gökalp's support, to the chair of Turkish literature in the University of Istanbul, vacant upon the resignation of Khālid Ḍiyāʾ [*q.v.*], a position which he kept until 1939. He also taught at the School (later Faculty) of Political Science (*Siyasal Bilgiler*) and in the Ankara Faculty of Arts (*Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi*) (where he covered Ottoman history and institutions). He served for eight months as under-secretary at the Ministery of Education in 1924 and was elected deputy from Kars in 1936. After 1939 he settled in Ankara and joined political life. In January 1946 he became one of the four

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founders of the Democratic Party [see DEMOKRAT PARTİ]. Following the 1950 elections he became Foreign Minister (1950-5) and Minister of State in 1956, but resigned from the party on account of a rift with the other leaders. Following the revolution of 27 May 1960, he was arrested and briefly detained on Yassıada (in the Sea of Marmara) where all Democratic Party leaders were being tried, but he was acquitted on all charges. In 1961 he founded the short-lived Yeni Demokrat Parti ("The New Democratic Party") and soon afterwards retired from political life. He died in Istanbul on 28 June 1966 as a consequence of an earlier traffic accident in Ankara.

Fu'ād Köprülü started his career as a poet and literary critic. His name began to appear towards the end of 1908 in various papers and periodicals particularly in the *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*]. As a poet he belonged to the *Feǧr-i Ātī* group [*q.v.*], an extension of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* school. In 1912 he mainly contributed to the daily *Ḥaḳḳ* and its literary supplement. He gradually switched to research and in 1913 he published in *Bilgi Meǧmūʿası* (i, 3-52) his "Method in the history of Turkish literature" (*Türk edebiyyātī taʾrīḫinde uṣūl*). Like many young talents of his generation he came under the impact of Ḍiyāʾ (Ziya) Gökalp [*q.v.*] and of the Turkist movement which he led [see TÜRKÇÜLÜK, and contributed many articles to *Türk yurdu* (1913), the organ of the movement and to the daily *Iḳdām* where he serialised a study on folk poetry (February-June 1914). In 1915 he founded the journal *Millī tetebbüʿler meǧmūʿası* ("Journal of National Research"), where he published some of his early important study on *ʿāšīḳ* poetry (i, 5-46). In July 1917 Ḍiyāʾ Gökalp founded the famous *Yeñi Meǧmūʿa* ("the New Review") which gathered together all the leading young writers of the period and where Fu'ād Köprülü published his new-style poems (in spoken Turkish, syllabic metre and on "national" topics as required by the new *Millī edebiyyāt* trend) and his articles of literary criticism and research. After the publication in 1918 of his epoch-making monograph on "Early mystics in Turkish literature" i.e. Aḥmed Yesewī and Yūnus Emre (*Türk edebiyyātında ilk müteṣawwiflar*) and of the first two parts of his history of Turkish literature (*Türk edebiyyātī taʾrīḫi*, i, 1920 and ii, 1921), Köprülü concentrated his research on the origins and development of classical Turkish literature and culture in Anatolia; the evolution of Turkish Islam and Ottoman institutions; the Turkish legal system; and the development of Turkish literature in other literary dialects e.g. Azerī and Chaghatay. His work shed new light on the formative period of Turkish literature in Anatolia; very little research had been carried out in this field before him. But his greatest contribution is to have treated the evolution of the many branches of Turkish literature and culture as one unit and to have studied its development as a whole. In 1924 he founded in Istanbul University the Institute of Turcology (*Türkiyyāt Enstitüsü*) and its organ the *Türkiyyāt Meǧmūʿası*. Apart from his many articles (some of which are independent monographs) published in various scholarly journals, particularly *Ḥayāt*, *Türkiyyat Meǧmūʿası*, *Edebiyyāt Fakültesi Meǧmūʿası*, *Belleten*, *Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecmuası*, and the Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* (*İslâm Ansiklopedisi*), Köprülü is the author of the following major works: *Türkiyye Taʾrīḫi*, i ("History of Turkey"), Istanbul 1923 (covers the period up to the settlement of the Turks in Anatolia); *Bugünkü edebiyyāt* ("Literature of today"), Istanbul 1924 (collection of early articles on literary criticism and book reviews); *Türk edebiyyātī taʾrīḫi*, i, Istanbul 1926 (revised and enlarged edition of the two parts published in 1920-1); *Millī edebiyyāt ǧereyānlarīñ ilk mübeşširleri* ... ("Forerunners of the national literature movement"), Istanbul 1928 (contains selections from the 10th/16th century poet Edirneli Naẓmī who experimented with "pure Turkish"); *Türk dili ve edebiyatı üzerinde araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1934 (a collection of research articles and book reviews); *Les origines de l'empire ottoman*, Paris 1935; and *Türk saz şairleri*, in 3 volumes, the first of which is published for the first time (Istanbul 1962).

Bibliography: Şerif Hulusi (Sayman), *O. Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü'nün yazıları için bir bibliyografya 1912-42*, Istanbul 1940; S. N. Özerdim, *Fuad Köprülü'nün yazıları 1908-1950*, in *Türk dili ve tarihi hakkında araştırmalar*, i, TTK, Ankara 1950, 159-248 (a revised and completed version of the preceding); idem, *F. Köprülü'nün yazılarına ek*, in *Belleten*, No. 120 (1966), 661-5; anon. *Fuad Köprülü'nün ilmî neşriyatı*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Ankara Univ. Faculty of Arts, 1953, xxv-liii (based on Şerif Hulusi's work brought up to date); F. A. Tansel, *Memleketimizin acı kaybı, Prof. Dr. Fuad Köprülü*, in *Belleten*, No. 120 (1966), 621-36. (FAHİR İZ)

KOPUZ [see ʿŪD]

KŌṚĀ or **KŌṚĀ DJAHĀNĀBĀD**, an ancient town of northern India in the Khadjuhā *taḥṣīl* of Fatḥpūr District in the former British United Provinces, now Uttar Pradesh. It lies in lat. 26° 7′ N. and long. 80° 22′ E. on the Rind River some 12 miles/20 km. from the Djamnā (Jumna) River between Kānpūr (Cawnpore) and Fatḥpūr.

In early times it was apparently held by the Rādjput line of the Rādjās of Argal, and the fortress there may have been their ancestral centre. Under the Mughals, Kōṛā (sometimes spelt in Marāṯhī and Persian sources as Kurrah, and to be distinguished from Kārā Manīkpūr, an adjacent but separate *sarkār*) formed a *sarkār* or district of Allāhābād *ṣūba* or province, with a revenue of 17,400,000 *dams* (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. Jarrett and Sarkar, Calcutta 1949, 178). The great Mughal highway connecting Allāhābād with Āgra ran through Kōṛā, and a bridge was built in *ca.* 1770 to carry the road over the Rind. During the fighting of the middle decades of the 18th century between the Marāṯhā invaders and the troops of the titular Mughal emperors and the Nawwāb-Wazīrs of Awadh or Oudh, Kōṛā played a considerable rôle. A copper coin of Akbar's is known from the Kōṛā mint, and it was a mint town of the later Mughals from Shams al-Dīn Rafīʿ al-Daraǧāt (1131/1719) onwards.

During the 19th century, the population of both Kōṛā proper and of Djahānābād, the township adjoining it to the north-west declined (populations of 2,806 and 4,379 respectively on 1901, the proportion of Muslim to Hindus being then 44% and 27%.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazeteer of India*², xv, 598; *District gazeteer of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, xx. Fatehpur*, Allahabad 1906, 105, 152, 154, 157-8, 251-8. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KORČA, modern Turkish Korçe, Greek Korytsa, Ottoman Görridje, all from the Slavic toponym "Gorica."), the only urban centre of importance in southeastern Albania, situated at the edge of the homonymous plain at the foot of the Moravë Mountains, which constitute the natural barrier

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between the Korča plain and Macedonia. Korča was one of the most important towns founded by the Ottomans in Albania. Throughout the Ottoman period (late 14th century till 1912), Korča was a local administrative centre (*nāḥiye*, *ḳāḍīlīḳ*), and latterly the capital of a *sanḏjaḳ* in the *vilāyet* of Manastir (Bitola) and a small Islamic centre.

The Ottomans annexed the eastern part of the present-day Albania in the last decade of the 8th/14th century and established their regular administration there, with the castles of "Göridje" and Premedi (Pērmet) as bases. A *terminus ad quem* for the conquest, not recorded it seems by the Ottoman chroniclers (ʿĀshīkpashazāde, Orūč, Anonymus-Giese, Neshrī, Saʿd al-Dīn), is the church of the village of Mborje 3 km. east of Korča on the first spur of the Moravē, which church was, according to its well-preserved inscription, built by Bishop Niphon in the year 1390. Throughout the entire 15th century the name "Göridje" seems to have been used for a castle on the spur or the Moravç between the village of Mborje and the place where the town of Korča lies today. The Ottoman documents from the early period use "Enborye" (from Emporion) and "Göridje" indiscriminately. A fragment of a *tīmār* register from Ṣafar 886/April 1481 mentions a *tīmār* of an "Isḥāḳ the Albanian" situated in the "*nāḥiye* of Göridje". This *tīmār* included eight small villages (mostly with Slavic names), of which one numbered six Muslim households and two households of Christians. (Sofia, National Library, Orient. Dep., No D 649, p. 26). The document is an indication for the early start of the Islamisation of the district of Korča, an Islamisation which was not solely restricted to members of the old native nobility. The castle of Göridje was maintained throughout the 15th and the first half of the 16th century. When it disappeared is apparently not recorded. A *tapu defter* (Başbakanlık arşivi [= BBA] T. D 70, p. 257) from 925/1519 (mentions a *ḏjemāʿat* of Christian *müsellems* of the castle. The village of "Enborye, dependent on Göridje" numbered, according to the same document, 18 households of Muslims, 7 Muslim bachelors, and 88 households of Christians as well as 10 Christian bachelors and 11 widows. According to a *tapu defter* of 936/1529-30, the same village numbered 15 Muslim households, 4 Muslim bachelors, 4 people with a *berāt*, 1 *sipāhīzāde*, and 101 Christian households and 25 Christian bachelors (BBA. T. D. 167, p. 172). The same document states that there was a *ḏjemāʿat* of Christian *müsellems* in the castle of Göridje consisting of 22 households and 9 bachelors. These *müsellems* were freed from *ispenče*, *ʿawāriḍ* and *tekālīfat* in exchange for the fulfilment of the duties of repair and maintenance of the castle. Besides these privileged Christians, there was a *ḏjemāʿat* of 5 Christian families in the castle who had to deliver yearly 1,500 arrows, for which service the state freed them from paying the *ʿawāriḍ* and the various *tekālīfats*, but they had to pay *ʿöshr*, *ḏjizye* and *ispenče*. The *ḏhimmī* Aydīn, son of Dimitri, thus a recent convert, was freed from *ḵharāḏj*, *ispenče*, *ʿawāriḍ* and *tekālīfat-i ʿörfiyye* for the service of keeping the water supply of the castle in good order.

The actual town of Korča is an Ottoman foundation, intentionally founded in order to form a Muslim urban centre in the district. The history of the foundation of Korča can be reconstructed with help of some Ottoman documents. In 891/1486 the Master of the Imperial Stables (*Mīrāḵhor*), Ilyās Beg, received from Bāyezīd II the village of Bosotinče (Boboštice, 7 km. south of Korča), dependent on Göriče, as full possession (Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, 426). In 901/1495-6 the same person constructed a mosque and some other buildings in the village of Piskopiye near Göridje. In 910/1504-5 Ilyās Beg drew up the *waḳf-nāme* for his mosque in Istanbul, (the former Studion Basilica near Yedi Kule) and for his foundations in Piskopiye: a mosque, an *ʿimāret* (in the sense of a building for the distribution of food to the poor), and a *muʿallimḵhāne*. For the upkeep of these foundations, he allotted the tax revenue of four villages in the district of Korča (including Bosotinče and Piskopiye), the revenue of a village near Premedi, a *ḥammām* and seven shops in Istanbul, and another *ḥammām* and a mill in Jannina (Yanya) in Epirus (extract of the *waḳfiyye* by Gökbilgin, *Paşa livâsı*, 427-8). The full extent of the foundations of Ilyās are not known, with certainty. According to a late 18th-century source, the *Ḥadīḳat al-ḏjewāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, i, 196, Ilyās Beg founded "benevolent works like an *ʿimāret*, a mosque, a *medrese*, and a *mekteb*" in Korča. The *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, (v, 3919) mentions: "a blessed mosque, a *medrese*, an *ʿimāret* and a *tekke*." Local tradition also attributes a *ḥammām* to Ilyās Beg. The *Ḳāmūs* states explicitly that the Beg "laid the foundations of the town" by building the above-mentioned objects. It is possible that Ilyās Beg, or his sons, added to the foundations of 910/1504-5 at a later date.

The *Ḳāmūs* further states that Ilyās was one of the dignitaries of the time of Meḥemmed Fātiḥ and tutor and *mīrāḵhor* of Bāyezīd II. The *Ḥadīḳat* noted that he was an Albanian by birth and that he was buried in Göridje. In a *waḳfiyye* of 915/1509-10 (see Gökbilgin, *Paşa livâsı*, ii, 212), he styles himself "Ilyās Beg b. ʿAbd Allāh". He was thus of local Christian origin. Ilyās Beg was married to the Ottoman princess Ḫundī Ḵhātūn, daughter of Murād II and Umm Kulṯhūm Ḵhātūn. The place where he erected his buildings, Piskopiye, explicitly styled a "village" in the 910 *waḳfiyye*, must have been the seat of a local bishopric in pre-Ottoman times. The *Ḳāmūs* states that Ilyās Beg constructed his buildings on the site of a destroyed old monastery. The name "Göridje", sc. Korča, came to be used for the new urban settlement which developed around the nucleus formed by Ilyās's buildings. In the Istanbul *Taḥrīr* of 953/1546, edited by Barkan and Ayverdi (Istanbul 1970, 375), the buildings of Ilyās are situated in the "*ḳaṣaba* of Göridje." The new settlement thus supplanted the old one and probably absorbed its population, as it did with that of Mborje or Enborye 3 km. away from the new centre. The latter sank down to a hamlet of a few houses around the preserved Byzantine church of 1390.

The development of Korča in the 16th and 17th centuries cannot have been a spectacular one. Ḥādjdjī Ḵhalīfa (tr. Von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, 141) mentions it in the first half of the 17th century as an administrative subdivision of the *sanḏjaḳ* of Ohrid. Ottoman lists of the *ḳāḍīlīḳs* of Rumeli from 1078/1667-8 and 1203/1788 mention Göridje as the seat of a *ḳāḍīlīḳ* of one of the lowest orders (Özergin in *Uzunçarşılı armağan*, Ankara 1976, 265, 300). Neither Muḥammed-i ʿĀshīḳ nor Ewliyā Čelebi describes Korča, nor does Mario Bizzi or other travellers, without doubt because it lies almost 60 km. off the Via Egnatia, the main road through the country.

In the second half of the 18th century, the development of the town received a strong impetus from the immigration of inhabitants of the Walachian trade metropolis of Voskopoje (Moschopolis), 20 km. due west in the mountains. Between 1768 and 1779 this

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large urban settlement fell prey to the disorder which at that time reigned supreme. The French consul of Thessaloniki, Félix Beaujour, and the British traveller Colonel Leake, both writing in the first decade of the 19th century, describe Korča as a place with 450 houses and a population of 3,000 souls. After that time the development of the town increased in speed. J. G. von Hahn (*Albanische Studien*, Jena 1854, 55) spoke of "dem rasch aufblühenden Gjortscha." Other sources mention 10,000 inhabitants in 1859. In the eighties of the last century, Sāmī Bey describes the town in his *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām* as a place with 18,000 inhabitants, 757 shops, 23 *khāns*, two mosques, one *medrese*, one *tekke*, one *ʿimāret*, two *ḥammāms*, a clock tower and four churches. At the end of the century the town was burnt down in a general conflagration. It was rebuilt under Aḥmed Eyyūb Pasha according to a new and modern plan with wide and straight streets which crossed at a right angle, a plan which still characterises the place. Between 1887 and 1902 Korča possessed a special Albanian school, the very first school where lessons were given in the Albanian language. As such, the place played a role of first importance in the development of Albanian nationalism.

From the sixties of the 19th century, Korča was the capital of a sizeable *sandjaḳ* which comprised much of south-eastern Albania and a part of present day Greek Macedonia. Around 1900, Heinrich Gelzer numbered 2,027 houses in Korča, of which 1,420 were inhabited by Albanian Orthodox Christians, 102 by Vlachs and 505 by Muslim Albanians (*Vom Heiligen Berge und aus Makedonien*, Leipzig 1904, 200). Other sources also mention population two-thirds Christian and one-third Muslim. During the upheavals of the Balkan Wars (1912-13), the town suffered particularly from the struggle between pro-Greek Albanian-speaking Christians and Albanian nationalists, both Muslim and Orthodox. During the French occupation, in 1916, a short lived "Republic of Korča" was proclaimed. After the First World War, Korča remained within the frontiers of the new Albanian state. According to a French census of 1916 it numbered 22-23,000 inhabitants, of whom 17,779 were Orthodox and 5,464 were Muslim, all Albanian-speaking (Justin Godart, *L'Albanie en 1921*, Paris 1922, 94). The total number in the district of Korča was 39,533 Muslims and 17,671 others. At present, the number of inhabitants of the town has passed the 50,000 mark.

Korča is the native town of the "Ottoman Montesquieu", Koči Beg [*q.v.*]. His family lies buried in the yard of the Mīrākhor Mosque. The famous man himself rests, according to Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir's *ʿOthmānlı̄ müʾellifleri*, in the graveyard along the Manastir Road, but according to Babinger (*Geschichtschreiber*, 185), in the yard of the Korča mosque itself. The family of the famous viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*] also came from Korča.

Korča is today a modern industrial centre, manufacturing textiles. The mosque of Mīrākhor Ilyās Beg remains standing and is, together with the *türbe* of the Beg, an officially-recognised Monument of Culture. It lost its tall minaret during the fury of the Albanian Cultural Revolution of the spring of 1967. The mosque is one of the best examples of early classical Ottoman architecture in the country, a building which contributed considerably to the formation of Islamic architectural forms in Albania in the succeeding centuries.

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(M. Kiel)

KORDOFĀN (Kurdufān) a region of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan lying west of the White Nile roughly between lats. 16° and 10° N. and longs. 32° and 27° E.; it is now divided into two provinces, Northern and Southern Kordofān, with a population of 3,103,000 (1973 census). The name, often pronounced locally and earlier written as Kordofāl, is said to come from a small hill some ten miles south-east of al-Ubayyiḍ (lat. 13° 11′ N., long. 30° 14′ E.); before the present century the name referred to the central settled area rather than to the whole region.

1. Geography and ethnology

A vast (about 147,000 square miles) open plain, forming a segment of Africa's Sudanic Belt, Kordofān may be divided into a number of ecological zones; the semi-desert in the north, a central *ḳoz* (stabilised sand dune) zone and the Nuba Mountains of the south-east. The mean annual rainfall ranges from less than 100 mm. in the far north to between 6 to 800 mm. in the south; the human ecology reflects this transition from camel and sheep nomadism in the northern zone which itself merges into the Bayūḍa Desert, to mixed hoe agriculture and pastoralism in the central zone and cattle nomadism in the south. Only in the Khayrān depression north of Bāra is irrigated agriculture practised.

The ethnography of Kordofān is complex, being historically the result of an Arab or Arabised component immigrating and intermingling with a discrete indigenous population; Arab nomads and semi-nomads, predominantly Kabābīsh, Dār Ḥāmid, Ḥamar and Bidayriyya live in the north and centre, while in the south the cattle nomads (*Baḳḳāra*), Misīriyya, Ḥumr and Hawazma, form but a part of the "Baḳḳāra belt" that stretches west to Lake Chad and east across the White Nile. The towns, established in the 18th century mainly by Djaʿaliyyūn and Danāḳla immigrants from the Nile Valley, are found in the central zone, al-Ubayyiḍ, Bāra, Umm Ruwāba and al-Rahad, an area of rain-fed agriculture which produces Kordofān's main export, gum arabic from the *hashab* tree (*Acacia senegal*). The Nuba Mountains are inhabited by a medley of ethnic groups, whose generic name, Nuba, conceals a linguistic and ethnic diversity which defies generalisations; at least thirty languages belonging to several different language groups are spoken. In the 20th century, partly because of colonial policies, the Nuba have increasingly moved their settlements down from the mountains onto the plains below.

2. History

Neither the name nor any certain information about the region appear in the mediaeval Arabic geographical literature; nor can anything very certain be said of the early peopling of Kordofān or of the course or chronology of the Arab immigration. A letter from the ruler of Bornū dated 794/1391 to Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ of Egypt may imply the penetration of Djudhām and other Arab nomads through Kordofān and beyond to the Lake Chad region (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿsha*, viii, 116-18; Yūsuf Fāḍl Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, 163), but of the two possible directions from which the original Arab nuclei of the modern Baḳḳāra tribes might have come, North Africa seems more likely than the Nile. The Baḳḳāra tribes in their present formation probably do not go

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back beyond the 17th century. Oral traditions remember the existence of an Arab nomad confederation, the Fazāra, in Northern Kordofān in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries; recent research has discovered references to Egyptian merchants trading with merchants from *barr al-sūdān fazāra ca.* 1530. The Kābabīsh of Kordofān and the Zayyādiyya of Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] appear to have emerged out of the débris of this confederation. In sum, it would appear that the earliest Arab penetration cannot be dated much before the 8th/14th century, probably following the collapse of the Christian Nubian kingdoms of the Nile Valley.

Fundj, Musabbaʿāt and Fūr rule. Following the emergence of the Islamised Fundj [*q.v.*] sultanate of Sinnār at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Kordofān experienced a secondary wave of Arabisation and Islamisation through commercial and political influences from the Nile Valley and the missionary activities of itinerant *faḳīh*s. The spread of Islam among the indigenous inhabitants is illustrated by the emergence of Taḳalī, a small Islamised kingdom, whose foundation at least as a Muslim state is traditionally ascribed to Muḥammad al-Djaʿalī, a *faḳīh* who came from the north in about 936/1530. Occasional glimpses of this spread of Islam may be found in the biographical dictionary of Wad Ḍayf Allāh; in the early 11th/17th century Tādj al-Dīn al-Bahārī from Baghdād visited Taḳalī. Later in the century the *faḳīh* Ibn al-Ḳaddāl visited Kordofān; he taught a local *faḳīh*, Djawdat Allāh, whose son Mukhtār was killed by Djanḳal (see below) (Muḥammad al-Nūr b. Ḍayf Allāh, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan, Khartoum 1971, 127-9, 87-8, 130, 345-6).

In historic times Kordofān became a "buffer territory, now the prey of its eastern, now of its western neighbours" (MacMichael, *Kordofán*, 5), that is, between Sinnār and the rising Dār Fūr sultanate (established *ca.* 1650). Bādī II of Sinnār (1054-92/1644-5 to 1681) invaded and subdued Taḳalī, and Sinnār and occasionally recruited Nūba as mercenaries. Thereafter Sinnār exercised an informal hegemony over central and eastern Kordofān through their protégés, the Ghudiyyāt, living to the south of al-Ubayyiḍ, some of whose chiefs appear in Fundj documents with the title *shaykh Kurdufān*.

Sinnār's overlordship was disputed in the late 17th and 18th centuries by three generations of Musabbaʿāt (sing. Musabbaʿāwī) chiefs, who attempted to carve out a kingdom for themselves in Kordofān. By origin from Dār Fūr, Djanḳal, ʿĪsāwī and Hāshim, grandfather, father and son, attempted to play off Sinnār and Dār Fūr against each other.

Although the Musabbaʿāt succeeded in ousting the Fundj, in about 1200/1785-6 Hāshim's activities provoked an invasion by Sultan Muḥammad Tayrāb (*ca.* 1166-1200/1752-3 to 1785-6) from Dār Fūr. Thereafter, despite Hāshim's attempts at resistance, Kordofān was ruled by Dār Fūr. Among Dār Fūr's governors (*maḳdūm* pl. *maḳādīm*) in Kordofān, Muḥammad Kurra and Musallim al-Tardjāwī encouraged trade in gum, ostrich feathers and slaves, granted land to *faḳīh*s and others around al-Ubayyiḍ and Bārā, and curbed the nomads.

Turco-Egyptian rule 1821-85. In 1821, as part of a wider invasion of the Northern Sudan, Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], *wālī* of Egypt, sent an expedition of 3 to 4,000 troops and an artillery battery under his son-in-law, the *daftardār* Muḥammad Bey Khusraw, to conquer Dār Fūr and Kordofān (al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, iv, 318). After successfully crossing the desert, the *daftardār*'s army destroyed the Dār Fūr garrison and killed the *maḳdūm* Musallim at Bārā on 20 August 1821; Khusraw was prevented from invading Dār Fūr by a fierce revolt along the Nile. Al-Ubayyiḍ continued as the capital of what was now a province of the Turco-Egyptian Sudan, although the actual administrative arrangements fluctuated greatly (the governors are listed in R. L. Hill, *Rulers of Sudan, 1820-1885*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xxxii/1 [1951], 85-95).

Muḥammad ʿAlī had conquered the Northern Sudan to obtain slaves and gold; Kordofān yielded both, some alluvial gold from Djabal Shaybūn in the Nuba Mountains and slaves from those owned within Kordofān or captured by Baḳḳāra raids upon the Nūba and other southern peoples. As in other parts of the Sudan, the authorities themselves organised slave raids to the south; Rustum Bey (governor 1828-33) on one raid in 1830 seized 1,400 captives. Despite prospecting by W. P. E. S. Rüppell, J. von Russegger and others, the hopes of substantial gold deposits proved largely chimerical. For most of the Turco-Egyptian period neither the Baḳḳāra nor the Nūba were ever brought under an effective administration; Djabal Taḳalī put up a particularly prolonged resistance.

The Mahdiyya 1885-98. Kordofān was the scene of the first and final acts of the Mahdiyya [see KHALĪFA. iv. In the Sudanese Mahdiyya]. Although its history belongs to the wider history of the Mahdist Sudan, events in Kordofān contributed decisively to the success of the Mahdist Revolution. Thus, among the Djaʿaliyyūn settled in the province, a bitter conflict had developed between two factions led by Ilyās Pasha Umm Birayr and Aḥmad Bey Dafaʿ Allāh al-ʿAwaḍī. The former was appointed Governor of Kordofān by C. G. Gordon, but was dismissed following a revolt by the Ghudiyyāt instigated by his rivals. It was with Ilyās and others, embittered with the Turco-Egyptian régime, that Muḥammad Aḥmad, the future Mahdī, made contact on a visit to al-Ubayyiḍ, probably in 1879.

Following his manifestation (*ẓuhūr*) on 29 June 1881 and initial successes against the Turco-Egyptian authorities, the Mahdī, following prophetic precedent, made his withdrawal (*hidjra*) into Kordofān to Djabal Ḳadīr in the Nuba Mountains. It was in Kordofān that the Mahdī found the support and won the victories that firmly established his rule; on 19 January 1883 al-Ubayyiḍ finally capitulated and the destruction of the Hicks Pasha relief expedition at Shaykān, south of al-Ubayyiḍ, on 5 November 1883 gave the Mahdī complete control over Kordofān. In the context of these victories, Gordon's proposal that the Mahdī be made "Sultan of Kordofān" was derisory.

During the Mahdist period, Kordofān was basically administered from al-Ubayyiḍ by a deputy-governor (*wakīl*), but for most of the period was combined with Dār Fūr to form one great province of the West (*ʿimālat al-gharb*) under ʿUthmān Ādam (1888-91) and Maḥmūd Aḥmad (1891-96). Not everyone in Kordofān accepted the Mahdiyya; the Kabābīsh under their Shaykh, Ṣālih Faḍl Allāh Sālim, who was in touch with the Anglo-Egyptian authorities, resisted until he was killed in May 1887. A revolt of a different nature was the mutiny of the *djihādiyya*, slave troops armed with rifles, at al-Ubayyiḍ in 1885; they marched off to the Nuba Mountains killing the provincial governor, Maḥmūd ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, when he attempted to stop them.

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In late 1896, under the threat of the Anglo-Egyp-

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tian advance, the *Khalīfa* ʿAbdallāhi ordered Maḥmūd Aḥmad to march east with the bulk of the forces of Kordofān and Dār Fūr. After the defeat at Karrarī (Omdurman) on 2 September 1898, the *Khalīfa* withdrew into eastern Kordofān to Shirkayla; he was hunted down and killed at Umm Dibaykarāt, near Kostī, on 24 November 1899.

Condominium rule 1898-1956 and independence. At the outset of Anglo-Egyptian Condominium rule in the Sudan, Kordofān was in a state of chaos; bands of Mahdist supporters roamed unchecked and the tribal order had largely disintegrated both as a result of the deliberate policy of the *Khalīfa* and through the loss of herds and slaves. Order was gradually imposed by punitive patrols, the Nūba under their *makk*s (chiefs) and *kudjūr*s (ritual experts) forming particularly strong pockets of resistance until the 1920s. By 1911 the railway joined al-Ubayyiḍ to Khartoum and the gum trade was revived.

In the 1920s direct military administration gave way to "Indirect rule", and local administration came to be largely committed to the tribal chiefs. Tribes like the Kabābīsh under a strong leader, Sir ʿAlī al-Tūm Faḍl Allāh Sālim (1874-1938), prospered; others, such as the Ḥamar, were re-assembled from the fragments left by the Mahdiyya. Al-Ubayyiḍ grew rapidly as the centre for the gum trade.

Since independence (1 January 1956) Kordofān has been one of the most prosperous and peaceful regions of the Sudan, although the rapid encroachment of the desert has become a major threat. Provincial and local government reorganisation in the early 1970s has largely transferred power from the tribal leadership to the administrators and locally-elected committees of the Sudanese Socialist Union.

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(R. S. O'Fahey)

ḲORDOS, the Ottoman Turkish name of the ancient Greek city of Corinth in the Morea [*q.v.*]. It has a naturally fortified citadel (Ἀκροκόρινθος) overlooking a fertile plain (whose main product is currants) and dominating the isthmus between continental Greece and the Moreot peninsula as well as the two adjacent ports on either side. Corinth remained under Byzantine rule up to 1210, when it was conquered by the Crusaders; it passed to the Florentine family of the Acciaiuoli (1358), to the Greek despot of the Morea (1395), to the Hospitallers of Rhodes (1400) and again to the Greeks (1404). The region of Corinth was attacked by the Turks of Aydīn in 1327, and in 1361 it is reported to have been deserted owing to Turkish raids. The city was attacked by the Ottomans under Ewrenos in 1395 and conquered after a siege by Meḥemmed II in 1458. In 1488-9 Corinth had a Christian population of approximately 18,000; after *ca.* 1400 the existence of Albanian settlements was signalled for the region. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, it formed a *sandjaḳ* of the *eyālet* of the Morea (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 185). In 1614 it was temporarily conquered by the Hospitallers of Rhodes; in 1682 it passed to the Venetians and again to the Ottomans in 1715. Finally, in 1822 (the second year of the Greek War of Independence) it was taken by the Greeks.

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(E. A. Zachariadou)

KÖRFÜZ, KÖRFÜS (the first spelling in e.g. Pīrī Reʾīs and Rāshid, the second in Peçewī), the Turkish name for the island of Corfu off the coast of Epirus. Pīrī Reʾīs gives a full account of the island, together with a map, in his *Baḥriyye* (ed. Kahle, Berlin and Leipzig 1926-7, i, 113-16, No. 54). The Ottomans never succeeded in dislodging from Corfu the Venetians, who controlled it from the opening of the 15th century until 1797, but there were two major Turkish attempts to occupy the island.

The first took place in Rabīʿ I 944/August 1537 in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. The fleet assembled in spring of that year at Awlonya under the great corsair captain Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa and Luṭfī Pasha, then third vizier [*q.vv.*], with the sultan in charge of the land forces. The town of Corfu was besieged for 43 days, but with the approach of winter, the Turks withdrew, the sultan returning to

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Edirne whilst the fleet attacked and plundered Cephalonia (see Pečewī, *Taʾrīḫ*, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, i, 194-200; Ḥādjdjī Ḫalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, tr. J. Mitchell, *History of the maritime wars of the Turks*, London 1831, 55-8, drawing on the *Ghazawāt-nāma* of Sayyid Murād, see Bibl. to KHAYR AL-DĪN PASHA, BARBAROSSA). The second and last attempt took place in 1128/1716 under Aḥmed III, towards the end of the Ottoman reconquest of the Morea [*q.v.*] from Venice, when the attack was led from the land by the Serʿasker Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha and from the sea by the Ḳapudan-i Deryā Meḥmed Pasha, and was again unsuccessful (Rāshid, *Taʾrīḫ*, Istanbul 1282/1865-6, iv, 186, 189, 246).

Bibliography: given in the article; for a good general account of Corfu's history, see *Enciclopedia Italiana*, art. *Corfù*, and for the two Ottoman campaigns, Danışmend, *İzahlı osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, ii, 195-6, iv, 9. (ED.)

KORITZA [see KORČA].

ḲORḲUD B. BĀYAZĪD, ABU 'L-ḪAYR MUḤAMMAD (874-919/1470-1513), Ottoman prince and eldest of the eight sons of Sultan Bāyazīd II [*q.v.*]. He was born in Amasya where his father was governor (Laṭīfī, *Tadhkira*, 66; Nishāndjī Meḥmed Pasha, *Taʾrīḫ*, 181; Cf. Kemāl-pasha-zāde, *Tawārīḫ-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Millet ms. 32, f. 23 etc., and Hüseyin Hüsameddin, *Amasya tarihi*, iii, 226). He spent his childhood and had his early education in the Old Palace at Istanbul in the care of his grandfather Meḥemmed II, after whose death in 886/1481 he was briefly placed on the throne, for some 17 days, by the Janissaries until his father returned from Amasya to assume power. Later, Ḳorḳud returned to Amasya and in 896/1491 was appointed governor of Sarukhān. His request to have the governorship of Bergama instead of Manisa was refused by his father, and perhaps upon the suggestion of his brother Aḥmad, governor of Amasya now, he was transferred to the governorship of Tekke and Antalya in 907/1502. Shortly afterwards, the *sandjaḳ* of Ḥamīd with a *khāṣṣ* of 843,363 *akčes* and the *zeʿāmet* of Lāzkiyye, amounting to 100, 721 *akčes*, were added to his personal *khāṣṣ* of 837,091 *akčes* (see the *fermān* of Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 908/May 1503 in Topkapu Saray arşivi E. 6356).

The fact that his father and the leading state dignitaries, headed by the Grand Vizier Khādim ʿAlī Pasha, favoured Aḥmad as heir to the throne offended Ḳorḳud, and cause him to withdraw into seclusion on Antalyan coast (Muḥarram 914/May 1508; see ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, Istanbul Univ. Libr., Tkish. ms. 5959, ii, f. 152), despite his *khāṣṣ* being increased to 2,502,755 *akčes* (for the *fermān* dated 5 Shaʿbān 914/29 November 1508 and sent to Ḳorḳud, see TKSA E. 6357). He obtained permission to go on the Pilgrimage, and left for Egypt with 50 men and 87 slaves in Muḥarram 915/May 1509, sailing with five ships under the *Raʾīs* Aḳ-bash. He landed at Damietta after five days and arrived in Cairo on 9 Safar/29 May (for details, see ʿĀlī, f. 153), but did not feel that he was wholly welcome (details in TKSA, various letters in dossier No. 6684). However, it is clear from the Mamlūk sultan's letters to Bāyazīd II that he was pleased to welcome Ḳorḳud, but after a month was able to convince the latter to return, in the light of "a son's obedience due to his father". Ḳorḳud received the promise of restoration to his governorship, and set sail back to Turkey.

Despite an attack by the Knights of Rhodes on his Egyptian escort off the shores of Tekke at the end of 916/beginning of 511, Ḳorḳud was able to get through to Antalya and to send a warning letter to Sayyidī Yūnus, who was coming on later from Egypt with baggage, to postpone sailing in order to avoid attacks by the Knights (TKSA, letter in dossier No. 6684). It is recorded that his health deteriorated on his return and that he asked for treatment from the physician ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (letter to the Viziers in ibid.). Meanwhile, he was dismayed to hear of the appointment of his younger full brother Selīm to Sarukhān (TKSA E 5587 in ibid.), and he immediately left Antalya for that province (Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 916/March 1511). His sudden departure from Tekke brought about the outbreak of a Shīʿī-inspired rising under Shāh Ḳulī in that province, and the Grand Vizier Khādim ʿAlī Pasha had to be sent to suppress it.

Meanwhile, Ḳorḳud was being informed of Selīm's movements, and sent a letter to the latter adjuring him not to act precipitately (TKSA dossier 6684). At the same time, he was aware of Aḥmad's ambitions for the throne. Certain of the court officials, aware of Bāyazīd's intention to proclaim Selīm the heir, invited Ḳorḳud to the capital. He travelled to Istanbul in disguise and went to the mosque of the Janissaries, seeking their support in a bid for the throne. Although they held him in respect, they considered him less capable as a potential ruler than Selīm. Selīm arrived at Istanbul on 22 Muḥarram 918/19 April 1512 in order to forestall Aḥmad [for details, see BĀYAZĪD II], and ascended the throne on the abdication of his father. He then gave Ḳorḳud the governorship of the island of Midilli, together with Sarukhān again (Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, ii 204). But Ḳorḳud also demanded the *sandjaḳs* of Aydın, Manisa and Tekke, so that Selīm, considering him a threat to the throne's stability, marched secretly to Manisa and surrounded Ḳorḳud's palace there. Ḳorḳud managed to escape with his confidant Piyāle, disguised, but was betrayed by the governor of Tekke Ḳāsim Beg and caught near Antalya. He was strangled in his sleep by the *Ḳapidjī-bashī* Sinān Beg's men at Egrigöz on the way back to Bursa, and was buried near Orkhān Ghāzī's tomb in Bursa (Muḥarram 919/March 1513; Saʿd al-Dīn, ii, 230 ff.).

Ḳorḳud was highly educated, and skilled as a poet and musician, being able to play many types of musical instrument (Sehī, *Tadhkira*, 18). His verses, written under the pen-name or *takhalluṣ* of Ḥarīmī, were collected into a *dīwān*. He wrote several works in Arabic, including commentaries and *ḥāshiyas*. His extant works include: (1) *Waṣīlat al-aḥbāb* (dated 15 Ṣafar 915/4 June 1509, autograph in Aya Sofya 3529); (2) *Ḥall ishkāl al-afkār fī ḥill amwāl al-kuffār* (Aya Sofya 1142); (3) *Daʿwat al-nafs al-ṭāliḥa ila 'l-aʿmāl al-ṣāliḥa* or *Kitāb al-Ḥarīmī fī 'l-taṣawwuf* (thus in the ms. copy of R. Yelkenci; in Aya Sofya 1763, this is simply called *Kitāb fī 'l-taṣawwuf*); (4) *Sharḥ alfāẓ kufr* or *Ḥāfiẓ al-insān ʿan lāfiẓ al-aymān* (Aya Sofya 2289); (5) *Ḳorḳudiyya* or *Fatāwā-yi Ḳorḳudkhāniyya* (see *Kashf al-ẓunun*, ii, 1228); and (6) *Dīwān* (Millet 104).

Bibliography: Apart from references already given in the article, see Luṭfī Pasha, *Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1341; Meḥmed b. Meḥmed, *Nukhbat al-tawārīkh wa 'l-akhbār*, Istanbul 1276; Bursalī Belīgh, *Güldeste-yi riyāḍ-i ʿirfān*, Bursa 1302; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOM*, ii, 382-3; Von Hammer, *Histoire*, iv, 95 ff., 118 ff., 150 ff.; idem, *Gesch. der osmanischen Dichtkunst*, i, 158; E. J. W. Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman poetry*, iii, 37; M. Tayyid Gökbilgin, *İA* art. *Korkut*, of which the present article is a shortened adaptation.

(M. TAYYIB GÖKBILGIN)

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ḲORḲUD DEDE [see DEDE ḲORḲUD].

KÖROGHLU, a rebel of the Anatolian Djelālī movement [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in the 10th/16th century and the hero of a popular romance. The real Köroghlu came from the region of Bolu, and is probably the same person as the soldier-bard of that name who is said to have taken part in the campaigns in the Caucasus and Ādharbāydjān of Özdemiroghlu Pasha in the years 992-3/1584-5.

Until fairly recent times, Köroghlu remained a legendary personality, whose exploits were chanted by bards and story-tellers in Anatolia, Ādharbāydjān, Turkmenistān and Uzbekistān. Manuscript versions, and later on, lithographs and prints, circulated in Turkish-speaking lands, and more or less extensive episodes of this great epic-romantic cycle even passed into the story-telling répertoire of peripheral Turkish-speaking communities like the Kirgiz, the Kazaks and the Tatars of Tobol, as into that of non-Turkish peoples like the Armenians, Kurds, Georgians and Tādjīks.

The historicity of the figure of Köroghlu was nevertheless asserted by writers as far back as the 11th/17th century. Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of him—without giving a precise date—as an honourable bandit whose exploits were still remembered in the mountainous parts of northwestern Anatolia; and Arakel of Tabrīz cites him as a Djelālī chief whose adventures, together with those of his companions, formed the core around the early 11th/17th century of a "romance" chanted by the ministrels of the lands bordering on the Ottoman empire and Persia. Towards the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the present one several attempts at identifying him were made, some people basing themselves on contradictory local traditions, and others putting forth hypotheses about the hero's historical prototype or about the origin of some feature or other or some legendary motif of the romance concerning him.

The discovery in 1942 of Ottoman archival documents has firstly confirmed Ewliyā Čelebi's information, and secondly allowed us to date his exploits as a Djelālī rebel. We have here a series of imperial orders from the years 988-90/1580-2 addressed to the Bey of Bolu and the *ḳāḍī* of Gerede concerning a Djelālī called Köroghlu Rūshen. Now Rūshen is also the forename of Köroghlu in several oral versions, Anatolian and Ādharbāydjānī, of the legend of our hero. Moreover, even in the cultural environments most distant from Ottoman territory, tradition has retained, in versions deformed in varying degrees, the name of Bolu Beyi as one of the hero's opponents, as well as allusions to the Ottoman sultan. Finally, several of Köroghlu's companions are mentioned with the same names in the Ottoman archival documents as in the different versions of the romance.

The ideas evoked by the name Kör-oghlu "son of the blind one" have contributed to the attracting around the genuine exploits of the bandit-hero legends of diverse origin, some of them going back to a long way in time, on the theme of the "hero, son of a blind father", who rises up against the masters who had mutilated his father.

Bibliography: A bibliography of published work—studies and texts, as well as lists of unpublished texts—may be found in the following works. Pertev Naili Boratav, *Köroğlu destanı*, Istanbul 1931; idem, *Halk hikâyeleri ve halk hikayeciliği*, Ankara 1946; idem, art. *Köroğlu* in *IA*; idem, *L'épopée et la ḥikâye*, in *PTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 24-8, 38-40, 42. See further W. Eberhard, *Minstrel tales from southeastern Turkey*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1955, 30-49 and 77-83 (notes to ch. v); Farruh Arsunar, *Köroğlu* (Maraş version), Istanbul 1963; Mehmet Kaplan, Mehmet Akalın and Muhan Bali, *Köroğlu destanı* (Erzerum version), Ankara 1973; M. H. Tāhmasib and H. Arasi, *Koroglu*, Baku 1956; idem, *Azārbaydjan dastanları*, iv, s.v. *Koroglu*, Baku 1969; M. H. Tāhmasib, *Azārbaydjan khalg dastanları*, Baku 1972, 130-76; *Uzbak khalk dostonlari*, Tashkent 1957, i, 203-425, ii, 243-456.

(P. N. BORATAV)

ḲORON (Ottoman Turkish Ḳorōn; Venetian Coron; in modern Greek Κορώνη), a fortress in the south-west Peloponnesus [see MOREA] and on the west coast of the gulf of Ḳoron, situated some 15 miles by land from the fortress of Modon [*q.v.*; modern Greek Μεθώνη], with which, in the period of Venetian and Ottoman rule, its history was linked and which, to some degree, overshadowed it. The Byzantine fortress of Ḳoron, "un luogo di maggior difesa . . . di forma triangolare, posta in mezzo d'una lingua di terre" (P. Garzoni, *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Lega*, Venice 1705, 100-1) passed, with much of the Morea, under Frankish rule in 1204, but was seized by Venice two years later and was ceded to her in 1209. Ḳoron remained a Venetian colony for nearly two centuries, serving as a vital provisioning station for the Venetian fleet and becoming, with Modon, "the chief eyes of the Republic" (W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908, 59, 152).

As early as 1428 Ḳoron was attacked from the sea and pillaged by the Ottomans, and after 1469, when Meḥemmed II completed the conquest of the Greek principalities of the Morea, its territories were contiguous with those of the sulṭān. It was not, however, until the Ottoman-Venetian war of 905/1499 to 909/1503 that Ḳoron fell to the Ottomans: in 906/1500, after Modon had been taken by storm and its defenders massacred, Ḳoron and Navarino "yeelded themselves by composition"—i.e. *vire ile*—to Bāyazīd II (Knolles, *Generall Historie of the Turkes*[1], London 1603, 460). This event took place on 15 August 1500; 17 August according to Bāyazīd II's *feṯh-nāme* for Modon and Ḳoron, addressed to the inhabitants of Chios, and written at Ḳoron on 21 August (M. Sanuto, *I diarii*, iii, Venice 1880, 827-8). Bāyazīd II installed in Ḳoron a garrison of 500 Janissaries and 1000 *ʿazab* troops (*ibid.*, 810-1).

In 938/1532 Ḳoron was retaken by the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria while Sulaymān I was engaged in the Güns campaign. In the spring of 939/1533 Ḳoron was besieged by the Ottomans by land and sea, but without success, and was once more relieved by Doria. It was this setback which precipitated the sulṭān's summoning the North African corsair chief Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] to Istanbul, from where, having kissed the hand of the sulṭān and received an appointment as *deryā beglerbegi*, he was sent with a naval force against Ḳoron in mid-Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 940 (Luṭfī Pasha, *Tewārīḵh-i āl-iʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1341, 343-4). Khayr al-Dīn Pasha's approach, an outbreak of plague amongst the defenders, and the hardships of the winter of 1533-4, all caused the Spanish garrison under Mendoza, which Doria had installed there, to abandon the fortress and withdraw to Naples; Ḳoron, accordingly, was once more reoccupied in an uncontested way by the Ottomans (cf. further on the events of 1532-4, Paulo Giovio, *Historiae sui temporis*, Paris 1553, ii, 114v. ff., *passim*).

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In the reign of Sulaymān I, according to a *taḥrīr defteri* utilised by M. T. Gökbilgin (*Belleten*, xx, 280, 327), Ḳoron was the seat of a *ḳāḍī* with a revenue of 150 *akčes per annum*, in the *sandjaḳ* of Modon, *liwā* of Mora. The fortress and its dependent territories formed an imperial fief (*ḫāṣṣ-i hümāyūn*) which yielded 162,081 *akčes* of revenue *per annum*: these revenues, according to Th. Spandugino, *Commentarii*, 78, were bestowed with those of Modon by Bāyazīd II on Mecca.

Later in the 11th/16th century (by 991/1582: cf. Gökbilgin, *loc. cit.*) the *ḳaḍā'* of Ḳoron was annexed to the *sandjaḳ* of Mezestre (Mistra). At this time the town contained 300 Christian and 10 Jewish households; the entire Muslim population of garrison officials and some 300 *ḳal'e neferātī* must have been what it appears to have remained in succeeding centuries (cf. the testimony of Evliyā Čelebī for the late 17th century and Leake for the early 19th), i.e. of *'askerī* status.

Western travellers apart, Ḳoron was visited in 1040/1630-1 by the Ottoman historian Pečewī (*Ta'rīḫ*, Istanbul 1283, i, 172) who recalls the events of a century previously, and, later in the century (1668) by Ewliyā Čelebī, who has left a description of the fortress and its inhabitants (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7 to 1938, viii, 326-33; cf. Ulrich Wolfart, *Die Reisen des Evliya Čelebi durch die Morea*, Inaug.-Diss., Munich 1970, 59-66).

In the Sacra Liga War of 1095/1684 to 1110/1699, Ḳoron was the first fortified place to fall to Venice in the course of her reconquest of the Morea, despite a vigorous defence and attempts to relieve the garrison by land. (Djumādā 'l-ākhir 1086/25 June to 7 August 1685; cf. Silaḥdār, *Ta'rīḫ*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 218 ff.; Pietro Garzoni, *op. cit.*, 101, 107-17; Alessandro Locatelli, *Racconto historico della Veneta guerra in Levante* . . . 1684-1690, Colonia 1691, 124-38, 158.

Ḳoron was recovered for the Ottomans by the Grand Vizier Čorlulu 'Alī Pasha in Sha'bān 1127/August 1715. In this last phase, the town and its trade insensibly declined. Leake, in 1805, found that the export of silk and olive-oil, which down to the 1770s had supported four French merchant houses, was no longer flourishing: the harbour, blocked and ruinous already at the time of Bernard Randolph's visit in the late 17th century, offered only an insecure anchorage, while the town itself was much affected by the depredations of the "Janissaries of Koroni" (W. M. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, London 1830, i, 485). Ḳoron finally passed from Ottoman, and Islamic, rule in the course of the Greek War of Independence.

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(C. J. Heywood)

ḲORYÜREK, Enis Behidi, modern Turkish orthography Enis Behiç Koryürek, Turkish poet (1891-1949). Born in Istanbul, the son of an army doctor, he attended schools in Salonica, Üsküb (Skopje) and Istanbul and graduated from the School of Political Science (*Mekteb-i mülkiyye*) in 1913. He served as a diplomat in Bucarest (1915) and Budapest (1916-22) and as a civil servant in various ministries. He died in Ankara on 18 October 1949. Like most poets of his generation, Enis Behidj wrote poems in the style and manner of the *Therwet-i fünün* school [*q.v.*] and of its extension, the *Fedjr-i ātī* [*q.v.*] one, in *'arūḍ* metre and with an artificial language loaded with Arabic and Persian elements, and published them mainly in the periodical *Shehbāl* (1912-14) until he came under the influence of Ḍiyā' (Ziya) Gökalp [*q.v.*], who was leading the "national literature" trend (*Millī edebiyyāt djereyānī*). Under Gökalp's guidance, he switched to syllabic metre (*hedje wezni*), spoken Turkish and "national" themes, and soon became one of the five leading young exponents of syllabic metre known as *hedjeniñ beš shā'iri* (the others being Khālid Fakhrī (Ozansoy), Orkhan Seyfī (Orhon), Yūsuf Ḍiyā' (Ortaç) and Fārūḳ Nāfidh (Çamlıbel)). Koryürek was particularly successful, with an original approach and style, in his epic poems (e.g. *Milli neshīde*, *Süwāriler*) and in his evocative tales of the exploits of Turkish seamen in the Mediterranean (e.g. *Gemidjiler*, *Wenedikli ḳorsān ḳızı*, *Uzakursuz basḳın*). He published his collected poems in *Mīrāth* ("The legacy", Istanbul 1927). His *Güneşin ölümü* ("The death of the sun"), containing his later, less interesting, poems, was posthumously published, with a new edition of *Mīrāth*, by F. Tevetoğlu as *Enis Behiç Koryürek'ten, Miras ve Güneşin ölümü*, Ankara 1971. During the last years of his life he was subject to depression and wrote old style pseudo-mystic poems of mediocre quality supposedly inspired by a 11th/17th century *sheykh*, *Varidat-i Süleyman*, Ankara 1949.

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(Fahir Iz)

KÖSE DAGH, a land-corridor some 50 miles/80 km. to the north-west of Sīwās where there took place in 641/1243, probably on 6 Shawwāl/26 June, the decisive battle which opened up Asia Minor to the Mongols and sounded the knell for the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm. The first contacts of the Mongols and Saldjūḳs went back to the last years of 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayḳubād I [*q.v.*], but at that time Anatolia was too well-protected in relation to the conquests already effected by the Mongols for the latter really to have any plans for conquering it. It was only under Kaykhusraw II [*q.v.*] that the threat took definite shape, without one being able to ascertain how far the invaders intended to advance. However, after the Great Khān Ögedey's death, the new Mongol head of the Caucasian region, Baydju, seized Erzerum in the midst of the winter of 1242, and thus opened up the way into Asia Minor for the following spring.

The sources give few details about the campaign and the battle. Kaykhusraw seems only very late to have fully realised the seriousness and imminence of the danger. He summoned forces together, comprising his allies or vassals, even including Armenians, Greeks and "Franks", ending up with what was certainly a force numerically superior to Baydju's.

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But the impatience of his young commanders prevented him from awaiting the complete grouping of the Saldjūḳ forces. The Mongols, almost all cavalrymen, had recourse to their customary and invariably successful tactic of a simulated flight and then an unforeseen return to the attack against disorganised pursuers. The sultan lost his head and fled, and only the initiative of his vizier Muhadhdhab al-Dīn, combined probably with the Mongols' own prudence, allowed him to keep his throne as a vassal. In reality, the process now began which led to a *de facto* Mongol protectorate.

The weaknesses of the Saldjūḳ state at the time have often been stressed, this was true, but the Mongols, partly by the terror which they inspired, had overcome many other powers. It is hard to maintain that, even without these weaknesses, the course of history would have been any different.

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(Cl. Cahen)

KÖSE MĪḴHĀL [see MĪḴHĀLOGHLU].

KÖSEM WĀLIDE or **KÖSEM SULṬĀN**, called MĀHPAYKAR (*ca.* 1589-1651), wife of the Ottoman sultan Aḥmad I and mother of the sultans Murād IV and Ibrāhīm I [*q.vv.*]. She was Greek by birth, and achieved power in the first place through the harem, exercising a decisive influence in the state during the reigns of her two sons and of her grandson Meḥemmed IV.

The views put forward concerning her origin and her first name—Nasya being derived from Anastasia (Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Ḳadınlar salṭanatı*, Istanbul 1332, 47-8, deriving information from Guer, *Mœurs et usages des Turcs*, Paris 1747, ii, 474, see also Pétis de la Croix, *Abrégé chronologique de l'empire ottomane*, Paris 1768, ii, 74)—do not seem to be reliable. According to Pietro della Valle, *Voyages*, Rouen 1645, i, 94, she was given the nickname Kösem because of her smooth and hairless skin (*köse* = "hairless, beardless"). However, the epithet *kösem/kösemen* could also have been given to her on account of her ability as a leader and virtual ruler (for the meanings of *kösem* in Ottoman, see Hüseyin Kâzim, *Türk lûgati*, Istanbul 1940; iv, 181; B. Kerestedjian, *Quelques matériaux pour un dictionnaire etymologique de la langue turque*, London 1912, s.v. *keusemen* and *keusen*; Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-dialecte*, ii/2, 1294: "ram, bell-wether, leader; free, without a care, independent").

Through her beauty and intelligence, Kösem Wālide was especially attractive to Aḥmad I, and drew ahead of more senior wives in the palace. She bore the sultan four sons—Murād, Sülaymān, Ibrāhīm and Ḳāsim—and three daughters—ʿĀʾisha, Fāṭima and Djawharḵhān (Von Hammer, *GOR*; cf. Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīḵh*, Istanbul 1280, iii, 67 ff.). These daughters she subsequently used to consolidate her political influence by strategic marriages to different viziers.

After Aḥmad I's death on 22 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1026/23 November 1617, she supported the succession of his brother Muṣṭafā I, under whose feeble rule she was able to exercise effective power in the state. Muṣṭafā's deposition three months later was a set-back for her, and she was relegated to the Old Palace (Eski Sarāy) at Bāyezīd under Aḥmad's young son ʿOthmān II, but she came to the fore again when ʿOthmān was deposed and executed and Muṣṭafā briefly restored (9 Radjab 1031/20 May 1622). Her full influence now became apparent when her minor son Murād IV ascended the throne in 1032/1623 and she thus became officially the Wālide Sulṭān, ruling as regent for five years till her son was old enough to take up the reins of power himself (Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 220; Von Hammer, *GOR*, quoting a Venetian report). Even thereafter, Murād greatly respected his mother's opinions, and she took a close interest in state affairs when he was away from the capital. Thus the *Shaykh al-Islām* Aḵhīzāde Ḥusayn Efendi's disapproval of Murād's hanging the *ḳāḍī* of Iznik was communicated by her to the sultan, then on his way to Bursa; he immediately returned to Istanbul and hanged Aḵhī-zāde Ḥusayn—an act which had taken place only three times in Ottoman history (Kātib Čelebi, *op. cit.*, ii, 160; Naʿīmā, iii, 183). She saved the Ottoman dynasty from extinction by preventing Murād, who had executed his other brothers, including Sülaymān and Ḳāsim, from killing Ibrāhīm also (Sagredo, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, Amsterdam 1732, vi, 417; Vanel, *Abrégé nouveau de l'histoire générale des Turcs*, Paris 1689, ii, 545; *Histoire des grands vizirs*, Paris 1676, 34; Du Loir, *Voyages*, Paris 1654, 117; von Hammer, *GOR*).

Together with the Grand Vizier Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha [*q.v.*] she became most active in affairs when Ibrāhīm succeeded to the throne after Murād's death on 16 Shawwāl 1049/9 February 1640 (Naʿīmā, iii, 429), especially as her son gradually became more and more involved with his concubines, the expenditure involved having disastrous repercussions on the treasury (Kātib Čelebi, *op. cit.*, ii, 309 ff.). He subsequently came under the influence of other Palace women, and Kösem Wālide therefore lost her ascendancy and left the *Sarāy-i Djedīd-i ʿĀmire* to live in a summer house outside Ṭopḳapı. When Ibrāhīm learnt that his mother was plotting with the Grand Vizier Ṣāliḥ Pasha do dethrone him, he moved her to the Iskanda Čelebi garden in Florya and hanged Ṣāliḥ (Wedjīhī, *Taʾrīḵh*, Istanbul Univ. Library Turkish ms. 2543, fols. 29b, 32b). Ibrāhīm's weak rule caused a deterioration in affairs, whilst the Cretan war was dragging on and creating feeling against him. The chiefs of the Janissary corps, under Ḳara Murād Agha, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn and Bektāsh Agha, killed the Grand Vizier Aḥmad Pasha Hazārpāre and decided to depose Ibrāhīm. The new Grand Vizier, Ṣofu (or Ḳodja) Meḥmed Pasha and the *Shaykh al-Islām* ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Efendi, together with other leading officials, obtained Kösem Wālide's consent after a meeting with her at Ṭopḳapı, dethroned Ibrāhīm and put in his place his eldest son, the seven-years old prince Meḥemmed on 18 Radjab 1058/8 August 1648 (Naʿīmā, iv, 314, 319; Ḳara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi, *Rawḍat al-abrār dhayli*, Istanbul Univ. Library Turkish ms. 2635, pp. 9 ff.; Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Taʾrīḵh-i-Ghilmāni*, Istanbul 1340, 21 ff.; Murād Bey, *Taʾrīḵh-i-Abu 'l-Fārūḳ*, Istanbul 1329, iv, 48). Ten days later, Ibrāhīm was strangled by the executioner Ḳara ʿAlī, for fear that his partisans might attempt a restoration, with the consent of his mother and with a *fatwā* from the *Shaykh al-Islām* (Ḳara Čelebi-zāde, *op. cit.*, 27-30, 57 ff.).

With Meḥemmed IV's accession, Kösem Wālide's power started to revive, and she was given exalted titles like Büyük Wālide "Grandmother of the Sultan", Wālide-yi Muʿaẓẓama, Umm al-Muʾminīn, Ṣāḥibat al-Maḳām, Wālide-yi ʿAtīḳa, etc. (see Wedjīhī, fol. 44b; Kātib Čelebi, ii, 367, 376; Naʿīmā, iv, 279, 290, 315, 317-19, 415, 418, 450, v, 168). However, her influence was not unbounded. The

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authority of the Janissary *aghas* was wrong, and Turkhān Sulṭān, Meḥemmed's mother and Ibrāhīm's widow, became her rival; this rivalry, and misunderstandings between the state officials and the Janissaries (Naʿīmā, v, 7), caused disturbances in Istanbul and Anatolia. Kösem Wālide and her supporters therefore decided to replace Meḥemmed with his brother Sülaymān, whose mother Dilāshūb Sulṭān was regarded as unlikely to interfere in state matters. But Turkhān Sulṭān learnt of these intentions (Naʿīmā, v, 108), took the initiative, and had Kösem Wālide strangled with a curtain-string by the Palace Janissaries (Naʿīmā, v, 111; her executioner was someone called Küčük or Ḳushču Meḥmed, see Rycaut, *Histoire de l'état présent de l'empire ottomane*, Paris 1670, 63; Naʿīmā, v, 109, 112, 137; von Hammer, *GOR*). Her body was taken from Topḳapı to the Eski Sarāy and then buried in the mausoleum of her husband Aḥmad I (Wedjīhī, fol. 45a).

Kösem Wālide had exercised power in public affairs for nearly 30 years. She left much wealth and estates (Naʿīmā, v, 112; Ḳara Čelebi-zāde, 20), and much of her income was devoted to charitable and other humanitarian works, such as a Friday mosque at Üsküdar, completed in 1060/1650 (Ayvānsarāyi Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, ii, 184-5) and the Wālide Khān in Istanbul, built in 1056/1646 (Ewliyāʾ Celebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 325; Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1664, 49) (this latter building collapsed in March 1926). Also from these revenues she financed irrigation works in Egypt and provided relief for the poor in Mecca. In fact, she left behind in the popular Turkish mind a reputation for magnanimity, generosity and high intelligence.

Bibliography: Largely given in the article, but see the general histories of Von Hammer and Zinkeisen, which utilise both Turkish and European sources, e.g. the reports of the Venetian *baili*; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*; S. J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, Cambridge 1976, i, 190 ff. There is a detailed article in *İA* by M. Cavid Baysun, of which the above is a shortened version. See also Mücteba Ilgürel, *Kösem Sultanın bir vakfiyesi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xvi/21 (1966), 83-94.

(M. Cavid Baysun)

ḲOSH-BEGI, preferable to ḲUSH-BEGI, title of high officials in the Central Asian khanates in the 16th to 19th centuries. There are two different etymologies and explanations of the term: (1) from Turkish *ḳush* "bird" and *beg* [*q.v.*], thus *ḳush-begi* meaning, presumably, "commander of falconers"; (2) from Turkish *ḳosh* "detachment of nomads or troops, esp. on the march", "nomadic and military camp" (cf. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, ii, 635b), thus *ḳosh-begi* meaning "commander of the [royal] camp", "quartermaster". The first explanation is found in an administrative manual *Madjmaʿ al-arḳām* compiled in Bukhārā in 1212/1798, where it is stated that the *ḳush-begi-yi kalān* (see below) in Bukhārā was chief of the royal hunt (see facsimile in *Pis'mennıye pamyatniki vostoka 1968*, Moscow 1970, 56). The etymology, however, remains dubious, because in this case one should rather expect *ḳushči-begi* (or *ḳushči-bashi*), from *ḳushči* "falconer" (the latter post actually existed at the Central Asian courts, as well as in Iran, but the chief of the hunt had the title *mīr-shikār*). Significantly, Iskandar Munshī [*q.v.*] in his *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (ed. I. Afshār, i, 486) mentions the post of *ḳosh-begi* (*manṣab-i ḳosh-begi-garī*) and, in another place (ii, 1040), the post of a falconer (*khidmat-i ḳushči-garī*), who became later the head of the royal hunt (*ba-manṣab-i mīr-shikārī sar-afrāz shud*). On the other hand, many historical references to *ḳosh-begis* in the Uzbek period show them as high military commanders, mentioned among the most high-ranking Uzbek *amīrs*, which, apparently, makes the second etymology and explanation of the term more plausible. The European Turkologists who visited Central Asia in the middle of the 19th century also transcribe the term as *ḳosh-begi* and explain it, in the first place, as "Chef des Dieners oder des Beamtenzirkels der Fürsten" (H. Vámberi, *Ćagataische Sprachstudien*, Leipzig 1867, 318), or "Lord of the household" (R. B. Shaw, *A sketch of the Turki language as spoken in Eastern Turkistan*, Calcutta 1878, 156); see also Radloff, *loc. cit.*

The title *ḳosh-begi* is not attested in the Golden Horde and its immediate successors in the Eurasian steppes in the 15th century. The *Bābur-nāma* (ed. Beveridge, 174b) mentions a Turkish *amīr* as a *ḳosh-begi* of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā [*q.v.*], but nothing is said about his duties. Frequent references to *ḳosh-begis* in historical sources appear only in the late 16th century. The *ʿAbd Allāh-nāma* (MS of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, D 88, ff. 322a, 338a, 339b, 340b etc.) mentions a *ḳosh-begi* among the chief commanders of the army of Bukhārā. In the 17th century *ḳosh-begis* did not apparently play an important role in the khanate of Bukhārā. The *Baḥr al-asrār* by Maḥmūd b. Walī (second quarter of the 17th century), in a description of the ceremonial at the court of the Ashtarkhānids, only mentions the *ḳosh-begi* among the servants closest to the *khān*, and his place was the second after that of *ḳurči-bashi*, commander of the body-guards (see V. V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya*, ii/2, 391, 396). The rise of power of the *ḳosh-begi* in Bukhārā took place at the beginning of the 18th century, with the decline of the Ashtarkhānids. In 1121/1709 ʿUbayd Allāh Khān established the rank of "the great *ḳosh-begi*" (*ḳosh-begi-yi kull*), who became first minister. *Ḳosh-begi* remained the head of the Bukhārā administration also under the Mangits [*q.v.*], when his official title was *kull-i ḳosh-begi* [*sic*], or *ḳosh-begi-yi bālā* "the upper Ḳ.", because he had to live in the residence of the *amīr*, the *ark* (citadel), situated on a hilltop; there was also "the lower Ḳ.", *ḳosh-begi-yi pāyān*, whose residence was at the foot of the *ark* and who held the post of *zakātčı-yi kalān* (head of the collectors of *zakāt* [*q.v.*]). The "great *ḳosh-begis*" under the late Ashtarkhanids and the Mangits were usually of mean origin, mostly former Kalmuk and Persian slaves. Besides the general supervision of the state affairs and, especially, the administration of finance, they were also governors of one or more *wilāyats* (provinces), especially that of Bukhārā itself.

Different development took place in Khīwa [*q.v.*], where the local historian Muʾnis (early 19th century) mentions for the first time the title *ḳosh-begi*, without defining his duties, when he tells about the administrative reforms of Abu 'l-Ghāzī Khān (died in 1074/1664 [*q.v.*]). It seems, however, that *ḳosh-begis* did not play any important role in Khīwa in the 17th century. Only under the Ḳungrat [*q.v.*] dynasty (from the last third of the 18th century) did the *ḳosh-begi* become one of the highest officials in the khānate, but he shared power with the *mehter* (Pers. *mihtar*) [*q.v.*]. The latter was the head of the civil administration, had the title *wazīr-i aʿẓam* and belonged to the hereditary bureaucracy recruited from among the Sarts [*q.v.*], while the *ḳosh-begi* always belonged to the Uzbek nobility, the *amīrs* (and sometimes was a relative of the khān), and was in charge,

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mainly, of military affairs. Besides that, the *ḳosh-begi* governed the northern part of the khānate of Khīwa inhabited by nomadic and semi-nomadic Uzbeks, Karakalpaks and Turkmens (that is, he mainly supervised the collection of taxes in this region), while the *mehter* governed the southern part inhabited by sedentary Sarts. This division of authority seems to be a continuation of the administrative practice of the Tīmūrid period.

In the khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*] in the 19th century, the title *ḳosh-begi* is also attested by the local sources, but evidence about his duties is still unavailable; in any case, he had a lower status than in Bukhārā (the highest official in Khoḳand in the 19th century was the *ming-bashi*); according to V. V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov (in *Trudī Vostočnogo Otdeleniya Imp. Russkogo Arkheologičeskogo Obshčestva*, ii [1856], 331), *ḳosh-begi* was here a honorary title given to the governors of main towns and provinces. In the Čaghatāyid state of Eastern Turkestan, at least in the 17th century, the *ḳosh-begi* was supreme military commander or commander of the right wing (*ūdj-i burānghār*), and had the rank of the senior *amīr* (*amīr al-umarā'*), but the civil administration, apparently, was in the hands of a *wazīr* (see Shāh Maḥmūd b. Mīrzā Fāḍil Čurās, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. O. F. Akimushkin, Moscow 1976, text, 24, 32, 53, 70, Russian tr. 170, 178, 200, 218). Thus this system was probably similar to that which existed in Khīwa.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see [N. V.] Khanikoff, *Bokhara: its amir and its people*, London 1845, 242-5; A. A. Semenov, in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, v (1948), 148; idem, in *Materiali po istorii tadžikov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, ii, Stalinabad 1954, 53-7; M. A. Abduraimov, in *Obshčestvennïye nauki v Uzbekistane*, 1974, no. 11, 54-60; Yu. Bregel, in *Journal of Asian History*, 1978, part ii; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, 363, No. 1361. (Yu. Bregel)

KÖSHK, from Pers. *kūshk*, a pavilion in a pleasance which could be merely a modest shelter or have several rooms. The *djawsaḳs* of the rulers of Sāmarrā were much larger, and were country houses in the manner of the *ḳonaḳs* of Anatolia and the Balkans. The word *ḳaṣīr* (*ḳaṣr*) could be synonymous, but came also to mean castle and always implied more than one chamber, whereas *köshk* rarely suggested a substantial building, and in naval terminology was even the name given to the after-deck or poop cabin.

Although the Ottomans developed the *köshk* as a pavilion consisting of a single hall, it did occasionally take the form of a suite of rooms. Meḥemmad II Fātiḥ modelled the Činili Köshk in the outer court of Ṭopkapïsarāyï on Tīmurīd pavilions. It included two floors of apartments for himself and his officers, for it served as a lodging when he did not wish to return to his residence in the centre of the city. It was a *köshk* in the sense of being a pied-à-terre. Later examples such as the Sand Pavilion at Edirne (*Ḳum Ḳaṣïr*) were designated *ḳaṣïr*. But the essential characteristic which governed the transliteration of *köshk* into English as "kiosk" was that of a chamber under a dome with three sofas and a hooded open grate, forming the four arms of a cross with a balcony or terrace overlooking a garden and a pool or other expanse of water. There a day might be passed at any season of the year, enjoying a partly-indoor and a partly-outdoor life. The pavilion was, in a sense, a permanent tent and its portico the uplifted awning on poles common to nomadic life. However, a royal *köshk* was tiled, its woodwork gilded, ceilings elaborately painted, doors inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl and the sofas covered with silks and velvet rocades, the floor with rugs. In this form, they were ideal and intimate drawing rooms, the antithesis of the Napoleonic concept of the Piazza at Venice.

They also served as hunting lodges, like that of Siyāwush outside the walls of Istanbul, which is elevated above its own pool in a park. Originally it was a single domed chamber with a vestibule and closet. Similar *köshk*s or *ḳaṣïr*s were built as royal retiring-rooms from which access could be gained to the mosque or *djāmi'*. Less wealthy citizens built examples so modest that they were little more than bowers with shutters that served as walls in winter but which could be dismantled in the spring. These, rather than the ornate *köshk*s of the rich, inspired newspaper stands and the like in 19th century Paris and other cities in Western Europe.

Bibliography: References to kiosks appear in the descriptive works of travellers, more particularly of Ṭopkapïsarāyï, by pages who escaped from there. Among these are D. Hierosolimitano, Harley mss. 3408, British Museum; O. Bon mss., Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Cl. vii, cod. 578, 923; (the last in English by R. Withers, ed. Greaves, *A description of the Grand Signor's seraglio*, London 1650); also in R. G. Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlaine, 1403-6*, tr. G. Le Strange, London 1928. Engravings of examples are illustrated in R. Walsh and T. Allom, *Constantinople*, London 1838 and J. Pardoe, *The city of the sultan*, 3 vols., London 1838. Standard historical works on Islamic architecture, tiles, furnishings and the other decorative arts include E. H. Ayverdi, *Fatih devri mimarï eserleri*, Istanbul 1953 and *Murad II devri mimarï eserleri*, Istanbul, 1968; G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954; A. Gabriel, *Une capitale turque, Brousse* (*Bursa*), Paris 1958; A. Godard, *L'art d'Iran*, Paris 1962; İ. H. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Konya tarihi*, Istanbul 1964 and *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Karaman tarihi*, Istanbul 1967; G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish art and architecture*, London 1972; J. R. Rogers, *The spread of Islam*, London 1976. Monographs include H. Saladin, *Le yali des Keupruli à Anatoli-Hissar*, N. P. 1915; B. Miller, *Beyond the Sublime Porte*, New Haven 1931; F. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konya*, Berlin 1931; Z. Orgun, *Cinili köşk*, in *Arkitekt Neşriyat*, ii, Istanbul 1943; R. O. Tosyeri (Tosyalı), *Edirne saray*, Ankara 1957; O. Aslanapa, *Erster Bericht über die Ausgrabungen des Palastes von Diyarbakïr*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, Ankara 1957; E. Yücel, *Yeni cami'i hünkar kasrı*, in *Arkitekt*, 320, 5 April 1965; N. M. Penzer, *The harēm*, London 1965; K. Otto-Dorn and M. Önder, *Bericht über die Grabung in Kubadabad*, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1966; also S. E. Eldem, *Köşkler ve kasırlar*, i, Istanbul 1969, which is the first part of a comprehensive work on the kiosk in Ottoman times, and D. N. Wilber, *Persian gardens and pavilions*, Rutland, Vermont 1962.

(G. Goodwin)

ḴOSHMA is originally a general term for poetry among the Turkish peoples. In the later usage of the word, it was applied to the native Turkish popular poetry, in contrast to the classical poetry taken from the Persian and based on the laws of the Arabic *'arūḍ* [*q.v.*]. The term corresponding in Eastern Turkī to the Western Turkī *ḳoshma* is *ḳoshuḳ* or *ḳoshugh*.

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In the oldest source, e.g. in the *Ḳutadghu bilik* (composed in 462/1069-70 [see YŪSUF ḴHĀṢṢ ḤĀDJIB]), *ḳoshuḳ* still has the quite general meaning of "poem, verse", e.g. in Radloff's edition, St. Petersburg 1891, i, l. 2 from below: *bu kitābni ḳoshuḳnï aymïsh* "has composed this book, this poem"; *ibid.*, 5, l. 4, *bu türkčā ḳoshuḳlar tüzättim saña* "I have polished (i.e. composed) these Turkish verses for thee". In Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī [*q.v.*] also, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (begun in 464/1072), ed. Kilisli Rif'at Bey, i, 314, *ḳoshugh* is equated with the Arabic *shi'r*, *radjaz* and *ḳaṣā'id*. The Persian musician and scholar ʿAbd al-Ḳādir of Marāgha (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, cf. E. G. Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, iii, Cambridge 1920, index s.v.), in his work entitled *Maḳāṣid al-alḥān* does not yet discriminate between *ḳoshuḳ* and the quantitative quatrain *tuyugh* (see Ra'ūf Yektā, *Eski türk musïḳïsïna dā'ir tetebbūʿler*, in *Milli tetebbūʿler medjmūʿasï*, i, 461). On the other hand, in a verse by ʿAlī Shēr Nawā'ī (d. 906/1501 [*q.v.*]) quoted in Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire Turc-Oriental*, 432, s.v., and in Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, col. 640, the *ḳoshuḳ* is definitely contrasted with the *tuyuḳ*.

Later, we find poems and songs composed according to the rules of Turkish popular poetry expressly called *ḳoshma*, *ḳoshuḳ*. The characteristic features of this poetry are the following: 1. Strophic structure. The strophes are usually quatrains. The *ḳoshma* poems contain at least two strophes. 2. Syllabic or accented syllable rhythm, i.e. the lines of the strophe have the same number of syllables and the value of the syllables as regards stress is either a matter of indifference or stronger and weaker syllables follow one another in definite order, which is repeated. In the latter case, after a definite number of syllables, we always have of necessity a caesura in the middle of the line. In the later *ḳoshma* strophes the most popular lines are hendecasyllabic divided into 6-5 with one caesura or 4-4-3 (with two caesuras). 3. There is rhyme or assonance of at least two endings in the strophe. The rhyme is usually grammatical and may extend to several final syllables according to its nature. It usually arises as a result of strict parallelism in the syntactical structure of the two halves of the verse. The rhyming in the *ḳoshma* strophe is usually *abcb* or *aaba*. 4. Alliteration of the initial syllables of the lines is not maintained among all Turkish people (cf. T. Kowalski, *Études sur la forme de la poésie des peuples turcs*, in *Mémoires de la Comm. Orient. de l'Acad. Polonaise*, No. 5, Cracow 1922: in Polish with a French résumé, 157 ff.).

In earlier times, the *ḳoshma* songs were usually sung by the bards (*uzan*) to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, especially by the *ḳobuz* beloved of the Turks, at court festivities or in the camp of the army. The *ḳoshma* poetry was always industriously cultivated among the people, in spite of the increasing popularity of the classical quantitative poetry. The popular forms like *ḳaya bashï*, *deyish*, *ezgi*, *ïr*, *türkü*, *warsaghï* and *türkmäni*, some cultivated among the Ādharbāydjān and some among the Ottoman Turks, all belong to the *ḳoshma*. The songs of popular mystics called *ilāhī* and *nefes* from the time of Yūnus Emre (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries) are composed according to the rules of the *ḳoshma* (see Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Türk edebiyyātïnda ilk müṭaṣawwïflar*, Istanbul 1918, 334-6). The *ḳoshma* popular poetry, which sometimes produces really beautiful lyrics, was mainly cultivated by wandering singers (*ʿāshïḳ*, also called *sāz shāʿiri* or *čöyürdjü*). Many of them, like ʿĀshïḳ ʿÖmer, ʿĀshïḳ Kerem, ʿĀshïḳ Gharīb, Derdlī and Djewherī, attained great fame, and the collections of their songs or life stories are among the most popular books among the Turks (cf. Köprülüzāde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Türk edebiyyātïnda ʿāshïḳ ṭarzïnïñ menshe'* *we-tekāmülü*, in *Milli tetebbūʿler medjmūʿasï*, i; idem, ʿĀshïḳ *Djewheriyye ʿā'id iki wethïḳa* in the periodical *Yeñi Medjmūʿa*, No. 84; G. Jacob, *Türkische Volksliteratur*, Berlin 1901, 17-18). There were even singers of popular songs in the corps of Janissaries; cf. J. Deny, *Chansons des Janissaires turcs d'Alger*, in *Mélanges René Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 33-175.

The term *ḳoshma* (but not the kind of poetry to which it was applied) seems to have fallen out of use, and if the Ādharbāydjāni poet Djawād, who died in the first decades of this century, called his collection of songs *Ḳoshma*, this is probably simply to be explained by an archaicising popular movement in modern literature. The name has survived in the form *ḳožoñ* (*ḳoshoñ*) among the Altai Turks (Tatars). The Altai *ḳožoñ* (on them, cf. W. Radloff, *Über die Formen der gebundenen Rede bei den altaischen Tataren*, in *Zeitschr. f. Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* [1866], iv, 85-114, and Kowalski, *Études*, etc., 140-51) are very important in so far as from their structure and name we can make a definite deduction regarding the original meaning of the words *ḳoshma*, *ḳoshuḳ*, etc. They are pairs of strophes connected by a close parallelism between the two in form and content. From this we see that *ḳožoñ*, from *ḳosh-* "to join together", *ḳožo* "two and two", etc., refers to the parallelism in thought and syntactical structure, which originally formed the essential feature of Turkish popular poetry.

The *ḳoshma* poetry has not been without influence on more artistic forms of literature. The modern Turkish poets, for example, have taken many of their forms from popular poetry.

Finally, one should note that the term *ḳoshma* applies also to a folk-musical form, which varies in different parts of Anatolia and Ādharbāydjān, but which contains typically an instrumental introduction, followed by a vocal recitative and melody. This would be the normal setting for the *ḳoshma* as a literary form.

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ḲOṢOWA, KOSOVO, the name of an upland plain of the Balkans, in upper Macedonia or southern Serbia, and the scene of two significant battles in the struggles of the Ottomans and the Christian powers of the Balkans for hegemony there. In the last quarter of the 19th century, it also became the name of an Ottoman *wilāyet* or province.

The South Slavonic expression *Kosovo polie* means "plain of the blackbirds" from *kos* "blackbird" in Old Slavonic, Czech and Bulgar. Ottoman Turkish

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sources give various less convincing etymologies. For those sources which derive the *Ḳoṣowa* from Turkish *kosa* or *kōse owa* "bare, treeless plain", etc., see ʿAlī Ḥaydar, *Ḳoṣowa maydān muḥārebesi*, Istanbul 1328, Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir's preface. The name is spelt as Kūs owası in ʿĀṣhīḳpaṣhazāde, *Taʾrīḵh*, Istanbul 1332, 62, 134, Neṣhrī, *Dj̲ihānnümā*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, 70, 139, 174, and Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tāḏj al-tawārīḵh*, i, 117, and as *Ḳūs owası* in ʿOrūdj b. ʿĀdil, *Tawārīḵh-i āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān*, Hanover 1925, 25. Saʿd al-Dīn's explanation that the name means "plain of the kettle-drums" is, of course, yet another folk etymology.

The Ḳoṣowa plain lies at an altitude of some 500-600 km., and is 14 km. wide and 84 km. long, covering an area of 502 km.[2] It is surrounded by high mountains, and has a north-west to south-east orientation. From this region, streams flow westwards to the Adriatic via the Drina, southwards to the Aegean via the Vardar, and northwards to the Danube via the Ibar and Morava. During mediaeval times, it was a meeting-point of several trade routes; today it forms part of the Novo Brdo-Kopavnik mining region of Yugoslavia.

The Ḳoṣowa plain originally formed part of the Byzantine dominions, and Slav peoples were settled there at the beginning of the 7th century. During the 10th century it changed hands between Serbs, Byzantines and Bulgars (for the names of the Serbian *ban*s who were active in the Ḳoṣowa region, see V. Radovanović, *Kosovo Polje*, in *Narodna Enc. Srpsko-Hrvatsko-Slovenacka*, Zagreb 1926, ii, 434-8). After the victory gained over the Byzantines in 1168 by Stephen Nemanja, prince of eastern Serbia, Ḳoṣowa passed under Serbian control, and the name became applied to the whole plains region. It now remained within the resurgent Serbian empire, with its zenith under Stephen Duṣhan (d. 1355), but Serbian grasp on the region became relaxed under his weaker son and successor Uroṣh V (1355-71), and thereafter, the Serbian princes were unable to offer any united opposition to the increasing Ottoman Turkish pressure.

The defeat of Serbia at the hands of the Ottomans at Ḳoṣowa took place according to the Serbian and the western sources on 15 June 1389 and according to the Ottoman ones, on 4 Ramaḍān 791/27 August 1389. The Turkish army was commanded by Sultan Murād I b. Orkhān, and included his two sons Bāyezīd from Kütahya and Yaʿḳūb from Ḳarası and contingents from the vassal *beg*s of Ṣārūkhān, Menteṣhe, Aydın and Ḥamīd. They were opposed by the Serbian prince Lazar Gresljanović, with contingents from the Bosnian King Tvrtko I. On the dawn of the battle, a Serbian noble, Miloṣh Kobilić, Lazar's son-in-law, gained access to the Ottoman camp by posing as a deserter and stabbed Murād to death. But Bāyezīd immediately assumed command, and in the ensuing fighting—the details of which are little known—the Turks gained the eventual victory. Lazar was taken prisoner and executed after the battle; a mausoleum was built on the spot where Murād had died, but his body was buried at Bursa. The death of Murād and the withdrawal of the Turkish army immediately after its victory caused false rumours to spread in Christian Europe of a Serbian victory; in fact, the consequence of the battle was that Serbia became an Ottoman vassal state, and Lazar's successor, his son Stephan Lazarević, had to pay tribute and supply an army under his personal command to the Ottomans. Ḳoṣowa also gave rise to a great cycle of popular ballads among the Serbs, expressive of national feeling. For the Turkish sources on the battle, see Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 113; ʿOrūdj, 25; ʿAlī Ḥaydar, 27-32; ʿĀṣhīḳpaṣhazāde, 63; Neṣhrī, 82 ff.; Solaḳzāde, 50; and also Von Hammer, *GOR*, i. After this first battle of Ḳoṣowa, Bāyezīd I appointed Yigit Paṣha as *üdj begi* of Üsküp/Skopje and the southern district of Ḳoṣowa, and this region was now settled by Turks from Menemen and Tatars from Anatolia.

The second battle of Ḳoṣowa took place on 17-19 October 1448, when a Hungarian army under John Hunyadi, and including also Wallachians and German Bohemian arquebusiers, met an Ottoman army under Murād II; the struggle was at first indecisive, but was gained by the Turks through the treachery of the Wallachians and the flight of the Hungarian king. During the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, the northern part of the Ḳoṣowa plain also came under Ottoman control. In the 10th/16th century the town of Vučitrn became the administrative centre of the sandjaḳ of Ḳoṣowa in the *eyālet* of Rumeli. When Ewliyā Čelebi passed through the Ḳoṣowa plain in 1070/1659-60, he found that Vučitrn had a Turkish and Albanian population and contained 2,000 households (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1315, v, 550). In 1688-9 the region was invaded by an Austrian army under Piccolomini, but driven out in the following year by Ḳodja Khalīl Paṣha and Selīm Gīrāy Khān (Fındıḳlılı Meḥmed Agha, *Silaḥdār taʾrīḵhi*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 269-70, 351-2, 423 ff.; Rāshid, *Taʾrīḵh*, Istanbul 1282, ii, 95-112; V. Corović, art. *Kosovo*, in *Narodna Enc. Srpsko-Hrvatsko-Slovenacka*, ii, 433-4).

During the last quarter of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th, the Ḳoṣowa district was involved in various attempts by local governors, such as the Bushatlı governors of Scutari or Ishḳodra, Meḥmed Paṣha and his son Ḳara Maḥmūd Paṣha, to break away from control by the Porte; the region was only firmly reattached to Istanbul after the defeat of the last Bushatlı, Muṣṭafā Paṣha, by Maḥmūd II's new western-style army [see ARANAWUTLU. 6. History]. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 a new *wilāyet*, called specifically that of Ḳoṣowa, was formed consisting of the regions of Nish and Prishtina and with Sofia as its centre (see Samī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1314, v, 3746-8; ʿAlī Ḥaydar, *Midḥat Paṣha*, Istanbul 1325, 13-24). In 1888 its centre was moved to Üsküb/Skopje, and in 1896 its boundaries widened to include six *sandjaḳ*s, sc. Üsküb, Prishtina, Senitsa, Ipek, Tashlidja/Plevlie and Prizren (see M. Rüshdī and M. Eshref, *Mükemmel we mufaṣṣal aṭlas*, Istanbul 1325, 21-4; *Sālnāme-yi wilāyet-i Ḳoṣowa*, year 1314). The region was meanwhile considerably disturbed, for in 1878 a congress had been formed to protect the rights of the Albanians and to establish an autonomous *wilāyet* of Ḳoṣowa, with its centre at Monastir. Albanian volunteers under the leadership of Süleyman Vokshi captured Üsküb, Prishtina and Mitrovitsa early in 1881, but in April of that year, were defeated by an army sent out from Istanbul under Derwīsh Paṣha. However, the Albanians subsequently took advantage of the erratic policies of repression alternating with indulgence practised by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, and gradually captured all the villages extending up to the Ḳoṣowa plain, until the restoration of the Constitution in 1908. Eventually, a Serbian army under General Janković captured Lab during the Balkan War of 1912, and by 23 October of that year the whole of the Ḳoṣowa region passed into Serbian hands permanently, a state of affairs confirmed by the Treaty of London of 30 May 1913 which ended

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the war. It was estimated that the population of the province at that time was one million, three-quarters of this being Muslim Turks and Albanians, and the rest Christian Serbs and Bulgars.

After the First World War, the region came of course within the new Yugoslavian state, and a policy of slavicisation was followed, so that the Muslim population shrank with the exodus to Albania and to Turkey. Today it is an autonomous unit of the Yugoslavian People's Republic under the name of Kosovo-Metohija and with its centre at Prishtina.

Bibliography: See the detailed article in *İA* s.v. *Kosovo* by M. Münir Aktepe, upon which the above is based, and also the bibliography to the *EI*[1] article by Cl. Huart, and for the first battle of Ḳoṣowa, *The Cambridge Mediaeval History*. iv. *The Byzantine Empire*. Part 1, Cambridge 1966, 550-1. (M. MÜNİR AKTEPE)

KÖSTENDJE (in Rumanian, Constanţa), a port on the Rumanian shore of the Black Sea, situated on the ruins of the Milesian colony of Tomes (Ovid, *Tristia*, i, 10, 41; iii, 9, 5) founded at the beginning of the 6th century B.C., and the place of exile of the Roman poet Ovid (9-18 A.D.). Mentioned in 260 A.D. (Memnon, *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, ed. C. Muller, iii, Paris 1849, 537), Tomes enjoyed great prosperity in the Greek and Roman period and earned, under the Antonines, the title of metropolis of Western Pontus (μητρόπολις τοῦ Εὐωνύμου Πόντου). Under the later Roman Empire, Tomis became the capital of Scythia Minor, being designated in the epigraphic and literary sources by the name Constantia or Constantiana after the emperor Constantine II (337-61 A.D.), who contributed to its development. Sacked by the Huns (456 A.D.), the town was fortified by the Byzantine emperors Anastasus (491-518) and Justinian (527-65) (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, Bonn, iii/2, 307) and resisted attacks by the Avars. In 679 it was destroyed by the Bulghārs of the *ḵẖān* Asparukh.

The fishing station set on the ruins of the ancient city continued to bear the name Κωνσταντία, in the writings of Byzantine authors of the 9th and 10th centuries, while the map drawn up in 548/1154 by al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] calls it Ṭamṭānā (P. A. Joubert, *Géographie d'Edrisi*, ii, Paris 1840, 382). In the 14th century, Italian nautical maps give the name Costanza—derived from the Rumanian *Constanţa*, Turkish Köstendje—to the Genoan trading mission used as a harbour by Genoese ships. When Dobrudja was joined to Wallachia (Eflāḳ) by Mirčea the Old (1386-1418), the town followed the same destiny as the rest of the province. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, Köstendje was reportedly conquered by Bāyazīd I [*q.v.*], who ordered the dismantling of its walls. This event seems to have taken place during the reign of Vlad the Usurper (1394-6) in the province of Wallachia. Taking advantage of the fact that Bāyazīd was detained in Anatolia, Mirčea recaptured Köstendje, which he retained after the Ottoman defeat of Ankara (28 July 1402) under the reigns of the *amīr* Süleymān (1403-10) and of his protégé Mūsā Čelebi (1410-13) in Thrace and Macedonia. But in the course of the expediton of Meḥemmed I (1413-21) dated by N. Iorga to 820/1417 (*GOR*, i, 375), and more plausibly by H. Inalcık to 822/1419 (*Ibn Hacer'de Osmanlılara dair haberler*, in *AÜDTCF Dergisi* vi, 525; O. Turan, *Tarihi takvimler*, Ankara 1954, 20, 56), the town was once again captured by the Ottomans. Its annexation did not become definitive until after 1445, since the captain of the Burgundian fleet, Walerand de Wavrin, met no Ottomans at Mangalya, on the coast of the Black Sea to the south of Köstendje, when he landed there. In the 16th century, it was a fairly prosperous town, leased to a *ṣubaşẖī* and with a harbour and a market which, dealing in the major products of Dobrudja (Ankara, *Tapu ve Kadastre* collection, 483, 30-31), played an important role in the supplying of cereals, fish and timber to Istanbul. The harbour was also used for the exporting of Wallachian products (hides, wax, honey, salt) which were much in demand by the merchants of Ragusa and Ancona.

At the beginning of the 17th century, Köstendje suffered devastation at the hands of Polish cossacks (1602, 1616). Although this port was not included in the list of towns (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları*, in *Belleten*, xx, (1956), 254-5, 266-7), the Ragusan traveller Paolo Giorgi regarded it as such. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, it was a town of small prosperity belonging to the *eyālet* of Silistria (Istanbul, *Başbakanlık Arşivi* D-BMK-SLM, *Silistre ve Rusçuk mukataası*), comprising one hundred and fifty houses, between forty and fifty granaries, some shops, a *ḵẖān* and a mosque, and serving as the residence of a *ḳāḍī*. Though possessing the status of a *ḳaḍā*', in the 18th century Köstendje had the appearance of a large market-town whose *iḥtisāb aghası* (i.e. *muḥtesib*) was in charge of the supplying of grain to Istanbul. Devastated and depopulated during the Russo-Turkish wars (1711, 1718-39, 1768-74 and 1787-92), Köstendje was fortified by the Ottomans, who considered its port one of the most important in Dobrudja for the purpose of supplying their capital with cereals, cattle, sheep, hides and wool.

During the Russo-Turkish war of 1806-12, Köstendje was captured by the Cossacks (1809), who destroyed the fortress and the town, reducing it to the status of a village. Returned to the Ottoman Empire by the Treaty of Bucharest (1812), Köstendje was surrounded by a line of fortifications. In 1829 the town surrendered to the Russians without a struggle and its defences were dismantled. During the Crimean War the French troops of General Canrobert, in alliance with the Ottomans, disembarked at Köstendje (July 1854) but remained there only for a short time. In 1857, a British company, The Danube and Black Sea Railways Company, obtained from the Ottoman government a concession for the reconstruction and development of the port and of a new railway linking Boğaz-köy (Cernavoda) with Köstendje, which as a result of this enjoyed a new period of prosperity. In 1877 the troops of the Russian general Orlov Denisov occupied the town, which was ceded to Rumania on 23 March 1878. At this time it was a *ḳaḍā*' of the *wilāyet* of Tuna, created in 1281/1864. The Treaty of Berlin (13 Radjab 1295/13 July 1878) recognised this union. Köstendje then possessed two *djāmi*'s: the Maḥmūdiyya (1822) and the ʿAzīziyya (1822). It was at Constanţa that the first newspaper of the Dobrudja was published, the *Dobrudja gazetesi* (1888-94), as well as the newspapers *Dobrudja* (1901) and *Dobrudja ṣadāsī* (1910-14) published by Meḥmed Niyāzī.

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(MARIE M. ALEXANDRESCU-DERSCA BULGARU)

KOTA KOTA, An Arabic corruption of the Chi-Hiyao place-name Ngotangota, a town in East Africa, situated in lat. 14° S. on the west side of Lake Malawi (Lake Nyasa). It was the seat of four Jumbes, or Walis, subject to Zanzibar between *ca.* 1845 and 1895. The first Jumbe, Salīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, came to Lake Malawi via the Arab settlement of Tabora in the present Tanzania, and built up an ivory and slave-trading state, and at the same time made Kota Kota an effective centre for the dissemination of Islam. He was succeeded by another Swahili, Mwinyi Mguzo (? Nguzo), who ruled from after 1860 to *ca.* 1875-6. Under his successor, Mwinyi Kisutu, a member "of a good Zanzibar family", the town was visited by H. B. Cotterill in 1876. It had many handsome square houses and numerous oil palms; the Zanzibar flag flew over the Jumbe's house. Although a slave-trader, when the British took power in Nyasaland in 1891, he co-operated with them until his death in 1894. His successor, Mwinyi Kheiri, the son of his predecessor, ruled from 7 September 1894 until May 1895, when he was deposed for conspiring to overthrow the British administration. Kota Kota remains an important Islamic centre in Malawi.

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(G. S. P. FREEMAN-GRENVILLE)

KOTOKO, a people of Black Africa. The Kotoko live south of Lake Chad on the lower Shari and Logone rivers. Most of their territory is presently in the Republic of Cameroun, but there are villages of the Kotoko also in Chad to the east and in Nigeria to the west.

The Kotoko (whose number was estimated at 50,000 in 1950) are a minority in their own territory. They are outnumbered by the Shuwa Arabs, who penetrated into these lands since the 18th century. Smaller groups of Kanuri, Fulbe and Hausa moved in later. Each of these ethnic groups, however, lives separately in homogeneous villages. The Kotoko live on fishing and hunting, supplemented by agriculture. The grassland between the rivers is left for the Arab pastoralists.

The etymological origin of the name Kotoko is obscure. Some authors referred to them as Makari, which is in fact the name of a northern group of Kotoko, first known to visitors coming from Bornu. Makari is the most important dialect among the northern Kotoko, as Lagwane (often spelled Logone) dialect is in the south. The linguistic diversity of the Kotoko reflects their political division, as the extent of each dialect is almost identical with the area of one principality. The particularism of each group is so strong that even under modern conditions no one dialect prevails, and almost all the Kotoko now speak the Arabic dialect of the Shuwa. The Kotoko dialects belong to the central sub-group of the Chadian languages. They are distantly related to Hausa, which is classified in the western sub-group of the Chadian languages (J. H. Greenberg, *Studies in African linguistic classification*, New Haven 1955, 43-62).

The Kotoko are considered direct descendants of the Sao or So people, to whom the historical traditions of Kanem [*q.v.*] and Bornu [*q.v.*] refer as the early inhabitants of the area around Lake Chad. Those Sao who had not been assimilated or exterminated by the Kanembus and the Kanuris sought refuge in the less accessible flooding area of the Shari and Logone rivers, where they gave rise to the Kotoko. In the second half of the 16th century, Bornu under Idrīs Alūma expanded to the south. The northern Kotoko principalities, Makari and Afade, were brought within the political ambit of Bornu and under the cultural and Islamic influence of the Kanuri. Because of the imperial and dynastic connections with Bornu, islamisation among the Kotoko began chiefly in the courts. The southern Kotoko had been for a long period subject to the harassment of Bagirmi [*q.v.*]. Towards the end of the 18th century, the south was consolidated under the authority of the ruler of Logone-Birni, who was converted to Islam at about that period. Logone was visited by Major Denham in 1824 and by H. Barth in 1852. In between these two dates, probably *ca.* 1830, Logone became a tributary of Bornu. The Kotoko often saw their territory invaded by their more powerful neighbours. It was the battleground for Bornu's wars with its rivals Waday [*q.v.*] and Bagirmi. Between 1893 and 1900 it was overrun by Rābih [*q.v.*] and his warriors.

The authority of the Kotoko chiefs was circumscribed by a council of high officials and by Bornu's representative, the *alifa* (from Ar. *ḵhalīfa*). The chiefs were also bound by pre-Islamic taboos and by the obligation to consult "the protecting animals" through their priests. The Kotoko chiefs, referred by the colonial administration as *sulṭāns*, are Muslims but they must respect old traditions. Muslim *imāms* live in their courts with traditional priests. Mosques were built near traditional shrines, whereas pre-Islamic customs and rituals are performed during Muslim festivals. Most of the Kotoko are now considered Muslims, and the number of those more fully committed to Islam grows steadily. Thousands of Kotoko are to be found in the towns of Chad and in the Sudan along the routes to Mecca. The Kotoko, who had emerged as people in refuge, away from the Muslim states of the Central Sudan, are gradually becoming integrated into the world of Islam.

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(N. Levtzion)

KOTONOU or Cotonou, capital of the People's Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey). It had long been the economic capital and rival of the administrative one Porto Novo, and since independence Cotonou has established itself definitively as the capital of the republic, even if certain services still remain at Porto Novo.

The village founded by the Aïzo of Allada was called Donukpa ("near the hole", i.e. "near the lagoon"). An envoy from Abomey was struck by the reddish colour of the trees growing along this lagoon and thought that this was the result of blood. It was then believed by the Fon of Abomey that the spirits of the dead came down to Ouémé towards the lagoon and the sea; each dead person crossing the lagoon left behind a little blood which reddened the tree bark, whence the name of Ku Tonu (*ku* "dead person", *tonu* "lagoon") given to the village. However, the passage of armies from Dahomey in the 18th century led to the evacuation of this latter village. It was Yekpé Zinsou, a slave dealer, who found this spot favourable for loading up slaves away from the eyes of European control shipping, and with the help of a half-breed Portuguese interpreter Sangronio he founded this Fon village. Once he had become Jévogan of the king of Dahomey (i.e. the minister charged with relations with the white men), Yekpé settled there with his family. The place became prosperous through the trade in palm oil and through anchorage rights (payable in cowrie shells and in goods) which the Europeans had to pay. A Brazilian half-breed, Domingo Martins, settled now at Cotonou and developed the cultivation and trade in palm oil. It developed further during Glélé's reign and at the time of the French appearance there (treaties of 1868 and 1878). But Béhanzin refused France any rights over Cotonou, and two attacks on the 23 February and 4 March 1878 were repelled by the French garrison. A wharf was built between 1891 and 1899, bringing about a growth in trade, and the town's importance grew. In 1905 the population comprised 75 Europeans (including seven women and a child) and 1,100 Africans. It became a *commune mixte* in 1912 and grew especially in importance after 1928.

In the 1920s it had 8,500 inhabitants, including 300 Muslims, who were distributed in the following manner. There were 100 or so Senegalese who had come as infantrymen, officials and above all as railway workers; 100 or so Hausa from northern Nigeria, functioning as butchers or as traders in cloth and beasts; and 100 or so Nago (Yoruba), mainly coming originally from Porto Novo and working in the trading houses.

The first *imām* of Cotonou was Moussé Col Popo of Agoue, born in *ca.* 1845 and initiated into the Ḳādirī order by Seidou Collou of Nigeria. Being worn-out and hardly capable of delivering the sermon or *khuṭba* in Arabic, he was replaced in October 1920 by Soaïtou Mamadou, born at Lagos in *ca.* 1870 and living in Cotonou since the French occupation. Since he had received the Ḳādirī *wird* from Shaykh Ismailia of Zaria, it seems that he was an adherent of the mystical path of the Fulbe of Sokoto. After having given the *khuṭba* in literary Arabic, he himself translated into Hausa this sermon; then his *hailé* or deputy translated it into Nago. After these two Yoruba *imāms*, there followed a Sarakolé, al-Ḥādjdj Sakaba, born at Bakel in 1875, an educated and likeable trader who had made the Pilgrimage to Mecca in 1906 via Lagos, Las Palmas and Marseilles. He had connections with the Arab bookseller of Algiers, Kaddow Roudouci (Ḳaddūz Rudusī). He was succeeded by a Hausa, Malam Bako, but after the latter's death there was a division between the two main Muslim communities, the Yoruba and the Hausa, with the latter reproaching the Yoruba for retaining animistic practices, of drinking alcohol, of having more than four wives and of not fasting at the same time as other people. On 31 August 1966 the Muslim Union of Dahomey was formed, bringing about the pre-eminence of the Muslim community of Porto Novo; the President of the Union was in fact al-Ḥādjdj ʿAlī Paraiso. If the meetings of the Muslim community of Benin take place at Cotonou, it is nevertheless the Islamic north and Porto Novo who have benefited from these arrangements and from aid coming from the Arab world's communities.

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(R. Cornevin)

KŌTWĀL (Persian orthography, *k.w.twāl*), commander of a fortress, town, etc. The word is used throughout mediaeval times in the Iranian, Central Asian and Muslim Indian worlds, and has spread westwards into the regions of ʿIrāḳ and the Persian Gulf, where we find it, for instance, as a component of place names like Kūt al-ʿAmāra [*q.v.*], and given an Arabic-pattern diminutive form in al-Kuwayt [*q.v.*].

Although the word appears from the Mongol period onwards in Turkish, including Čaghatay, in such versions as *ketaul*, *kütāül*, etc., so that many native authorities (and following them, western linguists and lexicographers such as A. Vámbery, Pavet de Courteille and W. Radloff) assumed that it was a Turkish or even a Mongol word, G. Doerfer is undoubtedly right in tracing it back to an Indian origin, from *kōṭ* "fortress", whence *kōṭwālā* "castellan, keeper of a stronghold", and frequent north Indian place names like Nagarkōṭ, Lohkōṭ, etc. The earliest attestations of the word in Islamic sources are all in an Indo-Muslim context, e.g. Maḥmūd of Ghazna's bestowal of the *kōṭwālī* of Nandana in the western Pandjāb on one of his commanders in 405/1015 (Gardīzī *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 72, ed. Ḥabībī, 181), and the frequent appearance in Bayhaḳī's *Taʾrikh-i Masʿūdī* of a commander Bū ʿAlī Kōtwāl, the local governor of the capital Ghazna. On the other hand, it does not appear in Kāshgharī. Gradually, the word became general throughout the eastern Islamic world, passing into Turkic languages, into Pashto, and into Indian vernaculars like Pandjābī, Bengali and Urdu. In Persia of the Mongol, Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid periods it was the term used for the local governor of a town or citadel, as is attested by western travellers like du Mans (1660). Cf. Doerfer,

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Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, iii, 618-21, No. 1658.

The term *kōtwāl* was especially used in Muslim India under the Mughals and, after the collapse of their empire in the mid-18th century, in British India for approximately a century more. But in fact, this office, in the sense of "official responsible for public order, the maintenance of public services etc., in a town" (something like the *Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭa* [*q.v.*] of the earlier caliphate), existed before the Mughals, e.g. in the territories of the Dihlī sultanate and in the provincial sultanates which arose in South India and eastern India during the post-Tughluḳid period, cf. I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the sultanate of Delhi*[4], Karachi 1958, 173-4, and Majumdar, ed., *The history and culture of the Indian people*. vi. *The Delhi sultanate*, Bombay 1960, index s.v. The accounts of Portuguese adventurers in India, from Vasco da Gama onwards, speak of encounters with the *Catual* or royal representative in the towns where they disembarked (thus also in Camoëns, *The Lusiads* [completed 1572], vii, viii, *passim*).

In the *Ā*[3]*īn-i Akbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*], we find a classic exposition of the duties of the *kōtwāl*. His multifarious responsibilities included the maintenance of law and order, with the pursuance of criminals and robbers (for the recovery of whose depredations the *kōtwāl* was personally responsible); the keeping of a register of houses and streets; maintaining an intelligence system in the town, including observations of the incomes and life-styles of the populace, the results of which espionage to be reported to the central government; the enforcement of a curfew; the supervision of weights and measures and fair market practices; the upholding of the standard of coinage and the calling-in of bad coins for re-minting; the oversight of public water supplies; the appropriation for the state of intestate properties; the care that widows did not make the sacrifice of *satī* against their wills; the allocation of separate quarters in the town for noisome and despised trades like those of butchers, corpse-washers [see DJAZZĀR and GHASSĀL in Suppl.] and sweepers; etc. One notes the correspondence of many of these duties with those of the classical Islamic *muḥtasib*, whose office was certainly known in pre-Mughal India under the Dihlī sultans and their epigoni [see ḤISBA. iv. The Indian subcontinent]; it seems that the purely secular, semi-military *kōtwāl* now largely replaced the *muḥtasib*. But in many ways, the wide range of the *kōtwāl*'s responsibilities is an echo of those of the *nagaraka* or Town Prefect of Mauryan times; cf. Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, ch. xxxvi. Abu 'l-Faḍl's whole exposition has, however, a somewhat theoretical cast, and should probably be interpreted as a blue-print for the ideal administrative system for Akbar, rather than a delineation of actual practice; amongst other duties of the *kōtwāl* mentioned is responsibility for seeing that the festivals of Akbar's *Dīn-i Ilāhī* and the new *Ilāhī* era [see AKBAR] were observed (*Ā*[3]*īn-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. H. S. Jarrett[2], Calcutta 1949, 43-5; cf. also Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Mir*[3]*āt-i Aḥmadī*, ed. Syed Nawab Ali, Baroda 1947-8, i, 163 ff. [compiled in Gudjarat, 1175/1761], section on the duties of officials charged with the safety and good governance of the state).

More definitely in accordance with contemporary Mughal practice are the reports of European travellers within India at this time. Thus F. Bernier speaks of the *Cotoüal* or "grand Prevost de la campagne" as sending soldiers all through his town when the Mughal court passed through it, and these blew trumpets in order to scare away malefactors (*Travels in the Mogul empire A.D. 1656-1668*, tr. A. Constable 1891, repr. Delhi 1972, 188, 369). N. Manucci's personal observations are especially valuable. Describing the situation in the latter part of Awrangzīb's reign, he tells how the *kōtwāl* stopped the illicit distilling of arrack and spirits, and the practice of prostitution, and how he sent intelligence reports to the court based on the information gathered in private houses by the scavengers, *alacor* (= *ḥalāl-khōr*). He also saw that ferry tolls, abolished by the Emperor, were not illegally exacted. At his disposal, he had a force of cavalry and infantry, with detachments for each quarter of the town. In the administration of justice, on the other hand, he was under the orders of the *ḳāḍī*, and carried out his written orders, such as sentence of death (*Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. W. Irvine 1907-8, repr. Calcutta 1965-7, ii, 420-1). In fact, we know that towards the end of Awrangzīb's reign, *kōtwāl*s in the newly-conquered, peripheral regions like South India, managed to achieve considerable freedom of action, away from the central government's control; this was the case with the *kōtwāl* and *fawdjdār* [*q.v.*] of Ḥaydarābād, the most important city of the eastern Deccan, see J. F. Richards, *Mughal administration in Golconda*, Oxford 1975, 83-5.

When a new police system was introduced into British India after 1861, the office of *kōtwāl* disappeared from most of the subcontinent, and his duties were taken over by Inspectors or Sub-Inspectors. In the North-West Frontier Province, however, the term continued in use to designate the chief police officer of the larger towns and cantonments.

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KOUANDÉ, at present a regional capital of the People's Republic of Benin, was founded by a clan of Bariba hunters, the Tosso, specialists in the hunting of elephants, who provided a tribute of ivory tusks to the sovereign of Nikki. This settlement of hunters must have been ancient (perhaps in the 16th century), but a prolonged dynastic quarrel at Nikki brought to Kouandé considerable numbers of young warriors who must have used this city, every dry season, as a raiding-base.

The prince Chabi Gada of Nikki, having killed one of his pregnant wives, was expelled and took refuge at Birno Maro at the court of the *Tossounon* (chief of the Tosso) who offered him in marriage his eldest daughter, Gnon Birsi (in about 1762). Accepting succession to the throne of his father-in-law, he renounced all allegiance with regard to Nikki. He had, moreover, carried off with him some of the ritual objects that were the property of the king: six *kakati* (trumpets), silver and bronze stirrups, ceremonial sabres and lances, harness and bridle-bits as well as the ritual scissors which were used to cut the hair of young princes on the day of the ceremony of *Gnon Kogui*, which marked the passage from childhood to adolescence.

The death of Gada (in about 1789) led to a quarrel over the throne between Ouaoro Ouari, known as Tabouroufa ("wearer of the ear-ring"), a prince born at Nikki, and Ouorou Kpassi, son of Gnon Birsi, princess of Birni. The latter was victorious and took

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the title of *Tossounon* while Ouarou Ouari moved from Birni to Kouandé.

The foundation of Kouandé. With an army of sixty-six horsemen Ouarou Ouari arrived in the region of Kouandé where the Bariba Seko had been installed for several generations. Ouarou Ourari was well received by the Kouandé Sounon, who gave him a vast area of land at the foot of the hill and died soon afterwards. A few days later he received the regalia brought from Nikki by Gada, and the following Friday, to the sound of the six royal trumpets, he accepted the homage of the Bariba and Somba chiefs. He took the title of *Bangana* ("buffalo") and appointed another Kouandé Sounon as his colleague and chief minister, and extended his authority over Birni, Pably, the region of Ouassa (Tobré and Péhounco), an area of some 10,000 km².

On his death, his brother Simé Yerima succeeded him, taking the name *Ourou Sourou* ("the Saint"). He took the young princes to task, demanding that they abandon their extortions "at once", thereby acquiring the nickname of *Baba Tantame* ("Papa at once"). To provide a diversion for the troublesome young princes, he mounted expeditions against the Berba, the Taneka, Pila-Pila, Somba, etc.

Dafia, eldest son of Ouorou Ouoari took the name *Sorou* ("the mortar that receives the blows of the pestle without being affected"). Tradition is reticent concerning his reign. All that is known is that the king authorised volunteers from his kingdom to take part in the campaign against the Peuls of Ilorin (1830). After these contingents were defeated and returned in disarray, king Sorou died as the result of being bitten by a dog; his sister, princess Ganigui, saw in this a conspiracy on the part of the successor and on the day of his coronation predicted an early death for him. In fact the *Bangana* Bio Diko ruled for only three months.

Sero, the eldest son of Baba Tantamé, was elected king (1833) and took the name *Bouko Ya Dari* ("stormy cloud"). He was obliged to suppress the intrigues of his younger brother Mora N'Gobi, who after two attempts on the throne, with the aid of the Natimba, was defeated. He obtained pardon for himself but not for Sinkossi, king of the Natimba, who, on coming to pay homage on the day of the *Gani*, was thrown into a ditch and crushed under a heap of stones, whence the king's nickname *Guinimoussikou* ("he who buries alive"). This king mounted expeditions against his neighbours the Berba, the Akpénon, the Cotokoli and the Aniagan of the valley of the Anié.

The *Bangana* Séké (1852-83) continued in similar circumstances the campaign against the Cotokoli of Kirikri (1866-8) and against Bafilo. He was also obliged to deal with civil wars.

Ouorou Ouari II (1883-97) was removed from office by Commandant Ganier in 1897 after the revolt of the Bariba. He withdrew to the village of Doh (30 km. to the east of Kouandé) and poisoned himself so as not to survive the surrender of the tombs of his ancestors. Since then the traditional sovereigns have been confined to their roles as regional chiefs.

Rules of investiture. Theoretically Islamised, the Bariba observe strict rules of investiture. After the funeral ceremonies which last three months, the council of ministers choose a new king. The choice having been made, the princes who are candidates for the throne kneel and the chief minister, Baba Agban, passes a white loincloth (*békou Kpékourou*) over the heads of the candidates.

In passing along the line for the third time, Baba Agban stops in front of the prince who has already been chosen as if held by an invisible force, then unfolding the *békou Kpékourou*, he wraps it round the body of the newly-appointed king. All those present kneel before the new king to wish him well, while the trumpets sound.

The festival of the Gani which takes place throughout the land of the Bariba is the occasion where the princes and senior officials assemble in the presence of the king to the sound of the ritual drums. At Kouandé, the Gani includes a special rite. The *Bangana* goes to the tree on the path where his ancestor used to rest. This tree lies at the southern end of the village of Kouandé and is called *Bouroh* ("good luck"). The king dismounts from his horse, leans against the throne and appeals to his ancestors for aid and protection.

A superstition holds that the man who picks up the pebbles under the tree will have his wish granted if the pebbles are of even number.

The Islamisation of Kouandé, at the beginning of the century, was very superficial. Only the community of foreign merchants was Muslim. Alfa Sabi, known as Aloufa, who was born in Kouandé in about 1863, supervised a Ḳur'ān school attended by a number of pupils. Since then, the influence of the Tidjānī order has developed considerably.

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(R. Cornevin)

KÖY, the word used in western Turkish (e.g. in Ottoman and Crimean Tatar cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 1216) for village. It is the form in which Turkish has borrowed the Persian *gūy* (cf. Bittner, *Der Einfluss des Arabischen und Persischen auf das Türkische*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxlii, No. 3, 103), or perhaps more correctly *kūy* (Vullers, *Lexicon*; *Burhān-i ḳāṭi'*, 759) meaning originally path, street. In the toponomastic of the Ottoman empire we find many placenames compounded with *köy*, like Boghaz Köy, Ermeni Köy, etc. It seems that these names are not found before the end of the Saldjūḳ period; the word does not occur, for instance, in Kāshgharī. *Köy* in the sense of an open village is opposed to *ḳaṣaba* meaning a small town. In eastern Turkish placenames we always find the word *kend* (itself a loanword from Soghdian) used for a village. Sometimes this last word seems to have been replaced by *köy* (cf. e.g. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 221 ff.; Ḳāḍī Kend, near al-Mawṣil, becomes Ḳāḍī Köy).

(J. H. Kramers*)

KÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ (T. "village institutes"), a Turkish educational institution of 1940-54, founded to combat the high illiteracy in rural areas by training and equipping village boys and girls for the special requirements of each region and using them as teachers in distant or under-developed areas where city-born teachers have been reluctant to work. They were the brain-child of İsmail Hakkı Tonguç [*q.v.*] a prominent educator, and were put into operation by Hasan Ali Yücel [*q.v.*] the reformist Minister of Education (1938-46) under President İsmet İnönü [see 'IṢMET PASHA İNÖNÜ in Suppl.].

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From the early years of the Republic the problem

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of mass education, particularly that of village children, was of great concern to Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) and Turkish educators. During this period, nearly 80% of the population of over 13 million (1927 census) lived in some 40,000 villages unevenly scattered throughout war-devastated Anatolia and Eastern Thrace. Less than 20% of village children (mostly boys) attended for the most part inadequate schools, where the majority of teachers had had little or no proper training. Early experiments in setting up village teachers' training colleges, first under the young pioneer minister of education Muṣṭafā Neḏjātī (1894-1929), and later during an attempt at collaboration between the Ministries of Education and Agriculture, failed owing to poor planning and inadequate funds. In 1936, during the ministry of Saffet Arıkan (1935-8), a new project was developed. A selected number of villagers who had served in the army as corporals and sergeants were sent to special courses called *eğitmen kursu* (*eğitmen* "instructor, educator" from the newly-coined neologisms *eğitmek* "to educate" and *eğitim* "education"), trained as teachers and appointed to village schools. To facilitate their settlement there, the *eğitmen*s were given land, agricultural equipment, tools, seeds, young plants, etc. In the meantime, İ. H. Tonguç had been appointed Director-General of Primary Education in the Ministry (1936). In 1937 the idea of village-teachers' training colleges was revived, and three colleges were set up in the Izmir, Eskişehir and Kastamonu areas (in Kızılçullu, Mahmudiye and Gölköy respectively). The new minister, Hasan Ali Yücel, gave Tonguç full authority, and the latter was able to put into practice extensively his long-cherished project, elaborated in his many works (particularly in *Canlandırılacak köy*[2], Istanbul 1947). On 17 April 1940 the law No. 3803 on Village Institutes was passed, and with the law No. 4274 on 19 June 1942 they were fully organised (for the texts of these laws, see *Düstur, üçüncü tertib*, xxi Ankara 1940, 692-7 and xxii, 1942, 1575-6 respectively). The Institutes were put under the direct control of Tonguç and after a survey of local conditions and requirements, 20 of them were set up in the following regions of Turkey (the nearest provincial centre is shown in brackets): South-East: Dicle (Diyarbakr); East: Pulur (Erzurum), Cilavuz (Kars), Akçadağ (Malatya); Eastern Black Sea: Beşikdüzü (Trabzon), Akpınar (Samsun); Western Black Sea: Gölköy (Kastamonu); Marmara and Thrace: Kepirtepe (Kırklareli), Arifiye (Izmit), Savaştepe (Balıkesir); Aegean: Kızılçullu (Izmir), Ortaklar (Aydın); Mediterranean: Aksu (Antalya), Düziçi (Adana), Gönen (Isparta); Central Anatolia: Hasanoğlan (Ankara), Pamukpınar (Sivas), Pazaören (Kayseri), Çifteler (Eskişehir), Ivriz (Konya).

The village Institutes were co-educational, admitting students with five years' village schooling (or three years' village schooling with two years' extra training) and giving a five-year course of instruction. The syllabus, which allowed great freedom of variety according to local conditions and requirements, consisted mainly of "cultural subjects" (Turkish, history, geography, civics, mathematics, physics, chemistry, a foreign language, military science and art) for 22 hours per week; agricultural subjects (farming, gardening, fruit growing, poultry farming, bee-keeping, fishing, etc.) for 11 hours per week; and technical subjects (metal working, carpentry, building, tailoring and dress-making, etc.) for 11 hours a week. The curriculum was mainly functional and was based on the essentially concrete and practical, with special emphasis on skills needed in the peasants' daily lives in a particular region. The aim was not merely to train village school teachers, but also to equip them to participate in the leadership of the community by developing their sense of personal responsibility and their ability to co-operate with villagers (specific aims which so far most city-born and trained teachers had been unable to realise). In 1943 a special teachers' training college was set up in Hasanoğlan near Ankara (*Hasanoğlan Yüksek Köy Enstitüsü*) with a three years' training programme. Up to the school year 1946-7 these Institutes trained more than 5,000 village teachers and 500 health officers.

With the ending of the single party régime (1945) and the authoritarian rule of the Republican Peoples Party (RPP, see DJUMHŪRIYYET KHALḲ PARTISI), the Village Institutes began to be subjected to violent attacks both by the conservative wing of the RPP and the newly-founded (January 1946) liberal Democrat Party (DP, see DEMOKRAT PARTİ). They were accused of fostering an unruly, subversive, anti-traditional generation and being the hotbeds of Marxist indoctrination. This campaign was waged mainly by the great landowners in and outside Parliament, and their mouthpieces in the press. The campaign reached such dimensions that President İnönü replaced the Minister of Education, H. A. Yücel with the conservative Reşat Şemsettin Sirer (1946), who in turn removed İ. H. Tonguç, the brain behind the Institutes, from office, closed the Hasanoğlan Teachers' Training College and changed most of the staff of the Institutes. Under the ministry of Tahsin Banguoğlu (1948-50), the gradual liquidation of the İnstitutes continued and was completed by Tevfik Ileri (1951-61), the second Minister of Education (appointed August 1950) of the Democrat Party, which came to power in the general election of May 1950. İleri put an end to the co-educational system in the Institutes (1951) and reformed their curriculum to bring it into line with classical teachers' training colleges of the cities. Their abolition was officially registered when their name was eventually (1954) changed to *İlk Öğretmen Okulları* ("Primary Teachers' Training Colleges"). The heated controversy over village Institutes continued and still (1978) continues without abating between their supporters and accusers, and is a strong social, political, economic and emotional issue. In spite of the rapid industrialisation of Turkey since 1950 and subsequent migration of great numbers of villagers to the cities, which has considerably altered the rural and urban scene, leading intellectuals, particularly noted writers with Village Institute backgrounds, such as Mahmut Makal (b. 1930), Fakir Baykurt (b. 1929), Talip Apaydın (b. 1926), Dursun Akçam (b. 1930) and Mehmet Başaran (b. 1926), celebrate each year the date of April 17, the anniversary of the founding of these Institutes, and demand their re-opening.

The only notable objection to the conception of Village Institutes among non-conservatives was raised by Kemal Tahir [*q.v.*] in his novel *Bozkırdaki çekirdek* ("The Seed in the Steppe", Istanbul 1967), who maintained that the Institutes were planned to train a conformist generation in rural areas in order to postpone a real social revolution.

Bibliography: I. Başgöz and H. E. Wilson, *Educational problems in Turkey*, Bloomington, Indiana 1968; Fay Kirby, *The Village Institute movement of Turkey*, unpublished D. Ed. dissertation, Teachers' College, Columbia University 1960, revised Turkish edition: *Türkiye'de köy enstitüleri*,

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Ankara 1962; İsmail Hakkı Tonguç, *Köyde eğitim*, Istanbul 1938; *Tonguç'a kitap*, Istanbul 1961; Hürrem Arman, *Piramidin tabanı: köy enstitüleri ve Tonguç*, Ankara 1969; Engin Tonguç, *Köy enstitüleri ve Hakkı Tonguç*, Ankara 1970; Edip S. Balkır, *Dipten gelen ses: Arifiye köy enstitüsü*, Istanbul 1974. (Fahir İz)

KOYL, KOIL, a town of northern India situated 75 miles south-east of Dihlī and coming within the United Provinces in British India, now Uttar Pradesh in the Indian Union. The more modern town of ʿAligafh [*q.v.*] has expanded out of a suburb of Koyl. In 590/1194 the commander of the Ghūrids, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], captured Koyl on a raid from Dihlī, and henceforth there were usually Muslim governors over local Rādjput rulers, such as Kučuk ʿAlī under Bābur (932/1526) (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 176). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Koyl on his way southwards from Dihlī to the Deccan and Malabar, and speaks also of a noted *shaykh* of Kuwīl (as he writes the name), one Shams al-Dīn b. Tādj al-ʿĀrifīn, whom Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ did to death (*Riḥla*, iii, 307-9, tr. Gibb, iii, 704-5, and iv, 6-7). The minaret of Koyl (now destroyed) had on it an inscription of the Slave King Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh from 652/1254 (see G. Yazdani, *The inscriptions of the Turk Sulṭāns of Delhi . . .*, in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* [1913-14], 22-3). Koyl is listed in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann and Jarrett², Calcutta 1939-48, ii, 197, as a *sarkār* in the Āgra *ṣūba* of the Mughal empire, with a revenue of 55 million *dams*.

In *ca.* 1757 Koyl was captured by the Jhāt leader Sūradj Mal and then in 1759 by the Afghāns, its strategic position on the Dihlī-Āgra road giving it importance. It was re-named ʿAligafh "the high fortress" by Nadjaf Khān in 1776, when he rebuilt the citadel. All the upper Dōāb passed into British hands in 1803, but with Koyl-ʿAligafh only captured from the Marāṯhās after a prolonged siege. Native troops there mutinied in May 1857, but order was restored in August by a British force after internal strife between the Jhāts and Rādjputs. For the town's subsequent history, see ALIGARH.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetter of India*², v, 209-11, xv, 354; and see GŪRAN, SHAYKH, in Suppl. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḲOYLU ḤIṢĀR (Ḳoyunlu Ḥiṣār), modern Koyulhisar, centre of an *ilçe* of the province (*il*) of Sivas in the valley of the Kelkit River along the old route from *Niksar* to *Shābīn Ḳarahiṣār* and Erzurum in the so-called "left wing" (*sol ḳol*) of Anatolia within the framework of the Ottoman road and postal system. The site has changed a few times because of earthquakes (most recently in 1939). Before *ca.* 1850 the township probably lay on the site of the actual Yukarı Kale.

The town and fortress were lost by the Byzantines after the battle of Manzikert (Malazgirt). After direct Saldjūḳid rule, it became part of the amīrate of Eretna [*q.v.*], then possession of the semi-independent Turcoman ruler of Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Sharḳī (= Shābīn Ḳarahiṣār). In *ca.* 763/1381 it was part of the dominions of Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*] of Sīvās, whose government was succeeded by that of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*]. Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] lost the place to Sultan Meḥemmed II in 865/1461, upon which it became part of the *eyālet* of Erzurum as a subdivision of Ḳara Ḥiṣār-i Sharḳī. In 1864 its status became that of a *ḳaḍā'* in the *wilāyet* of Sivas. In the 19th century its population was only half Muslim, and V. Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 237, 793) enumerated a population of 1,809, of whom 905 were Muslims, 604 Greeks and 300 Armenians. In 1927 the census indicated a total Muslim-Turkish population of 1,800. In 1970 the town numbered 3,524, with 28,887 in the *ilce*.

Bibliography: *Admiralty handbook*, Turkey, London 1943, i, 111-13, ii, 402; Ibn Bībī, *Seltschukengeschichte*, tr. and ed. H. W. Duda, Copenhagen 1959, 92, 117, 327, 346; ʿĀṣhīḳpaṣhazāde, *Taʾrīḵh*, tr. R. F. Kreutel, Graz, etc. 1959, 222-5, 239; Tursun Beg, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, ed. and tr. H. İnalcık and Rh. Murphy, Minneapolis-Chicago 1978, 46, 90B; [R. Bozkurt] *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda kollar, ulak ve iaşe menziller*, Ankara 1966, 25 (as "Koyun Hisarı"); *IA*, art. *Koyul-Hisar* (B. Darkot, with the older literature indicated); F. Taeschner, *Wegennetz*, Leipzig 1924-6, ii, 4, 13-24, 54, 75, 192, Tables 41-4; Y. Yücel, *Kadı Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devleti (1344-1398)*, Ankara 1970, 27, 50 f., 65, 83, 92, 138, 148. (A. H. de Groot)

ḲOYUL ḤIṢĀR (Ḳoyunlu Ḥiṣār), more properly Ḳoyun Ḥiṣār, the name for two Byzantine fortresses: 1. identical with Baphaeon, to the north-east of Izmīd, the site of the first battle won by ʿOthmān I against the Byzantines in 1301; 2. a fortress on the Sakārya river [*q.v.*] to the north-east of Bursa near Dinboz, taken by Orkhān during a campaign in 1324-5.

Bibliography: ʿĀṣhīḳpaṣhazāde, *Taʾrīḵh*, tr. R. F. Kreutel, Graz, etc. 1959, 43, 63, map I; H. İnalcık, *The Ottoman empire—the classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973, 6, 55; D. E. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman empire*, Leiden 1972, 37; İ. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, i, Ankara 1972³, 109 ff., map 2. (A. H. de Groot)

ḲOYUN BABA, lit "father of sheep", a Turkish saint. He is thought to have been a contemporary of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh [see BEKTĀSHIYYA] and is said to have received his name from the fact that he did not speak, but only bleated like a sheep five times a day at the periods for prayer. Sulṭān Bāyezīd II, called *Walī*, built a splendid tomb and dervish monastery on the site of his alleged grave at ʿOthmāndjīḳ (near Amasya, in Anatolia) which was one of the finest and richest in the Ottoman empire. Ewliyā Čelebi in his *Travels* (*Seyāḥet-nāme*, ii, 180 ff.) describes very fully the great Bektāshī monastery there, at which he was cured of a malady of the eye and was initiated into the order (cf. J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 608, on Ewliyā's pilgrimage to the tomb of Ḳoyun Baba). Nothing is known regarding the life of this remarkable saint, nor even whether he really existed. That he is represented as a disciple and contemporary of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh means nothing, as almost all early Ottoman saints are credited with having enjoyed this privilege. The sanctuary itself does not seem to have been examined; but see Maercker in *ZGE*, xxiv (1899), 376.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-numā*, 625 (brief mention of the tomb); Ewliyā, *Seyāḥet-nāme*, ii, 180 ff.; cf. also J. von Hammer, *GOR*, i, 230, 608 (extracts from Ewliyā). (F. Babinger)

ḲÖZĀN, (1) a town in southern Turkey, formerly the Armenian town of Sis [*q.v.*], and now administrative centre of Ḳōzān district (*kaza*) in the province of Adana.

(2) in Ottoman times, that portion of the Taurus Mountains comprising the present districts of Kadirli, Ḳozān, Feke and Saimbeyli. This name originated with the Ḳozān-oghlu *derebeys* [see below] who controlled the area during the 18th and much of the 19th centuries.

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The origin of the Ḳōzān-oghlu dynasty and its name is uncertain. According to Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha, the family came from the Arīḳ tribe, one of the Wārsāḳ (Fārsāḥ) tribes which settled the Taurus Mountains in the 13th century A.D., and its name originated with an ancestor from the village of Ḳōzān near ʿAyntāb (*Tedhkīr*, iii, 108-9). The family had gained leadership of the tribe by 1689 (Ahmet Refik [Altınay], *Anadolu'da türk aşiretleri*, 89) and went on to control the entire area and exercise the functions of government in virtual independence of Istanbul. Only in 1865 were the Ottomans able to defeat, capture and exile the *derebeys*, settling the tribes on which their power had depended and establishing normal administration. Ḳōzān was of concern once again in 1878 when Ḳōzān-oghlu Aḥmad Pasha tried to re-establish his control, but with his defeat the area ceased to be of special importance.

Bibliography: The most detailed accounts of Ḳōzān and the Ḳōzān-oghlu are those of Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha in *Maʿrūḍāt*, in *TTEM*, x (87), 278-82 and *Tedhkīr*, iii, ed. Cavid Baysun, Ankara 1963, 107-15, 117-19. A general description of the area as it was in 1890 is given in V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 90-7. Selected documents concerning the Ḳōzān-oghlu are found in Ahmet Refik (Altınay), *Anadolu'da türk aşiretleri: 966-1200*, Istanbul 1930. On the Wārsāḳ tribes, see Faruk Sümer, *Çukurova tarihine dair araştırmalar (Fetihten XVI yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar)*, in *AÜDTCFD*, i, 70-93. The most recent study of this area in the nineteenth century is A. G. Gould, *Pashas and brigands: Ottoman provincial reform and its impact on the nomads of Southern Anatolia, 1840-1885*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1973, unpublished.

(A. G. Gould)

ḲŌZĀN-OGHULLARĪ, a family of *derebeys* [*q.v.*] in Ottoman southern Anatolia, with their centre of power in the 19th century in the *sandjaḳ* of Ḳōzān [*q.v.*] (i.e. western Ḳōzān) and the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Ḳōzān (i.e. east Ḳōzān), in the piedmont area where the Taurus Mountains come down to the Cilician Plain or Çukurova. They were thus in a good position, during the 19th century, together with other local *derebeys*, to dominate the plain and at times to exert influence in Adana itself.

The Ḳōzān-oghullarī claimed descent from a Türkmen tribe which had entered Cilicia in Saldjūḳ times, and which is certainly heard of in historical sources for the 17th century. From the beginning of the 19th century onwards, they were able to beat off several military attacks by the Porte in Istanbul and to act as virtually independent local rulers, levying taxes, but acting nominally as officials, *ḳāʾimmaḳāms* or *müdürs*, of the Ottoman government. Their position locally was strengthened by an informal alliance with the Armenian clergy and notables of Ḳōzān (the Armenian Catholicos or Patriarch had his seat at Sīs in the Ḳōzān district, the ancient capital of mediaeval Little Armenia [see V. F. Büchner, art. *Sīs*, in *EI*¹]), who were also concerned lest the Sultan's direct influence be extended into the region. The Ḳōzān-oghlu family was, however, rent by internal rivalries in the middle years of the 19th century. In 1865 the central government was able to reduce the power of the Cilician derebeys by the despatch of the military "Reform Division" (*Firḳa-yi Iṣlāḥiyye*) to Iskenderūn; various members of the Ḳōzān-oghullarī went over to the government side, and after some attemps at resistance, the family finally submitted. Several of them were given official posts in the Ottoman administration, and others brought to honourable exile in Istanbul; after a final local rising in 1878 just after the Russo-Turkish War, the region of Ḳōzān was substantially pacified.

Bibliography: see A. G. Gould, *Lords or bandits? The derebeys of Cilicia*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 491-505, with references to the sources, and a kinship table of the family as it was in 1865 at p. 492. (Ed.)

ḲRĀN [see SIKKA].

ḲRĪM [see KĪRĪM].

ḲRĪZ (Russian designation, Krīzī [from the *aul* Ḳrīz]), a small Caucasian ethnic group, forming with the Khaput [*q.v.*] and Dzhek the Dzhek subdivision of the Samurian group (Lezghin, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Dzhek), of the north-eastern Ibero-Caucasian language family.

According to the 1926 Soviet census, ethnically there were 5 Ḳrīz, and linguistically 4,348 (including speakers of Dzhek and Khaput dialects). According to a 1954 estimate, there were some hundreds of Ḳrīz living in a single *aul*, that of Ḳrīz, located in the basin of the upper Ḳudialchay, in the Shakhdagh area (Konakhkend district, Azerbaidjan SSR). The Ḳrīz are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī rite. The traditional economy of the Ḳrīz was based on sedentary animal husbandry, agriculture, and horticulture.

The Ḳrīz language is only a variant of Dzhek (as is Khaput), which is a purely vernacular language; Azeri is used as the literary language. The Ḳrīz are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

Bibliography: A. Bennigsen and H. C. d'Encausse, *Une république soviétique musulmane: le Daghestan, aperçu démographique*, in *REI* (1955), 7-56; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958. (R. Wixman)

KRUJĒ, a town in northern Albania, lying around the foot of a precipitous rock, a spur of the steep Krujë Range, with the fertile plain of the Ishm river to the south and west.

Under the Ottoman administration the town was officially known as Aḳ Ḥiṣār [*q.v.*]. It was the chief administrative centre of the *wilāyet* and after 1466 of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of this name. For most of the second half of the 19th century the *ḳaḍā*ʾ was part of the *wilāyet* and of the *sandjaḳ* of Skutarī (cf. Th. Ippen, *Beiträge zur inneren Geschichte Albaniens im XIX. Jahrhundert*, in L. von Thallóczy, *Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen*, Munich-Leipzig 1916, i, 363). The *ḳaḍā*ʾ comprised a *nāḥiye*, an area north of the river Mat, known as Ohëri i vogël (cf. F. Seiner, *Die Gliederung der albanischen Stämme*, Graz 1922, 6), which was inhabited by the Kthella tribe (cf. *Detailbeschreibung von Albanien. 1. Theil: Nord-albanien mit den angrenzenden Theilen Dalmatiens und Montenegros*, Vienna 1900, 110 ff., 130 ff.). At the time of the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Northern Albania in 1916, the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Krujë functioned as part of the *sandjaḳ* of Krujë, together with the *ḳaḍā*ʾs of Matja and Ohëri (cf. F. Seiner, *Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Albanien in dem von den österr.-ungarischen Truppen 1916-1918 besetzten Gebiete*, Vienna-Leipzig 1922, 14). In the independent Albanian state the area of Krujë became a sub-prefecture of the prefecture of Dürres (cf. *Albania. Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division*, Oxford 1945, 146). After 1949, the position of the town was affected by various administrative changes; cf. *Die*

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Verwaltungseinstellung und die Entwicklung der Bevölkerung in Albanien, Wissenschaftlicher Dienst Südosteuropa (München: Südost Institut), iii, No. 10 (1954), 211-16, *passim*. In present-day Albania the district (*rrethe*) of Krujë covers an area of 607 sq. km. and had a population of 70,700 in 1971 (cf. *Vjetari statistikor i R.P.SH.-1971 dhe 1972*, Tiranë 1973, 24). The number of inhabitants of the town itself, which is known for the characteristic architecture of its buildings (cf. Koco Zheku, *La Kulle (manoir) de Kruje*, in *Deuxième Conférence des Etudes Albanologiques*, ii, Tirana 1970, 263-8 (text), 269-89 (illustrations)), amounted to about 7,000 souls (cf. Zheku, *ibid.*, 263).

Throughout the 19th and early 20th century, the region of Krujë was the scene of various anti-Ottoman rebellions, mainly in response to the imposition of new taxes (cf. Luan Bajo, *Faqe nga Lufta e kacakëve në rrethin e Krujës (fundi i shekullit XIX—fillimi i shekullit XX)*, in *Studime Historike*, vi [1969], ii, 65-74). During one of the last of these rebellions in 1906-7, the so-called battle of Tallajbe—named after the quarter of the town of Krujë where it took place—was fought between peasants from the Krujë area and Ottoman forces under Shemsi Pasha (cf. Luan Bajo, *Mbi "Luftën e Tallajbesë" në rrethin e Krujës në vitet 1906-1907*, in *Studime Historike*, vi [1969], iii, 147-58).

Accounts of these events as well as of the revolts against local landlords belonging to the Toptan family, within which the office of *sandjak-beg* [*q.v.*] had become a hereditary position, are preserved in local oral tradition and were collected, studied and analysed by G. Komnino, *Expedita folklorike e Krujës*, in *Buletin për shkencat shoqërore*, iii (1955), 235-61. During the general insurrection of 1912, which led to the proclamation of Albanian independence, the region of Krujë was one of the major centres of anti-Ottoman activity (cf. P. Bartl, *Die Albanischen Muslime zur Zeit der Nationalen Unabhängigkeitsbewegung (1878-1912)*, Wiesbaden 1968, 180, and for a more detailed account, L. Bajo, *Mbi kryengritjen e përgjithshme të vitit 1912 në rrethin ë Krujës*, in *Studime Historike*, viii [1971], i, 131-54); and in 1914 it was the centre of the Essadist movement, which was partly pro-Turkish and directed against the Albanian sovereign Wilhelm von Wied. The town was captured by anti-Essadist troops of Mati tribesmen under Ahmet Zogu (cf. C. A. Dako, *Zogu the First, King of the Albanians*, Tirana 1937, 61).

The population of the *ḳaḍā'* was predominantly Muslim and the town of Krujë was inhabited by Muslims exclusively (cf. Seiner, *Volkszählung*, 14). The majority of its inhabitants belonged to the Bektāshī order [see BEKTĀSHIYYA] which had several sanctuaries in and around the town and a *tekke* in the plain below Krujë (Fushë e Krujës), which was visited and described by F. Babinger in 1928 (F. Babinger, *Bei den Derwischen von Kruja*, in *Mitteilungen der Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung*, ix [1928], Heft 8/9, 148-9; Heft 10, 164-5; and idem, *With the Dervishes of Krooya*, in *The Sphere*, cxvii [1929], no. 1525, 63. For photographs of the *tekke*, see E. Rossi, *Credenze ed usi dei Bektasci*, in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, xviii [1942], 60-80). Until 1967, the *tekke* was the seat of a *gjysh* (grandfather) who had under his jurisdiction the prefectures of Tirana, Durrës and Shkodër. These constituted one of the six zones into which Albania had been subdivided by the order for administrative purposes (cf. S. Skendi, *Albania*, New York 1958, 294).

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(F. DE JONG)

ḲUBAČI, self-designation, Urbugh; Russian, Kubačintsï; Arabic and Persian, Zirihgarān), a people of the eastern Caucasus. The Ḳubači inhabit the single *aul* of Ḳubači, located in Dakhadaev *rayon*, Dāghistān. They are a Caucasic people whose language belongs with Ḳaytaḳ and Dargin to the Dargino-Lak (Lak-Dargwa) group of the Ibero-Caucasian language family. Ḳubači is now regarded as a dialect of the Dargin language, and they are considered in the Soviet Union as a sub-group of Dargins rather than as a distinct ethnic group. The Ḳubači use the Dargin literary language, and they are being assimilated by the Dargins. In 1926, according to the Soviet census, there were 2,322 Ḳubači.

The first mention of the Ḳubači appears in Arabic sources of the 4th/10th century from Darband [see BĀB AL-ABWĀB]. Although the Ḳubači maintained patriarchal clan divisions and had a strong self-ruling free society, they paid tribute both to the Shamkhāl of Ḳāzīḳumukh (4th-8th/10th-14th centuries) and the Utsmiat of Ḳaytāḳ (9th-10th/15th-16th centuries). The *aul* of Ḳubači was part of the Gapsh free society, a division of the Utsmi-Dargwa, a Dargin federation. The Ḳubači are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfi'ī school. They, along with the Dargins, accepted Islam in the 6th/12th century.

Since the middle Ages, Ḳubači artisans have been renowned as gold, silver, and coppersmiths, and as makers of fine jewelry and weapons. So famed were they as makers of daggers, sabres, and chain-mail that they were, and are, called Zirihgarān ("makers of mail") by the Arabs and Persians. Even under the Soviets today, the Ḳubači masters are still famous for their fine jewelry, gold and silver smithing.

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(R. WIXMAN)

ḲUBĀDĀBĀD, a residence of the Rūm Saldjūḳ 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḳayḳubād I (616-34/1219-37) [*q.v.*] on the west bank of the Lake Beyşehir, *ca.* 100 km. south-west of Konya. On the spur of the Güllüce Dağları, probably in 624/1227 chosen by Ḳayḳubād I as a site for its scenic qualities, a palace-city was constructed under the direction of Sa'd al-Dīn Köpek, his Court Architect and Master of the

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Royal Hunt (*amīr-i shikār ū miʿmār*). The first palace is said to have been erected in the presence of the ruler according to his detailed indications. But it may have taken longer to erect the buildings of the area, which measures *ca.* 430 × 200 m. and on which until now there can be identified the ruins of 15 constructions, as well as the outline of a quay and a fenced enclosure perhaps to be identified as an enclosure for animals. Unambiguous evidence for continued building activity is provided by an inscription, dated 633/1236, commemorating the foundation of a mosque by Badr al-Dīn Sūtāsh, governor (*wālī*) of Ḳubādābād, later transferred to the mosque at Kürtler Köyü, at a distance of *ca.* 3 km. to the south. The palace-city was inhabited temporarily by Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II (634-44/1239-46) too and finally also by ʿIzz al-Dīn Kayḳāʾūs II [*q.v.*] (during his second reign 655-9/1257-61), but its importance must have declined sharply after the occupation of Anatolia by the Mongols (641/1243).

The ruins were identified in 1949 by M. Zeki Oral, who made limited, trial excavations up to 1951. The systematic excavations in 1965 and 1966 by Katharina Otto-Dorn and Mehmet Önder included a topographical survey of the area, but remained restricted to clearing the two main buildings located at the lake shore. Both buildings are characteristic palaces with central double rooms: a raised *īwān*, probably a throne-room, preceded by a barrel-vaulted entrance hall. The smaller building of 30 × 29 m. of dressed stone, by a quay and associated with a dockyard, is probably the older one of the two palaces. This is indicated by the stone blocks of the porch, which have been excavated; with its simple, angular, interlacing bands it points to the early years of the reign of Ḳayḳubād I. The greater palace of 50 × 35 m., erected probably only slightly later in an isolated position on the northern side of the building area, is a rubble construction clearly less pretentious as far as masonry is concerned. It is, however, distinguished by an outer court and a terrace which border upon the shore of the lake.

The rubble walls of the greater palace, not very notable by themselves, were originally richly decorated. Up to a height of 1.75 m., the inner walls of the main rooms bore a revetment of underglaze-painted tiles mostly arranged in an all-over star and cross pattern, the eight-pointed stars bearing figural subjects and the crosses florate ornaments. The tiles, datable *ca.* 627/1230 or a little later, show a variety of iconographic themes side-by-side, apparently reflecting the multiple functions of the building, as a Royal residence and as a hunting lodge; on the one hand, there are symbols of power like the sovereign enthroned, eagles bearing the inscription *al-sulṭān* on their breasts or lions; and on the other, astrological symbols and fabulous creatures, or trees of life which may well be allusions to paradise. Finally there are stylised animal figures, with falcons or horses together with game animals like foxes, hares, deer, bears, etc. Tile fragments proved that the smaller palace was also covered with tiles, bearing similar iconographic themes. This revetment, however, is possibly datable to a later phase of decoration.

In addition to these considerable series of tiles, which are particularly important as one of the earliest known examples in architecture of tile-decoration with figural subjects, there were also excavated in the greater palace fragments of window-screens of mosaic faïence, as well as vestiges of moulded stucco, decorated with peacocks and riders, and some figural stone reliefs. Together with numerous smaller finds, which included fine glazed pottery and in particular, a glass dish bearing the names and titles of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II, the son of the imperial founder of the site, the richly-decorated palaces of Ḳubādābād represent impressive evidence for the artistic splendour of the court of the Rūm Saldjūḳs which reached its zenith under Ḳayḳubād I.

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ḴUBĀDHIYĀN, Ḳuwādhiyān, in mediaeval

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Islamic times a small province situated on the right bank of the upper Oxus, and also a town, the chief settlement of the province. The latter comprised essentially the basin of the Ḳubādhiyān (modern Kafirnihan) River, which ran down from the Buttamān Mountains and joined the Oxus at the fording-place of Awwadj or Awzadj (modern Ayvadj); accordingly, it lay between the provinces of Čaghāniyān [*q.v.*] on the west and Wakhsh and Khuttal [*q.v.*] on the east. Administratively, it was most often attached to Khuttal. It now falls substantially within the Tadzhikstan SSR.

The name Ḳubādhiyān/Ḳuwādhiyān seems to appear in the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang's travel account as Kio-ho-yen-na, according to Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 226, 233. The 4th/10th century geographers describe it amongst the upper Oxus provinces of Transoxania. Its chef-lieu was the town of Ḳubādhiyān itself (modern Kabadian), also called in Ibn Ḥawḳal Fazz, but in Muḳaddasī B.y.z. (?); this was a strongly-fortified town on the Ḳubādhiyān River, smaller however than Tirmidh [*q.v.*]. In the north, on the upper course of the river, lay the fortresses of Wāshgird and Shūmān, frontier posts against such predatory peoples of the Buttamān Mountains as the Kumīdjīs [*q.v.*]; indeed, the whole province was well-supplied with *ribāṭs* and defensive posts. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, the *Ṣāḥib-Barīd* or postmaster and intelligence agent [see BARĪD] for the Sāmānids in Ḳubādhiyān received the salary for each three months (*ʿishrīniyya*) of 200 *dirhams*. The chief products for exports from the province were saffron in the north and madder in the south, the latter being a crop whose marketing was strictly controlled by the Sāmānid government (see Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 454, 470, 474-7, tr. Kramers and Wiet, ii, 439, 453, 456-9; Muḳaddasī, 284, 289-90; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 114-15, § 25; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 102-3). Samʿānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, f. 440b, gives "al-Ḳubādhiyānī" as the best-attested form of the *nisba*, and accounts Ḳubādhiyān as belonging administratively (in the Saldjūḳ period?) to Balkh.

In Islamic history, we hear little of Ḳubādhiyān under this very name. It was a dependency of the Sāmānid empire, passing with Khuttal and Čaghāniyān to the Ghaznawids in the early 5th/11th century (whence several mentions of it in Bayhaḳī's *Taʾrīḵ-i Masʿūdī*), and then to the Saldjūḳs; in Tīmūrid times it was often controlled by the rulers of Harāt. See further for the historical aspect, ČAGHĀNIYĀN and KHUTTALĀN.

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the article, see J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang, Untersuchungen zur mythischen und geschichtlichen Landeskunde von Ostiran*, Leiden 1938, 36, 75, 90, 94; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 439-40. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KUBAFOLO or **BAFILO**, the centre of the administrative region of Northern Togo, situated in lat. 8° 40′ N. and long. 1′ 30′ E., 73 km. north of Sokodé. It owes its origin to the unforeseen halting of a column of Gonja warriors led by Mama, ruler of Pembi, and which was returning from a campaign against Djougou at the beginning of the 19th century. They stopped at Séméré (now in the People's Republic of Benin), and a group settled there. The warriors were tired by a long march through the mountain regions, but did not dare to ask their chief to stop; however, the latter's horse stopped to urinate, and the warriors seized the opportunity to halt. Finding the spot pleasant, they set up an encampment which they named Gobangafol (from *banga* "horse" and *mbofol* "urine"). These Gouang warriors settling there married Tem women and adopted the Tem language. The traditions vary concerning this expedition; according to Goody, it was probably commanded by Soumaïla Ndewura Jakpa, king of Pembi, and according to others, by Mama, with Séméré and Bafilo being founded by rebellious dissidents rather than by disciplined soldiers.

At present, representatives of the main clans are to be found at Bafilo: the Touré, originating from the Niger banks under the leadership of a certain Boukari; the Fofana, descended from Sabani (of the royal family of Fada N'Gurma); the Keita of Kabara; and the Taraore. The Peuls who are said to have arrived in Nigeria between 1840 and 1875 (the Sakara and Dabo clans) allegedly initiated the Temba into stock-raising. When the Germans arrived, there were already several mosques. Islamisation has continued, and at the present time, there are 27 mosques in the town, divided between its two component quarters, 18 in the Agodadé one and 9 in the Central one. The chief mosque is 25 years old; a Ḳurʾān school with three grades is attached to it, with a Libyan teacher giving instruction there since 1977. About 100 men and some 50 women have made the Pilgrimage to Mecca. Until the Second World War there existed a small minority of the Ḳādiriyya order, but with the death of the last Alfa then, these adherents have rallied to the Tidjāniyya. Bafilo is an important centre for the spread of Islam, since several of the Muslim missionaries in Togo have received their religious education there.

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ḲUBAN (called in Noghay Turkish, ḲUMAN, in Čerkes, PʰSHIZ), one of the four great rivers of the Caucasus (Rion, Kura, Terek and Ḳuban). It is about 450 miles long. It rises near Mount Elburz at a height of 13,930 feet. Its three constituents (Khurzuḳ, Ulu-Ḳam, Uč-Ḳulan) join together before reaching the defile through which the Ḳuban enters the plains (at a height of 1,075 feet). The Ḳuban at first runs through the wooded outer spurs of the mountains and then, taking a westerly direction, flows through the plains with forests on either bank. Its left bank tributaries are the Daʾut, Teberda, Zelenčuk, Urup, Laba, Bēlaia, Pshish, Psekups, Afips, Adagum, etc. Its lower course breaks into two branches, one of which (Protoka) flows into the Sea of Azov and the other (the main one) into the Black Sea (although it also sends off a channel to the Sea of Azov). The lower course of the river frequently changes its bed. As late as the 15th century for example, it discharged the bulk of its waters into the Sea of Azov. The Ḳuban with its tributaries drains an area of 20,000 sq. miles.

The administrative district of the Ḳuban—before 1918 the province (*oblastʾ*) of the Ḳuban Cossacks—also included the valleys, further north of the Baisugh, Čelbasī, Sasīka and the left bank of the Yeya, all flowing towards the Sea of Azov or ending in lakes and marshes. This territory between the chain of the Caucasus and the sea stretched to the north as far as the province of the Don Cossacks and to the east as far as that of the Terek Cossacks. The area of this

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great province, which is divided into 7 districts (Yeya, Temrük, Kawkazski, Ekaterinodar, Maykop [in Turkish: "much oil"], Laba, Baṭṭālpashinsk), was estimated at about 32,000 sq. miles.

Klaproth, *Tableau du Caucase*, Paris 1827, 89, estimated the tribes of the Ḳuban at about 100,000 families. According to the *Russian Encyclopaedia*, the native population in about 1861 was 200,000 men (?), but as a result of expatriations en masse, this number had fallen to 90,471 by about 1883. Russian colonisation, which was begun by the Cossacks in about 1861, had reached 1,500,000 by 1894. In 1916, official statistics put the whole population of the province at over 3,000,000. The number of "highlanders" and "Sunnīs" included in this total had also increased and reached 139,000. The native elements indicated by these official terms, which lack precision, included the remainder of the Čerkes and Abaz tribes [*q.v.*] (related to the Abkhāz, *q.v.*) and Turks of Ḳara-Čay. The latter (about 15,000 in 1900) lived in the villages (*aul*) of Ḳart-Djurt, Uč-Ḳulan and Khurzuḳ, etc. in the upper waters of the Ḳuban and spoke a northern Turkish dialect (Noghay). They were at one time under the Čerkes princes of Ḳabarda and in 1822 submitted to the Russians.

After 1920, the territory of Ḳuban was re-organised on an ethnic basis; besides the Kabarda-Balḳar region (on the Terek) (now an Autonomous SSR) two autonomous (within the Soviet system) areas were created on the Ḳuban: first, the Ḳara-Čay-Čerkes, east of Urup with its capital Baṭṭāl-pashinsk; it has about 150,000 inhabitants of whom 45% are Turks, 25% Čerkes and 13% Cossacks; and second, the Adighe, a strip of territory along the Ḳuban and Laba; its capital is Tokhtamukay and it contains about 70,000 Čerkes. Both these are now Autonomous Regions.

The basin of the Ḳuban has been inhabited since the bronze age. The oldest tombs at Maykop go back to the second (according to Rostovtzeff, to the third) millenium B.C. Scythian tombs of the 4th-5th centuries B.C. are very numerous (Kelermes, Voronežskaia) and Sarmatian tombs from the 2nd century B.C. to the 1st A.D. The Greeks called the Ḳuban Hypanis, Vardanes and Anticites. In Byzantine authors we find Κοῦφις, Κοῦφις (Marquart, *Osteuropäische Streifzüge*, 32). The spread of Christianity among the Adighe (Čerkes), according to local legends, dates from the emperor Justinian (527-65); cf. Shora Nogmov, *Istoria adīgheiskago naroda*, Tiflis 1861, 43.

The Arabs were not well acquainted with the district. According to a bold conjecture of Marquart, *ibid.*, 37, 161, 164, Ḳuban is to be read for Dūbā (*Kūbā), which according to Gardīzī (quoting Djayhānī, *ca.* 301/914) formed the southern boundary of the Madjār (Magyars) and to the south of which (on the left bank) lived (Ibn Rusta, 139) the Ṭwlās, probably an Alān [*q.v.*] tribe (cf. the southern Ossete tribe of Tual-tā and the name of the Alāns: Ās). On the other hand, Masʿūdī (*Murūdj al-dhahab*, ii, 45-6) says that the immediate neighbours of the Alān were the Kasak living between the Caucasus and the Black Sea. The Kashak (a parallel form is al-Kāsakiyya, Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 157) are the Čerkes, whom the Russian chronicles call Kasogi and with whom the Russian principality of Tmutarakan (on the peninsula of Taman in the 9th to the 11th century) had continuous relations.

The later history of the territory of Ḳuban is at first the story of the struggle between the Russians and Ottomans, and more particularly the Khāns of the Crimea, for the possession of the fertile plains southeast of the Sea of Azov and later of the struggle of the Russians with the warlike tribes of the left bank of the Ḳuban.

In the 16th century, Moscow's interest in the northern Caucasus was stimulated by the marriage of Ivan the Terrible with the Ḳabardian princess, Maria Temrükovna, in 1561. Soon afterwards Sulṭān Selīm II sent Ḳāsim Pasha to Astrakhan, and Dewlet-Giray of the Crimea invaded Ḳabarda.

In 1589 the Cossacks appeared before Azov, a former Venetian and Genoese colony, which the Ottomans had taken in 880/1475. A long series of struggles began for the possession of Azov [cf. AZAḲ] and the Čerkes principality of Ḳabarda (to the east of the Ḳuban on both sides of the middle course of the Terek). Down to the beginning of the 18th century the Khāns of the Crimea had the upper hand, and by about 1717 the Čerkes had been converted to Islam (Nogmov). By the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1739 the two Ḳabardas were proclaimed independent to constitute a buffer state between the two powers. By the treaty of Küčük-Kaynardjī [*q.v.*] in 1774, Great and Little Ḳabarda were placed under the suzerainty of the Khān of the Crimea, whose independence was recognised. In 1782 the Turks occupied Taman, but by the edict of 8 April 1783, Catherine II proclaimed the annexation by Russia of the Crimea, Taman and the "Tatārs of Ḳuban". On 28 December 1783, the Porte recognised the course of the Ḳuban as the frontier. Between 1787 and 1791, the movement in the western Caucasus led by the religious leader Shaykh Manṣūr caused the Russians considerable trouble, but the Russo-Turkish treaty of Yassi (a town which owes its name to the Ās = Alān; cf. Tomaschek, in Pauly-Wissowa², i, 1282-4) confirmed the frontier of 1783. The treaty of 1829 moved it southwards to the roadstead of St. Nicolas (between Poti and Batum), but the territory within these bounds was only effectively occupied 32 years later after a stubborn and heroic resistance by the tribes of the Ḳuban.

The line of defences of the Caucasus had been planned under the Empress Anna (1730-40). In 1777, the line started from Azov and went by Stavropol, Georgievsk to Ekaterinograd (on the Terek). In 1792, it began at Bughaz (north of Anapa) and following the Ḳuban for a while, left it to go to Georgievsk (1794) and then 1798 to Ekaterinograd (cf. the map in the *Akti kavk. arkheogr. kommissii*, Tiflis 1868, i). In 1834 General Veliaminov established a military cordon on the left bank of the Ḳuban as far as Gelendjik on the Black Sea. In 1838 Novorossisk (Tsemes) was founded on the site of the old Turkish fortress of Sudjuk-Kalʿa. After risings provoked by the operations of the allies in the Crimean War, General Yevdokimov in 1861 carried out an enveloping manoeuvre with the object of making the highlanders descend into the plains and of driving the rebels towards the coast to force them to migrate to Turkey. According to native sources (H. Bammate, in the *Revue Politique Internationale*, Nov.-Dec. 1918), 75,000 (?) refugees left the Caucasus in 1864; Russian sources give the number of emigrants at 13,586 from 1871 till 84. In 1864, the Russians reached the passes of the chain of the Western Caucasus.

Bibliography: Cf. the articles ABKHĀZ, AZAḲ, ČERKES, and AL-ḲABḲ. Archaeology: E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Oxford 1913, 634-8 gives a complete bibliography; N. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford 1922. All the passages in classical authors relating to the Caucasus are in B. Latyschev, *Scythica et caucasica*

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e veteribus scriptoribus graecis et latinis, in *Zap. Russ. Arkh. obshč.* (1890-1906). Similar passages in the Arabic geographers have been translated by N. Karaulov, *Sbornik materialov ... Kavkasa*, Tiflis, xxix, xxxi, xxxii, xxxviii (map). For the general bibliography, see Miansarov, *Bibliographia caucasica et transcaucasica*, St. Petersburg 1874-6, and Dubrovin in *Istorya voinï na Kavkase*, iii/1, St. Petersburg 1885-8. For Ottoman connections with the region, see C. M. Kortepeter, *Ottoman imperialism during the reformation: Europe and the Caucasus*, New York-London 1972. There is an account of the Russo-Turkish wars and geographical information in the *Grande encyclopédie russe*, ed. Brockhaus and Efron. For the situation after 1923, see the publication of the Foreign Office, *Soviet Russia. A description of the various political units*, London 1924, and in *BSE*³, i, 240-3, under Adïghe. On the Čerkes [*q.v.*] language, cf. also Prince N. S. Troubetzkoy, *Langues caucasiques septentrionales*, in *Les langues du Monde*, ed. A. Meillet, Paris 1924, 336, 341, and N. Yakovlev, *Tables phonétiques de la langue cabarde*, and *Glossaire des exemples*, fascs. i-ii of the *Travaux de la section des langues du Caucase septent. de l'Institut Oriental*, Moscow 1923. For the Turkish dialect of Ḳara-Čay, cf. W. Pröhle, *Karatschaisches Wörterverzeichnis*, in *Keleti Szemle* (1911).

(V. Minorsky*)

ḲUBBA, the Arabic name used throughout the whole Muslim world for a tomb surmounted by a dome.

Purpose and significance. The term is applied to the thousands of simple local domed tombs of *shaykh*s and saints made by the people as well as to great mausoleums. The term *ḳubba* became established as a *pars pro toto* abbreviation for the domes of tombs, for which it is exclusively reserved. All the special names for sepulchral buildings, which vary with country and language as well as with the style of building and person interred, come under the generic name of *ḳubba*. The classical word *turba* was driven out of use by *ḳubba* until it was again popularised by the Turks. Just as we have *gunbād* for *ḳubba*, so we occasionally have *turbat* for *turba* in Iran. Tombs of saints which, along with tombs of princes, are almost the only material with which the history of art has to deal, have different names in different countries, and these usually also indicate different grades. The highest is the *mashhad*, which according to its etymology means a place where a *shahīd* is buried. "As a rule a *mashhad* is found only as the tomb of a martyr held in particular esteem, indeed of a saint endued with a semblance of divinity; but then the *mashhad* is not only a grave, but a memorial in the wider sense, which as a place of pilgrimage (*mazār*) attracts numerous visitors and has certain rites associated with it, that is to say, it is not a burial-place for any Muslim, but a tomb and also a place of worship for saints" (M. van Berchem, in E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler* [to be quoted as *Ch. Bdkm.*], 89). The general term in Shīʿī lands for the tomb of a saint is *imām-zāde* or *shāh-zāde*. In lands where Arabic is spoken, these domed tombs are called *marbūṭ*, *shaykh*, *walī*, *nābī*, and as places of pilgrimage, *maḳām*.

Form, evolution and embellishment. The original form of the *ḳubba* is a square building covered by a dome, which evolved from the domed house of the peoples of the desert and became stereotyped as a monumental form. In the process, the very low-lying vaulting of the dwellinghouse, which is only a flat calotte rising from the cube of masonry, was raised. This evolution of a rounded vault into a round dome required the insertion of an octagonal intermediate story, the drum, and led in the interior to that development of the transitions from the square to the round dome which constitute the constructive and decorative charm of all Muslim domed chambers (pictures of round vaulting in Diez, *Kunst der islamischen Völker*¹, Berlin 1915, 79). This development began with primitive corbelling, then passed to simple spherical corner arcades or niches and in the end took its own way in West and East, as will be dealt with under the separate countries. Alongside of this typical orthodox normal form of *ḳubba*, which is found from the Maghrib to the eastern Asiatic steppes and India, special forms, which are described under the different countries, arose in the lands conquered by the Turkish peoples, such as northern Iran, Māzandarān, the lands of the Caucasus, Anatolia and Central Asia. The ornamentation of the buildings depended on the material and the systems of decorations in vogue in the different countries. So far and so long as brick predominated, we find also the primitive, probably almost always coloured, stucco covering, with which in Iran, and exceptionally also in Anatolia, is associated glaze, which gradually took the place of stucco. The stone buildings of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Anatolia and the Caucasus, attained their effects through alternating layers of colour and decoration in relief. The stone domes of the Cairo *ḳubba*s covered with geometrical patterns and scrolls rival the brightly decorated glazed domes of Iran.

We shall now deal with the form and development of the *ḳubba* in the various lands.

Maghrib. The *ḳubba*s or *marabūṭ*s of the Maghrib are usually of uncertain age. Even the period of introduction of the different types is often difficult to determine. Comparisons with the architectural forms, especially with the decoration of the great dated mosques, sometimes afford a clue. The types of the different countries have their origins in old forms of the sepulchres of the people. The Tunisian type A has derived its octagonal drum from the monumental style; the Algerian type B shows the combination of the original domed circular structure with the later rectangle, with the addition of the pinnacles indigenous to African native architecture; the western type C also found in Spain conceals the dome under the pyramid roof, which comes from building in wood and thus points to mountain valleys rich in wood and is a parallel phenomenon to the tomb of similar form in Māzandarān on the south shore of the Caspian Sea. Type D is found among the nomads of the high Algerian plateau and follows the local style of building in clay of the nomad territory, with the egg-shaped dome and the usually tapering lower structure.

In view of this undoubtedly popular origin of the *ḳubba*, we can hardly agree with the common assumption that the open type of *ḳubba*—a dome on four pillars—as represented in the Cubola in Palermo, is the oldest in the Maghrib (Marçais, *op. cit.*, 532). Several *ḳubba*s of the cemetery of Ḳayrawān might, according to Marçais, date from the same time as the domes of the Great Mosque (cf. Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 17). To the same group also appears to belong the *ḳubba* of Sidi el-Mazeri in Monastir which can be dated to the 6th/12th century.

In al-ʿUbbād al-Sufli ("the Lower") near Tlemcen, Algeria, there are still several pre-Marīnid *ḳubba*s (i.e.

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before 591/1195) built of brick and pisé on four pillars with horse-shoe arches and semi-niche pendentives as arcades and octagonal domes (Marçais, *op. cit.*, fig. 310). The walls were either crowned with wreaths of pinnacles or with corner pinnacles. In the old cemetery of Sīdī Yaʿḳūb outside Tlemcen is the "Tomb of the Sulṭāna", the rounded arches in nine sections of which piercing the eight sides of the lower drum make a date in the early 7th/13th century certain. The octagonal drum made the arcades superfluous here. The Ḳbibat Benī Merīn ("Tombs of the Marīnids") in Shālla (Chella) near Rabat link up with the preceding type from Tlemcen. Here from 763-801/1361-98 were buried four successors of Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī. One of these *ḳubba*s has a quadrangular drum, pierced by four horse-shoe arches, and a dome with twelve sections. The arcades have again the form of semi-pendentives. The mausoleum of Abu 'l-Ḥasan there, the most splendid of the Marīnid tombs, has also a square drum with slightly deformed horse-shoe windows in three sides (H. Basset and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chella, une nécropole mérinide*, in *Hespéris* [1922]; Marçais, *op. cit.*, 497). Next to these open *ḳubba*s just mentioned the closed *ḳubba* is by far the most frequent. These buildings have only one door, but within, three similarly formed blind-niches. This is the form of the *ḳubba*s of Sīdī Bū Medyen, the famous Spanish mystic, in Tlemcen which was already in existence in the 8th/14th century and restored at the end of the 18th century. The dome is divided inside by painting with intertwining bands into twelve sectors. The *ḳubba* in Tlemcen now called Sīdī Brāhīm was built by Sīdī Abū Hammū Mūsā II (753-88/1352-86). The interior walls with the usual blind-niches still possess their socles ornamented with glazes and their painted stucco relief. The dome divided into eight parts rests on Maghribī arcades in the form of semi-pendentives. These two last-named *ḳubba*s have pillared outer halls for the pilgrims. As elsewhere, in the Maghrib, particularly in Tunis, mosques and *madrasa*s were rendered particularly sacred by the inclusion of a *ḳubba* (Marçais, *op. cit.*, 860).

Egypt. The oldest buildings of the *ḳubba* type in Cairo belong to the Fāṭimid period. The oldest is the *mashhad* built by Badr al-Djamālī, the builder of the second wall and its gates, and by his son al-Afḍal—the *mashhad* of al-Djuyūshī on the Muḳaṭṭam hills. *Amīr al-djuyūsh*, commander-in-chief of the army, was Badr's title. The date of the inscription was read as 478/1085 by van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe, I.*, in *JA* (1891), 478-9 = *Opera minora*, Geneva 1978, 144-5. The building consists of a rectangular chamber, roofed by a high arcaded dome raised on an octagonal drum and five cross-vaults, which opens into a little court with three arcades on which a minaret is built (picture in Glück-Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 159; M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924, figs. 35-8).The tomb chamber, left of the cupola, encloses the tomb of an unknown saint, whom the natives call Sīdī Djuyūshī, and to which pilgrimage is made on certain days; van Berchem raises the question whether this is the tomb of Badr himself (*Notes*, 487-8 = *Opera minora*, 153-4; idem, *Une mosquée du temps des Fatimides*, in *Mém. de l'Inst. égyptien*, ii [1888], 605-19). In the domed chapel is a finely painted stucco *miḥrāb*. The transition from square to octagon is done with Persian single arcades which survive in Cairo down to the Ayyūbid period. Directly below the Djāmiʿ al-Djuyūshī at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam hills in the Ḳarāfa is a building similar in plan and construction to the Mashhad on the Muḳaṭṭam, *Djāmiʿ Ikhwat Sīdnā Yūsuf*. It has no court or minaret. The arches here again have the Persian profile characteristic of the Fāṭimid period as well as the cupola. This building again is not a mosque but a *ḳubba*. There are four small *ḳubba*s of this period in the Ḳarāfa near the *ḳubba* of Sīdī ʿUḳbā called by people *es-sabʿā banāt* "the seven daughters" (van Berchem, *Notes, loc. cit.*). These are small square buildings with octagonal drum and cupolas, originally seven, already mentioned by Maḳrīzī.

A *ḳubba* with tombs of ʿAbbāsid caliphs situated behind the renovated mausoleum of Sayyida Nafīsa in the south of Cairo shows the characteristic forms of the transition to the Ayyūbid style (van Berchem, *Notes. II.*, in *JA* [1892], repr., 20 ff.). A date 640/1243 in an inscription gives the *terminus ante*, which in view of the style of writing cannot be earlier than the beginning of the Ayyūbid period. Here the transition from square to octagonal drum is also produced through two series of *muḳarna*s [*q.v.*] niches which shows Turkish influence. This *ḳubba*, however, still follows Fāṭimid tradition as a brick building and in its stucco decoration. The profile of the cupola still retains its Persian form, indeed according to van Berchem, it is the only cupola of Cairo which still retains this cupola in completely characteristic fashion (*Notes. II.*, 21). From the Ayyūbid period also date the *ḳubba*s of Sulṭān Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb of 647-8/1249-50 and of his widow Shadjarat al-Durr of 648/1250. These are rectangular buildings of stone with octagonal drum and a thin, eggshaped cupola with eight rectangular windows shooting up from it. Three keel-arched windows arranged in a triangle pierce each of the four principal sides of the drum. The façades of this *ḳubba* are ornamented with keel-arched flat niches and lozenge-shaped and circular shields decorated in stucco in the style of the Aḳmar mosque (519/1125) and other Fāṭimid buildings. In the interior, the transitions from the rectangular to the octagon are made with squinches and *muḳarna*s, the *miḥrāb*s were decorated with rich ornament and framed above with keel-arched *muḳarna*s in the form of a fan (pictures in the volumes of the Comité de Conservation . . . , in R. L. Devonshire, *Some Cairo mosques and their founders*, London 1922, fig. 32 and Briggs, *Muhammadan architecture*, figs. 72-5).

With the Baḥrī Mamlūks (1250-1390) there began an increase in the height of the cupola by raising the drum, as could be seen in the ruins still standing in the early 20th century of the *ḳubba*s of the family of Sulṭān Ḳalāwūn (678-89/1279-90) (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, figs. 187 and 153). The two *ḳubba*s, which were associated with *madrasa*s, had rectangular substructures of stone with an octagonal drum of brick like those of the great mausoleums of Ḳalāwūn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The two domes fell in and one was renovated. The interior of the drum had stepped recess niches with pillars from ancient buildings, but was otherwise bare. The substructures had windows of brick with pointed arches set into the stone walls, the fluted frames of which were decorated with stucco. The Syrian stone and the local brick technique here encountered one another. With these ruins the last remnants of the *ḳubba* of the Baḥrī Mamlūks disappeared. The *ḳubba* of Ḳalāwūn himself is an exception; he had it built after the model of the Ḳubbat al-Ṣakhra [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem, and therefore it is outside of the regular line of development. It also fell in, and was given a wooden cupola. In the

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Baḥrī period, the melon cupola also appears in Cairo.

The *ḳubba* of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, a Ṣūfī *shaykh* of the line of the Banū Umayya, of 697/1298, is one of the most beautiful *ḳubba*s of Cairo, unfortunately much damaged in the interior by fire. The outside shows polygonal bevelling of the squinch area, a drum full of windows with a richly decorated calligraphic frieze about it, and a melon dome divided into numerous compartments. All the compartments and windows are framed in bands of stucco. The interior of the drum zone is broken up into richly ornamented, formerly painted, *muḳarnas* (picture in Briggs, *op. cit.*, 73). On this rests a dome of 28 segments, the ribs of which are decorated with sprigs of leaves in relief and it is beautifully adorned at top and bottom by inscriptions (picture in Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 42). If the influence of the Central Asian style was already seen in the melon cupola of the *ḳubba* just considered, it became more and more powerful in the raising of the cupola, the drums of which were no longer borne by Persian squinches and the cell-work evolved from it, but by Turkish triangular consoles and their numerous interruptions and combinations with *muḳarnas* honeycomb. The internal transition by means of such stereometric structures is henceforth shown outside also in triangular bevellings of the corners of the drum storey. The dome is in the shape of a helmet and is placed like a helmet on the drum. The external decoration of these domes with network patterns of all kinds in high relief carved in glazed stone is one of the peculiarities of Cairo. The older so-called "Tombs of the Mamlūks" and the later so-called "Tombs of the caliphs" all belong to the second Mamlūk period and are similar.

Lists of the *ḳubba*s of Cairo are given in K. A. C. Creswell, *A brief chronology*, in *BIFAO*, xvi, and Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 123-7.

Syria. According to Wulzinger's list, there are still in Damascus and its neighbourhood over a hundred *ḳubba*s, which are there called *turba* and *walī* and are usually connected with small *madrasa*s or *djāmi*ʿs. The general form is the same as everywhere else: a quadrangular-cubic building with a squinch storey, a window storey and dome. Nothing has survived from the Umayyad period. It was only under the Zangids and their successors the Ayyūbids that architecture began to flourish again. As, however, the sepulchral dome over the Nūriyya *madrasa*, with its clusters of cells shows, architecture on the larger scale under Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī was still dependent on other lands, and in this case imitated the Mesopotamian form (F. K. Wulzinger and C. Watzinger, *Damaskus, die antike und die islamische Stadt*, Berlin 1921-4, ii, pl. 4b). Saladīn's *ḳubba* above the ʿAzīziyya *madrasa* has a rather too small dome above the heavy substructure.

From the period of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 1250-1390, many *turba*s still exist which are described by Wulzinger and Watzinger. Through the Crusaders, the Syrians learned to work in a way suitable to dressed stone. "A touch of Gothic, even in so far as the artistic side, the idea, the aesthetic norm is concerned, becomes perceptible in the time of Baybars, indeed half a century earlier, just as in Egypt. The dome now rises with still greater vigour, the drum becomes higher and the silhouette steeper . . . In particular, the portal niche now becomes high and steep" (Wulzinger and Watzinger, 7). In keeping with this towering tendency, the *turba* of Rukn al-Dīn of 621/1224, which has a *masdjid* associated with it, has already two transitional stories on a square substructure, one octagonal with Persian concave squinches and the other 16-sided with windows, and a melon-shaped dome above (Wulzinger and Watzinger, fig. 42, pl. 8c and 9b). Very similar is the *turba* of ʿIzz al-Dīn of 626/1228-9 and several others (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 9a, figs. 34, 35; pl. 7b, pl. 10a). A more modest type is represented by the Ḳilidjiyya *turba* of 645/1247 built along with a *madrasa* for Sayf al-Dīn Ḳilidj al-Nūrī. As frequently in Syria, there were originally here two domes separated by a gateway, but of the western one nothing has survived. Here one squinch-area was sufficient, since with the help of pendentive consoles the transition was made direct from the quadrilateral to the duodecagon, and then by twelve triangular consoles, which are placed in the spandrels of the twelve pointed drum windows, the round base of the dome was reached (Wulzinger and Watzinger, figs. 10-12; cf. also fig. 47). Open *ḳubba*s with four great gate arches are also found in the 7th/13th century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 7c). As an example of rich inner decoration with stucco-relief may be mentioned the al-Ṣāliḥiyya *turba* of the 7th/13th century (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 12).

As in Egypt, so also in Syria under the Circassian Mamlūks, the architectural form rapidly lost vigour, and was replaced by a fondness for decorative detail (Wulzinger and Watzinger, 10). The exterior was brightened, as in Cairo, by the use of stones of many colours, which were also arranged in ornamental patterns. The dome shows a further tendency to increase in height. The Ṭāwūsiyya of 784/1382 betrays a marked slackening in creative power by its two window-storeys directly opposite and externally exactly like one another (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 22b). As the al-Turīzī *ḳubba* of 828/1424-5 shows, there are no further changes internally in the transition from square to octagon and sixteen-sided figure (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 28a). The rich dome *muḳarnas* of Egypt is not to be found in Syria, and it remained here confined to the niches of the gateway. Outside of Damascus we may mention the double dome of Ḳhayrbek in Aleppo, also known as the *ḳubba* of Shaykh ʿAlī and Ḳāʾit-Bay, of 924/1518 (Gluck-Diez, *op. cit.*, 189 and Devonshire, *op. cit.*, 106).

The Ottoman *türbe*s from 1517 A.D. offer, as in Egypt, little of interest and little variety. They are, as the *türbe* of Darwīsh Pasha of 987/1579 shows, mainly octagonal with two drum storeys in the lower of which the corners are still decoratively rounded off with niches, although they are now functionally superfluous (Wulzinger and Watzinger, pl. 55).

Asia Minor and Armenia. In Saldjūḳ Anatolia more than in other countries, the association of *madrasa*s with the sepulchral domes of the founders was the rule. In Ḳonya and the towns under its influence, such as Aḳsaray, we find in the open *madrasa*s, as in those with domes courts, at each side of the *ḳibla-īwān* in the main axis behind the court a domed chamber, one of which is usually used as a tomb, the other as a lecture room; exceptionally both are tombs (Indje Minareli; cf. MASDJID, Architecture). In Ḳonya the transition to the dome is made partly still by fanshaped trihedral consoles and partly by salient and re-entrant friezes of trihedral consoles (Ḳara Ṭāʾiʿ, 649/1251-2), Indje Minareli, 650-684/1252-85, Sirdjeli Medrese, 641/1243-4). The earliest, still clumsy, trihedral console friezes shrink in the course of development to narrower, ornamental friezes. This abstract stereometric rounding-off of the angles was brought by Turkish architects from Central Asia where they had developed it in wood-

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work. In the more eastern Anatolian towns like Nigde, Ḳayṣariyya etc., the system of transition with arcades, most used in Iran and Syria, predominates. In addition to those already mentioned, attention may be called in Ḳonya to the *turba* of Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī (666-82/1267-83) which was also built as a *madrasa* with two domed sepulchral chambers (cf. F. Sarre, *Konia*, reprinted from *Persische Baudenkmaler*). The independent *ḳubba*, usually called *turba* or *gunbād*, also *minareli*, forms in Anatolia and Armenia a uniform group of tent-like buildings, mainly of stone, polygonal in Asia Minor, round in Armenia, with pyramidal or conical roofs.

A list of the more important *turba*s, so far as they have been published, follows. In Ḳayṣariyya: Čifte Günbed, 645/1247; Döner Günbed, 675/1276; Sirdjeli Günbed, 750/1349; ʿAlī Djaʿfar, 750/1349; Amīr ʿAlī, 751/1350, all of stone, octagonal with pyramidal roof, except the last named which is square (cf. A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*). The transition from the polygon to the round dome is here usually effected through rows of pointed arches. The Kösh-Madrasa in the same town (740/1339-40) has an octagonal *turba* standing in its court. The mosque of Lala Paṣha has an octagonal *turba* of the 8th/14th century built on to it. In Nigde the mosque of Sunḳur Bey has an octagonal *turba* of the year 620/1223 added to it. Outside of the town stands the octagonal *turba* of Khudābanda (712/1312-13); there are also several undated *turba*s in the vicinity (Gabriel, *op. cit.*). In Sīwās is the octagonal *turba* of Ḥusayn b. Djaʿfar of 629/1231-2) and the square one of Shaykh Ḥasan Beg (Guduk Mināre) of 748/1347 (cf. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus . . . , Asie Mineure*, i, 17 and 39, pl. ii). In Diwrigi are the octagons of Amīr Kamāl al-Dīn, 529/1134-5 and of Amīr Shāhānshāh (Sayyida Malik), 529/1134-5, also an anonymous *turba* (van Berchem, *op. cit.*, 94, pl. xli). In Tekke, a village near Zara-Diwrigi, is the undated *turba* of Shaykh Marzubān. In Beyshehir the Ashraf Rūm Djāmiʿ has a square *turba* attached to it with a conical roof, the inner dome of which is decorated with unglazed mosaic such as we occasionally find in Ḳonya. These stone *turba*s are usually decorated on the outside with bands of relief and in the entrance doorway with *muḳarnas* lunettes. Of the *turba*s in Aḳshehir, Sarre mentions that of Sayyid Maḥmūd, 621/1224 (*Kleinasien*, 22; Cl. Huart, *Epigraphie arabe d'Asie Mineure*, in *Revue sémitique* [1894-5]).

In Armenia there are several *turba*s of structural interest by Lake Van. They are cylindrical, like most northern Iranian sepulchral towers, with cement walls faced with hewn stone in the Armenian tradition, and occupy a special position in view of their subterranean tombs. The latter are vaulted on a square base and have concealed entrances. The interior chambers vaulted with pointed arched domes are therefore above the level of the ground, reached by steps and used as chapels. These sepulchral towers have further four entrances facing the four quarters with *muḳarnas* lunettes. The exterior is decorated with arcades in relief and Armenian two-sided niches with friezes of *muḳarnas* at the top. The combination of Turco-Islamic and Armenian traditions of structure constitutes their particular charm. The three great *turba*s in Aḵhlāṭ date from the end of the 7th/13th century, the small one from 862/1457-8, the *turba* in Vostan from 736/1334-5 (cf. W. Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*, 1913; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 156 f., 118 f.).

Ottoman Turkey. The building of *turba*s continued under the rule of the Ottomans without, however, new types of artistic interest being created. The polygonal shape continues. The buildings show a stereometrically clear articulation of the façades, with triads of windows with pointed arches framed by straight lines. The often too large number of windows and the glazing of the windows make these *turba*s as a rule look plain and practical. In addition, the inner chambers lose in atmosphere by being too well lit and overfilled with sarcophagi. To give a list of the monuments by name seems hardly worth while here, in view of their large number and uniformity, as well as their lack of significance in the history of art; see on them G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971.

ʿIrāḳ, Iran and Central Asia. In ʿIrāḳ and Iran the normal type of *ḳubba* was preceded by indigenous tomb-buildings. In ʿIrāḳ these are the polygonal tombs with *muḳarnas* domes above them, of which the best known example is the tomb of Sayyida Zubayda near Baghdād. Others are al-Nadjmī, al-Asiba, Imām Dūr, Imāmzāde Tuil, etc. This type was also taken to Ḳūm (figs. in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1911-20; Sarre, *Persische Baudenkmäler*; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, 100-202; or p. 20, 72-74 and MUḲARNAS). Ḳum [*q.v.*], as one of the holy places of Iran since an early date, still offers, with its 16 *ḳubba*s still standing, the most fruitful source for the study of this type in Iran. They are almost all octagonal with an inner dome, which is covered over by a polygonal tent roof. With one exception, they are built of red brick and have roofs of blue glaze. They date from the 6th/12th to the 10th/16th centuries. They are Shāhzāde Ibrāhīm, an octagonal domed building with eight high deep niches, a Saldjūḳ (?) precursor of the similar Ṣafawid type (Khōdja Rabīʿ); Shāhzāde Ibrāhīm near the Kāshān Gate of 721/1321 and restored in 805/1402; Shāhzāde Ismāʿīl 776/1374; ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar 740/1339; ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Maʿālī near the Kāshān Gate 761/1359; Khōdja ʿImād al-Dīn near the Kāshān Gate 792/1389; Khōdja Djamāl al-Dīn near the Kāshān Gate; Shāh Sayyid ʿAlī outside the Rayy Gate; Shāhzāde Aḥmad outside the Rayy Gate; Shahār Imām-zāde outside the Rayy Gate; Shāhzāde Djaʿfar 707/1307; Shāhzāde Aḥmad (Khāk-i Faradj); Shāhzāde Aḥmad Ḳāsim; Čihil Aḵhtarān 905/1499; Shāhzāde Ḥamza; Shāhzāde ʿAbd Allāh (A. U. Pope, *Preliminary report on the tombs of the saints at Qumm*, in *Bull. of the Amer. Inst. for Persian Art and Archaeology*, iv/1 [1935]). The Imām-zāde Karrār in Buzūn dated 528/1134 east of Iṣfahān was published by M. B. Smith and E. Herzfeld (*Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, vii [1935]). It contains splendid stucco decoration. In northern Iran along the Elburz chain, much more frequently than the normal *ḳubba* we find in the period of the 4th/10th to the 7th/13th centuries cylindrical sepulchral towers of brick, usually called *mīl* or *gumbād*: Djurdjān, Rayy, Radkān, Dāmghān, Demāwend, Kishmar, Wāramīn, Nakhčewān, Marāgha, Bistām, etc. (figs. in Sarre, *op. cit.*; Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.* and *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, etc.).

The type is found with variations beyond Iran as far as Khʷārazm (Old Urgendj), although the norm in Central Asia is the domed *ḳubba*. These towers are mediaeval descendants of the very ancient Central Asian tombs, which were built by the sometimes nomadic, sometimes settled peoples of the steppes for their tribal chiefs and leaders. In form they are to be interpreted as a rendering of the prince's tent of the nomadic peoples in monumental form and sometimes they copy its textile character (cf. Diez, *Persien*,

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islamische Baukunst in Churasan, 1923, 51-5, 73 ff.; R. Hillenbrand, *The tomb towers of Iran to 1550*, Oxford D. Phil. thesis 1974, unpublished). A particular type which is closer to that of the normal *ḳubba* developed in the province of Māzandarān on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. These are quadrangular and polygonal brick buildings, with pyramidal tower-roofs mainly belonging to the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries and are undoubtedly descendants of an older native type of wooden building (figs. in Sarre, *Persische Baudenkmäler*; Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, figs. 98, 99 or 73.) The *ḳubba* proper was already latent in the old square building of stone with squinch dome, with which, however, it has nothing genetically to do. The few Sāsānid domed buildings of this kind that have survived are simply monumental examples of a much older Īrānian type of house (cf. the eastern Iranian, Sāsānid domed building Ribāṭ Sefīd in Diez, *Persien*, fig. 1). Domed buildings of the *ḳubba* were probably already in use as fire-temples in the pre-Islamic period.

The oldest *ḳubba* in ʿIrāḳ is, if Herzfeld's ascription is correct, the Ḳubbat al-Ṣulaybiyya in Sāmarrā, which deserves our attention as the domed sepulchre of the caliph al-Muntaṣir, in which al-Muʿtazz and al-Muhtadī were perhaps also buried, as three graves were found: a domed building quadrangular in the interior, while outside the corners were cut off by the corridor-like octagonal pathway round it. The transition to the (now destroyed) dome was made by an octagonal series of squinches with niches, of which only fragments survive. There are four gates at the ends of the axes. The building followed the Ḳubbat al-Ṣaḵhra in Jerusalem and its Christian predecessors (cf. E. Herzfeld, *Erster Bericht ... von Samarra*, Berlin 1912, 28-31; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Arch. Reise im Euphrat- u. Tigrisgebiet*, i, 83-6).

The oldest remaining *ḳubba*s in Central Asia and Iran date from the 3rd/9th century, and in contrast to Sāsānid domes, show an innovation in construction which opened up new possibilities of development: the corners are bridged over with keel arches instead of with the clumsy, funnel-shaped squinches proper. These, in smaller buildings, as in the *ḳubba* in Sāngbāst, might be closed up with a filling of bricks arranged in a pattern, in larger buildings left open to the gallery passage behind, whereby the intramural passage which already existed in the great Sāsānid domes in Fārs in the squinch storey was now made visible for the first time and given an aesthetic function for the inner articulation of the chamber and the external articulation of the façades. The oldest *ḳubba* still preserved is the tomb of Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad Sāmānī in Buḵhārā of 296/907; the most celebrated and largest is the *turba*—as Yāḳūt calls it—of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Sandjar (511-52/1117-57) in Marw. The building is of colossal dimensions. The square lower part, with walls 20 feet thick and sides 90 feet long, is 45 feet high and is crowned outside by a gallery 17 feet high, behind which rises the drum with the dome, originally covered with blue glaze, to a height of about 100 feet. The drum shows signs of its original concealment by a wall of niches, in the empty niches of which only the Buddhist idols are lacking to complete the resemblance to the stupas of similar structure—for example in Balḵh which is not far away. The direct connection between this decoration of the exterior of the *ḳubba* and the equally imposing stupas is undoubted. The gallery is ornamented with reliefs in brick and stucco. The interior walls are painted with ornamental designs, and have a frieze in Kūfic script around the top. The keel arches bridging the corners connect the chamber with the gallery. Similar windows pierce the walls in the central axes. The spandrels between these eight windows in the zone of transition are decorated with *muḳarnas*. The vaulting of the dome which towers above this is adorned with ribbed arches arranged in fan-shaped and criss-cross patterns in plaster, a method of giving the dome a spheroidal shape, which in later buildings came to be painted and filled in with tendril patterns (Diez, *Persien*, etc., 93 f.; E. Cohn-Wiener, *Das Mausoleum des Sultan Sandjar*, in *Jb. d. As. Kunst*, xi/1, 925; idem, *Turan, Islamische Baukunst in Mittelasien*, Berlin 1930).

In Old Sarakhs on the Harī Rūd in the modern Turkmenistan S.S.R. is a *ḳubba* similar in construction, but on a more modest scale (V. Zhukovskii, *Rasvalini Starago Merva*, fig. 33). Two others in the region of the Murghāb and Zarafshan oases are Talḵhatan Bābā and Mazār Sulṭān Ismāʿīl in Buḵhārā, both of the 6th/12th century (Zhukovskii, *op. cit.*, figs. 30-2). Their squinches are still funnel-shaped like the Sāsānid ones and without a gallery. Like the tomb of Sandjar, they are distinguished by their brick ornamentation and are evidence of a native pure brick style of a vigorous character in the Marw oasis area, of which Cohn-Wiener gives examples in his book. The small *ḳubba* with its richly decorated interior belonging to the former Ribāṭ of Sāngbāst in Mashhad is probably an outlier of this style on the Iranian highlands (Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, 52 f., pls. 14-18; Glück and Diez, *Die Kunst des Islam*, 292-3). The *ḳubba* of Sandjar opens the important series of Central Asian-Iranian mausoleum *ḳubba*s of the 7th-11th/13th-17th centuries. If the emancipation of the squinches from the body of the dome and their becoming independent in an intermediate storey was the first step in this development, the second is the emancipation of the gallery storey from the squinch area. We see the process completed in the *ḳubba* of New Sarakhs on the Persian side of the Harī Rūd, which was restored in the 8th/14th century, but probably dates from the beginning of the 7th/13th century (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, 62 ff., pls. 20-2; Glück and Diez, *op. cit.*, 291). Here the gallery is included in the lower structure which makes the latter, and also the dome, higher. The dome is still resting on a square substructure with an octagonal drum formed by corner arches. This intermediate storey, however, no longer plays an important part in the articulation. It has already disappeared in the *ḳubba* of Ṭūs almost contemporary with that of Sarakhs (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, 55, pls. 19-20; idem, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, coloured plate; idem, *Persien, Bauk. in Chur.*, fig. 40; Glück and Diez, *op. cit.*, 291). In Ṭūs the four interior niches of the square main course have become broader, and these now become broader still. They were also made higher than before and linked up by a common framework with the niches above (cf. *Chur. Bdkm.*, fig. 26, section). The four corner arches rising out of the squinches which make the transition from the square to the octagon are now also included by a common framework in the main body of the building, so that they no longer form as before a separate intermediate storey but bring about the change from square to octagon within the main storey. Formally, this is a fusion with combined effect, i.e. a step towards the decorative Islamisation of the interior. The development of the gallery as a factor in shaping the interior was thus more or less brought to an end. As Ṭūs is not dated (8th/14th century?), we cannot fix the time relation of this *ḳubba* with the Western

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Persian one of Sulṭān Muḥammad Öldjeytü Khudābanda (703-16/1304-16) in Sulṭāniyya. In the interval, a variant had established itself there, the object of which was to transfer the gallery to the outside, an aim latent since the *ḳubba* of Sandjar. We really have here a type of building of a different, namely octagonal, shape which, as Texier has already pointed out, was an Indian variant imitated in Iran. The interior gallery with corridor has here become a series of separate windows which resemble in shape and size the eight doorways below, so that two stories of equal size are created within, which gives the interior an effect of massive calm. On the other hand, a staircase within the wall leads up to a gallery above the window storey, which opens to the outside only and can no longer be regarded as an interior gallery. Equally peculiar are the eight minaret-like pillars which are placed at the corners of the roof terrace to buttress the dome (cf. the illustrations in *Kunst d. isl. Völker* and Dieulafoy and Sarre's sketches in *Pers. Bdkm.*). We shall return to this type of *ḳubba* in the section on India. Another *ḳubba*, the only one of its kind in Iran, is the Djabal-i Sāng near Kirmān, an octagonal building of cement with dome and drum of brick, which resembles the Syrian *turba*s (Diez, *Persien*, etc., 97 and fig. at p. 79; Creswell, *Persian domes before 1400 A.D.*, in *Burlington Magazine*, xxii [1915], 208, pl. 2). With the sepulchral dome of Öldjeytü, the *ḳubba* in Iran reached the considerable height of 165 feet.

Alongside of this line of development in construction, there was a second which began probably as early as the Saldjūḳ, but certainly in the Tīmūrid period; this aimed at the same object, the raising of the height of the dome, and attained it by other means, namely by a drum and double-shelled dome. In both cases, the aim is not so much to raise the height of the interior chamber as to give a towering effect to the exterior. For the inner shell of the dome makes the interior much lower than would appear from the outer shell. The Ḳubba-yi Sābz in Kirmān is the oldest—at latest dating from the middle of the 7th/13th century—sepulchral tomb of this kind (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 115). The models for these towered domes may possibly be found in the equally towerlike stupas of Afghānistān and the Tarim basin, with domes built one above the other and chambers between them. Tīmūr's *ḳubba*, the Gūr-i Mīr in Samarḳand of 808/1405, the dome of which structurally resembles the Ḳubba-yi Sābz, is the next monument of this style still standing; after it come the *ḳubba*s of the Tīmūrids at Shāh Zinda near Samarḳand and others in Herāt and Turkestān (Diez, *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 116, 119; J. M. Rogers, tr., *V. V. Barthold's article O pogrebenii Timura* ("*The burial of Tīmūr*"), in *Iran, Jnal. of the BIPS*, xii [1974], 65-87). Gūr-i Mīr has, it is true, a gallery, but this no longer opens on to the interior by open niches, piercing the wall, but only through grilles, which are in the plane of the wall, is it possible from the passage within the wall to get a glimpse of the interior, an innovation of decisive importance in the layout of the latter. In and around Herāt there were once many *ḳubba*s, of which only two still exist (Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, figs. 163, 164); others east of Herāt (figs. 182-4).

The last phase of evolution in Iran was reached in the Ṣafawid period. The very similar memorial buildings of Khōdja Rabīʿ of 1030/1621 near Mashhad and Ḳadam-gāh of 1091/1680 east of Nīshāpūr (*Chur. Bdkm.*, pls. 23, 39) are octagonal *ḳubba*s with galleries, which open to the outside in four great corner niches. These buildings seem to have their origin in the Persian garden pavilion, as a comparison with the Hasht Bihisht in Iṣfahān shows. But the idea of using garden pavilions as memorial buildings again comes from India. We may here mention also the *ḳubba* of Shaykh Djām which has a court mosque and *madrasa* adjoining in Turbat-i Shaykh Djām near the Afghān frontier, as an example of a *mazār* on a large scale (Diez, *Chur. Bdkm.*, 78 ff., pls. 35-7). The largest place of pilgrimage of this kind is the sanctuary of the Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, with the domed sepulchre of the Imām (Diez, *Persien*, etc., figs. 44-56). In Afghānistān, the *mazār*s of Khōdja Akashi in Balkh and Mazār-i Sharīf, with domed tombs, may be mentioned (O. Niedermayer-Diez, *Afghanistan*, 64 ff.).

India. The first Muslim dynasty to reign exclusively in India was descended from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*], a former slave of Muḥammad Ghūrī who was installed by his master as viceroy in Dihlī and on the latter's death declared himself independent (602/1206). It is only with this dynasty of the "Slave Kings" or Sulṭāns of Dihlī that monumental Muslim architecture begins in India. Nothing has survived of earlier buildings, which were probably built of perishable material. From the 7th/13th century, however, the building of tombs in the Muslim regions of India becomes important, and in keeping with the great expansion of Islām over the vast peninsula there are still in India far more *ḳubba*s than in the other lands of Islām. The influences interacting within the peninsula were very varied; the main genetic principle in the style of the *ḳubba*, as for all Indian Muslim architecture, can therefore only be said to be the combination of foreign and native Arabo-Turkish-Persian and Indian, traditions. The amalgamation of these two traditions, which found expression in material, technique, shape and form, resulted in the manifold variations of the Indian types of *ḳubba*.

In the course of the general development, we can distinguish some ten different phases of style, or local styles (and when we use the word "local" we must remember the great scale of India). Sir Alexander Cunningham distinguished the following styles (*Archaeological survey of India, Reports*, iii, iv): 1. The Indo-Turkish, which began with the Slave Kings dynasty, with pointed or overlapping arches of corbelled horizontal layers, i.e. still using the old Indian technique of vaulting, and with rich decoration in relief in stone: tomb of Sulṭān Iltutmish in Dihlī (*Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 228, 187). 2. The style of the Khaldjīs of the second dynasty (689-720/1290-1320), or decorated Turkish style with horseshoe arches of radiating layers and rich ornamentation. 3. The Tughluḳid, called after the third Turkish dynasty (720-817/1320-1414), with sloping, very thick walls and cusped horseshoe arches. The domes rest on low drums and the walls of red limestone are panelled with white marble frames: *ḳubba* of Tughluḳ Shāh in Tughluḳābād (*op. cit.*, fig. 226, 168); also brick buildings inlaid with glazed bricks: sepulchral dome of Rukn al-Dawla in Multān. Later, we have still thicker walls without arches and inlay but with a covering of stucco, which was probably decorated and painted: *ḳubba* of Fīrūz Shāh in Fīrūzābād. 4. The Afghān style, called after the Afghān dynasties (Sayyids, Lodīs and Sūrīs) (817-962/1414-1555) with perpendicular walls; mostly octagonal mausoleums with arcades: tomb of Shēr Shāh (*op. cit.*, fig. 224, 173); decorated with coloured stucco or with strips of glaze: *ḳubba* of Bahlūl Lodī near Čirak-Dihlī; the octagonal mausoleums of

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Sikandar in Old Khayrpur and others in Mubārakpur-Kotila and Khayrpur. Later, a coating of different coloured stones was preferred to the covering of stucco: mausoleums of Shēr Shāh and Ḥusayn Khān in Sahsarām. 5. The Turkish style in Bengal, an independent provincial style; squat buildings of brick sometimes decorated with minute faïence work: tombs in Ḥaḍrat Pandua (769/1368) and Gawr with curved brick roofs. 6. The Turkish style of the Sharḳids in Djawnpūr (796-883/1394-1479) a provincial style similar to (1) and (2): tombs in Djawnpūr. 7. The early Mughal style comprises the buildings of the reigns of Akbar and Djahāngīr (963-1037/1556-1628). With the tomb of Humāyūn, finished in 980/1572, the Persian style established itself. In Akbar's tomb it again makes way for the Indian (here the old vihāra type) to reappear in Djahāngīr's tomb in Lahore—in the faïence which decorates it, at least (*ca.* 1039/1630). Red sandstone is the material preferred. 8. The late Mughal style under Shāh Djahān (1037-68/1628-57) finds its most brilliant manifestation in the Tādj Maḥall, which shows the Indian and Persian traditions in perfect union.

To this list may be added: 9. The Deccan style, which covers the numerous sepulchral domes and around the old capital on the plateau of the Deccan, although they show as many varieties as localities and are only variations of the north Indian sepulchral domes of the Turkish dynasties who founded Muslim rule in the Deccan. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh of Dihlī was the first to establish himself here in 693/1294. Half a century later the Bahmanids succeeded in bringing the northern half of the Deccan under their rule (748-934/1347-1527). Their capital was Gulbargā [*q.v.*]. At the end of the 9th/15th century began the division of the Deccan under five dynasties: the ʿImād Shāhs in Berār (890-980/1485-1572), the Niẓām Shāhs (897-1028/1492-1619) in Bīdar, the ʿĀdil Shāhs (895-1097/1490-1686) in Bīdjāpūr and the Ḳuṭb Shāhs (918-1098/1512-1687) in Golkondā. The most important sites for the study of the architecture are Gulbargā, the oldest capital, then Bīdjāpūr, Bīdar and Golkondā; Bīdjāpūr, "the Palmyra of the Deccan", stands out from all for the richness and size of the buildings. The shape common to all domed tombs is here as in northern India a square building with a dome. Some of them, like the Ibrāhīm Rawḍa, the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm II (987-1036/1579-1626), and the incomplete ʿAlī II Rawḍa of the last ʿĀdil Shāh in Bīdjāpūr, are enclosed by long terraced arcades. Almost all the old buildings in the Deccan are built of hewn stone; in Bīdjāpūr and elsewhere also we frequently find a reddish-brown basalt. The transition from the square to the dome was here again effected from the transition zone with corner arches to a kind of folding of the wall by means of crossing pendentive-like arches which led direct to the round of the dome without an intervening course. By far the largest of these tombs, indeed the largest *ḳubba* in the world, is that of Muḥammad ʿĀdil Shāh (1036-70/1626-60), the celebrated Gul Gumbād in Bīdjāpūr (pictures in *Kunst d. isl. Völker*, 223 and 171; *Die Kunst des Islam*, 319 and many other works); a square building with an interior diameter of 150 feet, i.e. larger than the interior of the Pantheon (110 feet). The interior narrows towards the top through a system of intersecting pendentives to a circular basis of about 105 feet in diameter on which rises the dome—leaving an inner gallery open—about 130 feet in diameter; the interior height is nearly 200 feet and the exterior 220 feet. The weight presses inwards through the pendentives, but is counteracted by the weight of the dome, so that it was not necessary to counteract any outward pressure by massive walls.

In Gulbargā, which was the capital of the Bahmanids (748-920/1347-1514), still stand the simple *ḳubba*s of the early rulers of this dynasty, among them the tomb—here reproduced—of its founder Ḥasan Gangū ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (748-59/1347-58). The *ḳubba*s of the later Bahmanids from Aḥmad Shāh Walī onwards (825-39/1422-36) are at Bīdar and are already much larger and sometimes richly decorated, especially the mausoleum of Aḥmad Shāh. The square building is transformed to the round by keel arches at the corners. The interior walls are brought into rhythm by three flat niches on each, of which the central ones on the north-south axis are opened as doors. The central niche on the west is deepened to form a pentagonal *miḥrāb*. The niches are flanked with Indian pilasters. The painting of the interior is undoubtedly of later origin, but the old designs may survive in places. The painting of the dome resembles that of Khōdja Rabīʿ (in Khurāsān; see above), as does the frieze of inscription. Almost as large as that just mentioned, but without decoration in the interior, is the *ḳubba* of Maḥmūd Shāh II (887-924/1482-1518). To this group also belongs an octagonal tomb without dome, obviously unfinished, which resembles the mausoleum of Khudābanda Shāh in Sulṭāniyya (Persia) and was built for Shāh Khalīl Allāh Ḥusayn, the iconoclast and saint, son of the tutor of Aḥmad Shāh Bahman. The tombs of the Barīdīs who followed the Bahmanids are open *ḳubba*s standing on pillars.

The fine city of tombs of the Ḳuṭb Shāhīs of Golkondā lies outside the town in a large walled garden, the *ḳubba*s of the last rulers of the dynasty, ʿAbd Allāh (1045-83/1635-72) and of Abu 'l-Ḥasan (1083-98/1672-87), who died in Mughal captivity, built only up to the dome, outside the walls. The cubic buildings are sometimes surrounded by galleries of arcades as in Bīdjāpūr. The bulbous domes rise out of a lotus pattern (see the illustrations). In the country around are *ḳubba*s of prominent families and saints, like the Čahār Gumbād reproduced here. They belong to the same type. The last great group to be mentioned is: 10. The style of Gudjārāt, with Aḥmadābād as its capital, founded by the second ruler of the sulṭāns of Gudjārāt, Aḥmad Shāh I (814-46/1411-42); his descendants ruled till 991/1583. Aḥmad Shāh's *ḳubba* or *rawḍa* in the centre of the town beside the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, a square building with sides 90 feet long, consists of a domed chamber 35 feet high and four corner chambers connected by pillared halls. The preference for rich, pointed ornamentation peculiar to this style finds expression in the marble cenotaphs and fillings of the windows. In *ḳubba*s outside the city, as in the mausoleum of Daryā Khān of *ca.* 857/1453, we again find the Turco-Persian transition storeys with corner arches and gallery with a dome above built of horizontal layers (*Kunst d. isl. Völker*, fig. 214, and 182).

The most important groups have been mentioned. For the most notable Mughal tombs, which are only briefly mentioned above, see HIND, vii. Architecture, and MUGHALS, Architecture.

Finally, it should be noted that *ḳubba* "cover" occurs as a technical term in the construction of scales and balances, where the housing for the pointer (*lisān*), often used also as a carrying handle (cf. Pedro de Alcala: *cubba* = *manija del peso*), was called the *ḳubba*. See J. D. Latham, *The interpretation of a passage on scales* (mawāzīn) *in an Andalusian* ḥisba *manual*, in *JSS*, xxiii (1978), 285-7.

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Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see the relevant sections of the general works on Islamic architecture by Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*. i. *Umayyads*, Oxford 1932, ii. *Early ʿAbbāsids, Umayyads of Cordova, Aghlabids, Ṭūlūnids and Sāmānids*, Oxford 1940; G. Michel, ed., *Architecture of the Islamic world, its history and social meaning*, London 1978. Of studies on more particularly limited periods and regions, see the relevant sections in F. Wetzel, *Islamische Grabbauten in Indien aus der Zeit der Soldatenkaiser, 1320-1540*, Leipzig 1918; Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*. i. *Ikhshīdids and Fāṭimids*, Oxford 1942, ii. *Ayyūbids and early Baḥrite Mamlūks*, Oxford 1959; A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, iii, viii; D. N. Wilber, *The architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il-Khanid period*, Princeton 1955; *Āthār al-Islām al-taʾrīkhiyya fi ʾl-Ittiḥād al-Sūfiyītī*, Tashkent n.d. [*ca.* 1960]; O. Grabar, *The earliest Islamic commemorative structures*, in *Ars Orientalis*, vi (1966), 7-45. See further the bibls. to ARCHITECTURE; HIND. vii. Architecture; ĪRĀN. viii. Art and Architecture, in Suppl.; MASDJID; MANĀRA; MIṢR. Architecture; SHĀM.

(E. Diez*)

ḴUBBA (now Ḳuba), a district in the eastern Caucasus between Bākū and Derbend [*q.vv.*]. The district of Ḳubba, with an area of 2,800 sq. miles, is bounded on the north by a large river, the Samūr, which flows into the Caspian, on the west by the "district" of Samūr which belongs to Dāghistān [*q.v.*], on the south by the southern slopes of the Caucasian range (peaks: Shāh-Dagh, 13,951 feet high, Bābā Dagh, 11,900) which separate Ḳubba from Shamāḳha (cf. the article SHĪRWĀN), on the south-east by the district of Bākū and on the east by the Caspian. The area between the mountains and the flat coast land is called Djāf (Vullers, i, 499; *djāf*, "ad venerationem principis destinatum nemus"). The plain between the rivers Yalama and Belbele is called Muskūr; Shābarān lies further south (cf. SHĪRWĀN). The other cantons are Barmak (so-called after a member of the Barmakī family, who sought refuge here in the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd), Shish-pāra, Tīp, Khinalugh, Budugh, Yukharī-bash, Sīrt, Anaḳh-dara, and (sometimes) Ḳabistān (*Aḳtī*, iv, 650).

The population in 1896 was 175,000; 36.7% Tāt [*q.v.*], speaking the Iranian dialect of Tatī; 25.5% of Āḏharbāydjāni Turks; 24% of highlanders of the Kürā group (the Kürin [*q.v.*]); and 8% highlanders of the group (southeastern Dāghistān group) formed of Khinalugh [*q.v.*], Djek, Ḳrīz [*q.v.*] and Budugh, to whom the Udi of Shekkī [*q.v.*] seem to be related. Muslims form 94% of the population (76.5% Sunnīs, and 17.5% Shīʿīs). Jews, Russians and Armenians together number several thousands. The town of Ḳubba (16,300 inhabitants), only founded in about 1750, lies on the right bank of the river Ḳudiāl; on the left bank is the Jewish quarter of the town. Near the mouth of the Ḳudiāl is the roadstead of Nisābād (called Nizovaia by the Russians) which played an important part in Russian military operations in Transcaucasia.

The history of the district of Ḳubba, which at first must have formed part of the ancient Caucasian Albania, is mixed up with that of Shīrwān; Shābarān (now a ruined site on the river Ḳulhan, Russian Gilkhin) had been an important centre inhabited by Christians (Muḳaddasī, 376) before Shamāḳha became the capital of Shīrwān. On the banks of the river Ḳulhan may still be seen ruins with a wall running from the sea to Bābā Dagh. Near the town of Ḳubba is the tomb of the Shīrwān-Shāh Kāwūs b. Kayḳubād (d. 774/1373).

It was only in the 18th century that Ḳubba enjoyed a period of independence. In the time of Shāh Sulaymān Ṣafawī, a member of the family of the *ūsmī* of Ḳaytaḳ (cf. DĀGHISTĀN) called Ḥusayn Khān arrived at the court of Iṣfahān. He became a Shīʿī and gained the favour of the Shāh, who appointed him Khān of Ḳubba and of Sāliyān (at the mouth of the Kura). Ḥusayn Khān built the castle of Khudād. His grandson Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, with the help of Peter the Great, regained the ancestral estates of the *ūsmī*, but his position was threatened by the alliance of Surkhay, prince of the Ḳāzi-Kumūḳh, with Ḥādjdjī Dāwūd, religious chief of Muskūr, who with the help of Turkey played a considerable part in Dāghistān from 1712. Nādir Shāh restored Sāliyān to Ḥusayn ʿAlī. After the death of Nādir, local dynasties arose everywhere. At this time Ḥusayn ʿAlī moved his capital from Khudād to Ḳubba where he built a town and annexed Shābarān and Ḳulhan. He died in 1171/1758. His son Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān who succeeded him sought the help of the empress Catherine II, who in 1189/1775 sent General de Medem to Derbend, under a pretext of avenging the death of the academician Gmelin, who had died on 27 June 1774 in captivity with the *ūsmī* of Ḳayaḳ. With the help of the Russians, Fatḥ ʿAlī re-established his authority over what he could regard as his hereditary fief (Dāghistān, Ḳubba, Sāliyān). He also took Shīrwān, and the Khān of Bākū appointed him his son's guardian. The influence of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān gradually extended beyond the bounds of the district. In 1193/1778 he sent 9,000 men to Gīlān to restore Hidāyat Khān, who had been driven out by the Ḳādjārs [*q.v.*]. In 1202/1788 he seized Ardabīl, whereupon the Shāh-sewān [*q.v.*] recognised his authority. The Khāns of Ḳara-Dagh and of Tabrīz sought his support. Fatḥ ʿAlī is credited with ambitious designs on Āḏharbāydjān. To reconcile his plans with those of the king Irakli of Georgia, Fatḥ ʿAlī met the latter at Shamkūr (Shamkhor) but soon afterwards fell ill and died in 1203/1789.

The political and military work of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān crumbled away under his successors. His young son Shaykh ʿAlī Āghā (succeeded in 1791) had a very adventurous career. This young Khān relied on the support of the Ḳādjārs, but Count Zubov took Derbend on 4 May 1796, and entrusted the government to his sister Perī-Djahān Khānum. Taken prisoner by the Russians, Shaykh ʿAlī Āghā escaped and renewed the struggle. On the accession of the emperor Paul, Russian policy suddenly changed and the Russian troops were withdrawn. Shaykh ʿAlī returned to Derbend. In 1801 he and the other Khāns sent a delegation to Alexander I, but by 1805 we again find Shaykh ʿAlī rebelling against the Russians to whom he caused continual trouble till 1226/1811. The khānate of Ḳubba was occupied by the Russians in 1806, and by the treaty of 1813 Persia renounced her claim to the eastern Caucasus. From its incorporation in the Russian empire, Ḳubba formed a "gouvernement" of Shīrwān (later of Bākū). Since 1919 Ḳubba has been part of the republic of Āḏharbāydjān, at first independent and then a Soviet SSR.

Bibliography: cf. the articles DĀGHISTĀN, DERBEND, SHEKKĪ and SHĪRWĀN. See especially the work of the local historian ʿAbbās Ḳulī Āghā Bākikhānov (a descendant of the Khāns of Bākū, who were related to Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān), the *Gulistān-i Iram*, of which a Russian version by the author

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1. Jerusalem. Dome of the Rock. Exterior.

2. Bukhārā. Mausoleum of the Sāmānid Ismāʿīl, 4th/10th c. (Photo A. F. Kersting)

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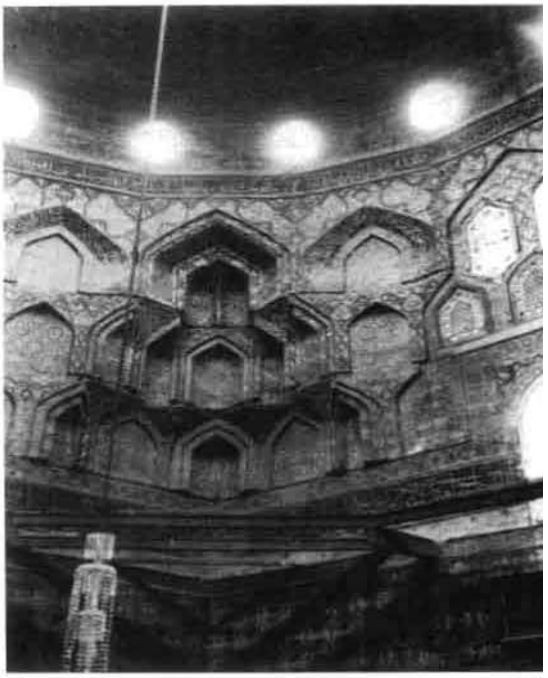
PLATE XXV

KUBBA

3. Marw. Mausoleum of Sulṭān Sandjar, 5th/11th c. (Photo Karin Rührdanz)

4. Cairo. Mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, ca. 608/1211. Exterior. (Courtesy Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)



5. Cairo. Mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, ca. 608/121 Interior. (Courtesy Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museun Oxford.)

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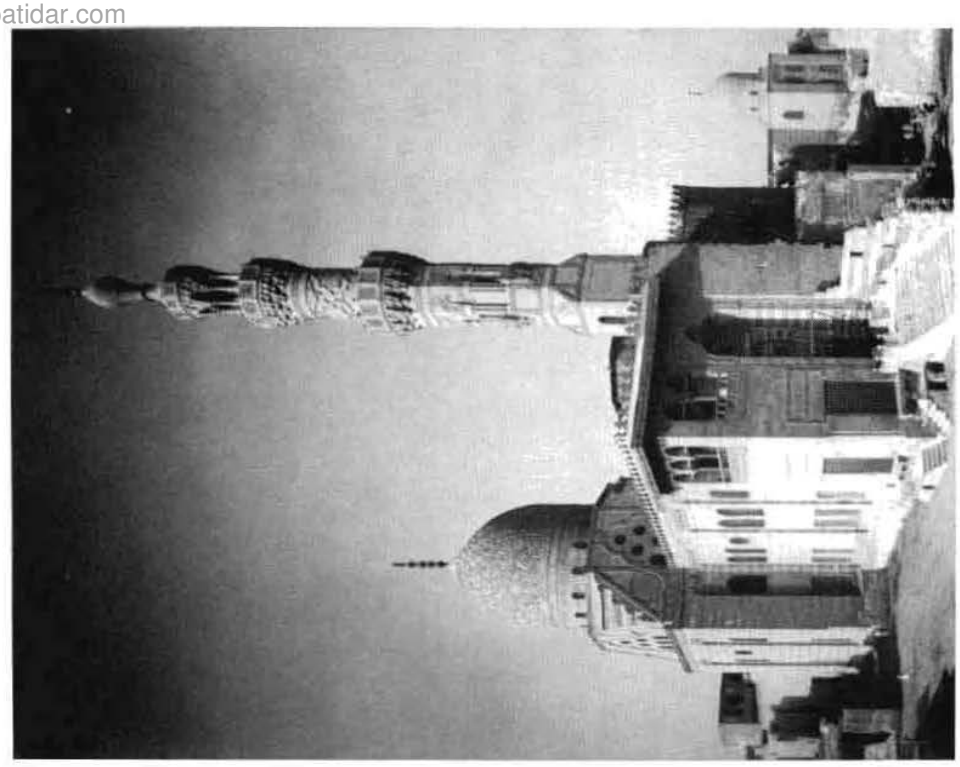

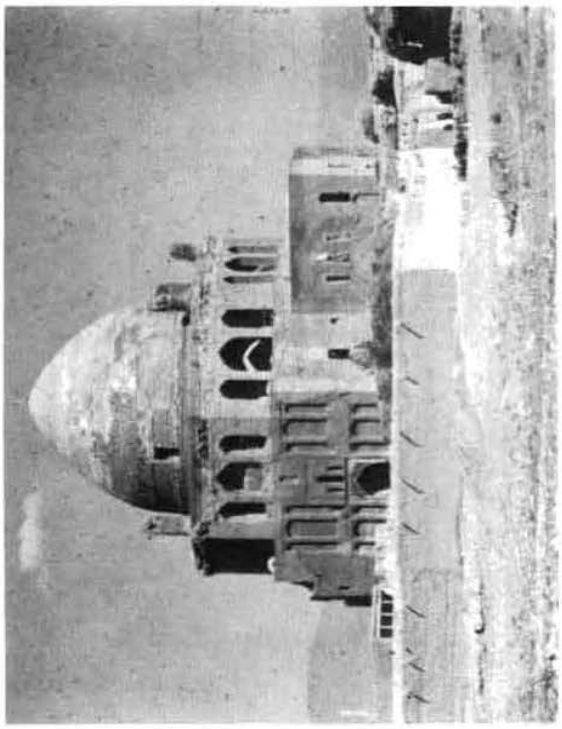

6. Sulṭāniyya. Mausoleum of Uldjaytū, 707-11/1307-11. (Photo M. Rogers)

7. Cairo. Mausoleum of Ḳāʾitbāy, ca. 877-9/1472-4. (Photo A. F. Kersting)

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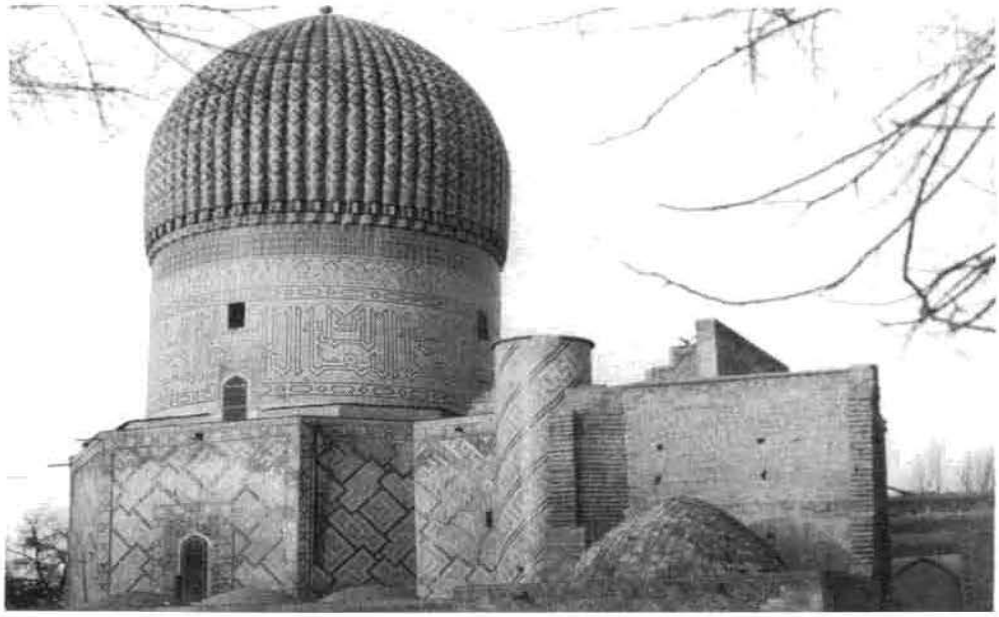
PLATE XXVII

KUBBA



8. Samarkand. Mausoleum Gūr-i Mīr, 806/1404. (Photo B. Brentjes)

9. Samarkand. Shāh-i Zinde. General view. (Photo Konstanze Göbel)

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himself (1794-1846) was published at Bākū in 1926 (*Travaux de la société scientifique de l'Azerbaidjan*, part 4). The principal documents are in the collection by A. Bergé, Tiflis 1866 ff., i-xii, index under *Derbend-Ḳubba*. (V. MINORSKY)

AL-ḲUBBA. ḲUBBAT AL-ʿĀLAM, Ḳ. AL-ARḌ, Ḳ. ARĪN "the dome of the world, of the earth, of Arīn", expressions used by the Islamic geographers and astronomers to denote the geographical centre of the earth (*wasaṭ al-arḍ*) at the zenith of which exists the *ḳubbat al-samāʾ* or *wasaṭ al-samāʾ*; the *ḳubbat al-arḍ*, defined as being equidistant from the four cardinal points or *diʾihāt* (see e.g. Ibn Rustih, 8, tr. Wiet, 7), is theoretically to be found at 90° from each of the poles and meridians of longitude zero and 180°, passing through the two extremities of the inhabited world (whether the longitudes are calculated starting from the east or the west). It is thus situated on the equator, and, for those authorities who followed Ptolemy, at 90° to the east of the meridian of the Fortunate Isles [see AL-DJAZĀʾIR AL-ḴHĀLIDĀT] taken as the starting point. Now, if the theoretical position of the *ḳubba* causes no problems, its localisation in practice does in fact pose an interesting one.

The author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (tr. Minorsky, 58, § 4, No. 13) echoes a tradition which places the centre of the inhabited world in an island called Nāra (read as Bāra by Minorsky) at a longitude of 90° east, and he adds that the astronomical tables and the position of the planets and fixed stars were calculated in relation to this equinoxial island (*istiwāʾ al-layl wa ʾl-nahār*; cf. Ibn Rustih, 84 tr. 92, "l'île équatoriale"). However, al-Bīrūnī in his *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, whilst noting the fact that this island is mentioned by al-Fazārī and Yaʿḳūb b. Ṭārik, places it at 190° 50′ longitude east, i.e. at 50′ to the east of Yamakoṭī/Djamakūt/Djamagūd, which marked the extreme eastern boundary of the inhabited world, and he states that there are some more or less unknown places there. In his *India*, 157, tr. i, 303-4, al-Bīrūnī notes that the name Yamakoṭī is reminiscent of Kankdiz/Gangdiz, which Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī took as the starting-place for the longitudes, calculated from east to west and no longer from west to east (cf. D. Pingree, *The thousands of Abū Maʿshar*, London 1968, 41 and index). Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 131 = § 555, recording an ancient Iranian tradition, attributes to Kay Khusraw the foundation of Kankdiz, and he notes specifically that certain authorities equate it with Yang-chʾeou; he further adds that several Chinese kings made it their capital. Al-Bīrūnī, *loc. cit.*, mentions Kay Kāwūs or Djim/Djamshīd as founder of this legendary town which was to remain, at least theoretically, as the extreme limit of the known world for later scholars. Abū Maʿshar likewise places it to the east of China and at 90° from the *ḳubbat al-arḍ*, but he identifies it with Ūzayn, which is a dangerous error.

The Indians used to calculate the longitudes from Lanka (Ceylon), whose southern tip is not very far from the equator, but they were led to displace the original meridian westwards and to adopt instead that of Udjdjayn [*q.v.*], which is near to the Tropic of Cancer but not at all near to the Equator. The name of this town, which has indeed a genuine geographical existence, was written in Arabic script Ūzayn/Uzayn أوزين/أزين (cf. Ibn Rustih, 22, tr. 19 and n. 6, with bibl.; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, Cairo 1357/1937, 192), and then, by means of a wrong reading, Arīn أرين; it is under this latter form that this toponym appears in later works, that it is transcribed in the mediaeval Latin translations, and that it appears even in some French lexica (Arine). Being unaware of the exact position of Udjdjayn, some authors tended to consider it as an island in the Indian Ocean (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 190), or at least to place it quite naturally on the equator, totally unaware of their error (thus Ibn Rustih, *loc. cit.*, or al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, *loc. cit.*). In this way, *ḳubbat Arīn* and *ḳubbat al-arḍ* became synonymous; an astronomer as recent as al-Rūdānī correctly defines the *ḳubbat al-arḍ* or *al-ʿālam* as the point of intersection of the equator and the *dāʾirat niṣf al-nahār* and still calls it the *ḳubbat Arīn*, but he probably saw only there a traditional name without any direct connection with the town of Udjdjayn.

Finally, it may be noted that the use of the word *ḳubba* to denote the geographical centre of the earth has given rise to the idea that a particularly high point of the earth is involved here. The Indian tradition which makes the zero meridian go through Ceylon, where Adam's Peak rises, may conceivably be influenced by this conception, which al-Bīrūnī attacked in his *Ḳānūn* (cf. A. Bausani, in *Studies on Islam*, Amsterdam-London 1974, 28-9).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources already mentioned, see above all the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 189, 245, 335-6; M. Reinaud, *Introd. générale à la géographie des Orientaux*, Paris 1848, pp. ccxxxix ff.; Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, Milan 1899-1907, *passim*; art. DJUGHRĀFIYA. (CH. PELLAT)

ḲUBBAT AL-HAWĀʾ, "the Dome of the Winds", a popular appellation for isolated monuments situated on rocky spurs, for example, the (undated) domed tomb of a *shaykh* on the west bank of the Nile (cf. Murray's *Handbook for travellers in Upper and Lower Egypt*, 9th edition, ed. Mary Brodrick, London 1896, 920) above Aswān. This presumably postdates the destruction of an adjacent Coptic monastery, attested by a graffito, in Shams al-Dawla's Nubian expedition of 1173, though the monasteries of the area, to judge from desecratory Muslim visitation inscriptions in Arabic dated, *inter alia*, 694/1294-5, in the neighbouring monastery of "St. Simeon" (not mentioned in U. Monneret de Villard, *Description générale du monastère de Snt. Siméon à Aswân*, Milan 1927), survived for a further century or more.

The most celebrated edifice of the name no longer exists. This is recorded by al-Kindī (*Faḍāʾil Miṣr*, ed. Guest, 147, ll. 14-15; cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, Būlāḳ 1853, 201, l. 21; 202, ll. 3-31) as a palace built by Ḥātim b. Harthama, governor of Egypt in 194-5/809-11 on a spur of the Muḳaṭṭam hills. This was deliberately destroyed on the fall of the Ṭūlūnid dynasty and no trace of it exists. The exact site has been disputed, but its total disappearance makes it more probable that it was on the site later occupied by the Ayyūbid Citadel of Cairo (K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, ii, Oxford 1959, 6, and references) than higher on the Muḳaṭṭam hills in the neighbourhood of the Fāṭimid *mashhad*, generally known as the Mashhad al-Djuyūshī. The site of this Ḳubbat al-Hawā' was subsequently converted into a cemetery, and various mosques, which have equally disappeared without trace, were erected there (P. Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire* [= *MMAFC* VI], Paris 1894, 557-61).

Though the possibility that the Cairene Ḳubbat al-Hawā' may be identified with the presumed Fāṭimid observatory on the Muḳaṭṭam hills must be

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discounted (cf. A. Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam and its place in the general history of the observatory*, Ankara 1960, 130-56), the sense of the term *Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ* suggests the persistence into Islamic tradition of some reminiscence of the Athenian Tower of the Winds, described as an *horologium* by Varro (*De re rustica*, 3.5.17) and dated accordingly pre-37 B.C., but also representing the winds on its eight facets (H. S. Robinson, *The Tower of the Winds and the Roman market place*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlvii [1943], 291-305; J. V. Noble and D. J. de Solla Price, *The water clock in the Tower of the Winds*, in *ibid.*, lxii [1968], 345-55]. The term *Ḳubbat al-Hawāʾ* may thus have been used in Islam for structures associated with time-keeping or meteorology, though the evidence for this in the standard authorities is lacking. The reasons, incidentally, for the use, in the 18th century A.D., of the Tower of the Winds in Athens as a *samāʿ-ḫāne* of the Ḳādirī dervishes (Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1928, i, 12 *et passim*) have still to be elucidated.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(J. M. ROGERS)

ḲUBBAT AL-ṢAKHRA, the Dome of the Rock, at times called the Mosque of ʿUmar, is the oldest remaining monument of Islamic architecture, and probably the first conscious work of art of Islamic civilisation.

Location and description. The Dome of the Rock is located on an artificial platform, roughly but not exactly in the centre of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf [*q.v.*] in Jerusalem. The shape and emplacement of the platform were probably determined by the ruined state of the old Jewish Temple area, together with whatever Roman constructions may have been left; it is also possible that there were pious and historical or legendary associations with parts of this area of the Ḥaram, but these are difficult to demonstrate (see below).

A celebrated inscription, in which al-Maʾmūn replaced ʿAbd al-Malik's name with his own, dates the construction of the Dome (*ḳubba* in the inscription) to 72/691-2. It has been superbly described in all details by K. A. C. Creswell, and recent repairs have only confirmed most of his reconstruction of the original monument. It consists of a dome (20.44 m. in diameter and 30 m. in height) surrounded by two octagonal ambulatories, each side of the outer one being around 20.50 m. Interior supports consisted of piers and columns; the dome was set on a high drum and probably was from the very beginning a wooden double dome. There were fifty-six windows in the drum and the octagons, a parapet on the outside, and simple porches. Two important architectural characteristics of the Dome of the Rock must be noted. One is the superb geometry of its layout, based on the extension of two squares inscribed in the circle of the rotunda. It is this geometry which provides the monument with its harmonious airiness and which makes it possible to perceive the whole building at a glance. The second characteristic is that, from the point of view of its plan and composition, the Dome of the Rock belongs to a high tradition of Byzantine architecture represented by monuments found in Ravenna, Syria (St. Simeon, Boṣrā), and Jerusalem (Holy Sepulchre, Church of the Ascension). It is almost certain that its builders and planners were Christians from Syria or Palestine.

The Dome of the Rock was lavishly decorated with marble, mosaics, and gilt bronze plaques. The cupola was gilded on the outside and the outer walls were in large part covered with mosaics. Most of the exterior decoration has disappeared, but, in spite of numerous restaurations, the interior still approximates to its original appearance of a glittering sheathing of mosaics. Almost every part of the walls was covered with vegetal and geometric designs, and these included the very unusual motif of royal crowns and jewels. A fairly complete description of all these themes has been provided by Marguerite van Berchem in Creswell's *Early Muslim architecture*. Although there is some debate about the origins of the mosaicists (Syrian or Byzantine), there is little disagreement about the stylistic origins of the decoration. Most of it derives from the rich vocabulary of Late Antique and early Byzantine art, but there are also definite Iranian elements. Together with the important absence of any figural representations, this mixture of sources indicates that a conscious new Muslim taste affected the decoration of the Dome of the Rock far more than its architecture. We shall return later to the interpretation which could be given to these mosaics, since it is closely related to the problem of the meaning of the whole monument. As we shall see, a key document for whatever interpretation is given lies in the long inscription in gold mosaic cubes which runs along both sides of the octagonal arcades. In addition to providing the date of the building, this inscription contains numerous Ḳurʾānic passages which range from statements of the faith of Islam (cxii; xxxiii, 54; xvii, 111, etc.) to the major Christological passages in the Holy Book (especially iv, 169-71 and xix, 34-7). These are our earliest dated fragments from the Ḳurʾān, and C. Kessler has shown recently that many letters were already provided with clear diacritical marks (see *Bibl.*).

Although the Dome of the Rock has been amazingly well preserved, it was affected by many alterations and repairs over the centuries. The exact chronology of all these changes is difficult to establish. The cupola was redone in Fāṭimid times and under the Ottomans; the roof of the octagons was repaired in ʿAbbāsid times; and their ceilings transformed under the Mamlūks. The Crusaders added a handsome iron screen around the Rock, which has now been removed, but it was the Ottomans who in the 10th/16th century covered the building's exterior walls with some of the best-known examples of Turkish ceramics. Between 1956 and 1964 a Restoration Committee under the leadership of Egyptian and Jordanian architects and authorities undertook a complete restoration of the monument. Some part, such as the dome, were totally redone, others, the mosaics for instance, cleaned and repaired. The guiding principle of this work was to put every part of the building back in its earliest documented shape. Although future research may quibble at some of the decisions taken (for instance, it is likely that the beams of the ambulatory's roof were visible, since painted ones were found there), it has been one of the most successful jobs of restoration known anywhere, and it is hoped that its carefully-kept records will soon be published.

Significance. The Dome of the Rock has excited more scholarly concern than any other Islamic monument, and this for several reasons. It is a unique building which was rarely copied for its shape (a few later mausoleums like the Sulaybiyya in Sāmarrā or Ḳalāwūn's tomb in Cairo may have used it as a model), and never for its functions. It does not fit into any architectural series. Also it is located on the site of the Jewish Temple, in the holy city of

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Christianity, without showing obvious traces of impact from the two older monotheistic faiths. It does not look like a mosque, and the Aḳṣā nearby fulfilled the congregational needs of the Muslim community. Finally, literary sources on the Dome of the Rock are confused and contradictory, even though the inscription on the building indicates that it was a major effort of the Umayyad dynasty.

The many explanations which exist can be divided into three broad groups. The first one is the traditional pious Muslim view, which interprets the Rock as the place whence the Prophet went on his celebrated Journey into Heaven (*miʿrādj* [*q.v.*]). That such became eventually the holy meaning of the Dome of the Rock is undisputable, since the whole Ḥaram became the *Masdjid al-Aḳṣā* of Ḳurʾān, XVII, 1. But, while the association between the Rock and the Prophet's Journey may have been made quite early, there is no trace of it in the most authentic document about the monument, sc. its long inscription.

The second explanation is concretely historical, and goes back to a passage from al-Yaʿḳūbī. This explanation holds that, during the struggle of the Umayyads with Ibn al-Zubayr, ʿAbd al-Malik attempted to create in Jerusalem a shrine which would compete with the Kaʿba and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Recently, W. Caskel revived the theory by pointing out that the Umayyads as a dynasty did seek a cultic center in Syria or Palestine, and that Jerusalem was the only one which fulfilled the necessary conditions. The main objection to this theory is that, even though there are several literary indications of a special Umayyad attachment to Palestine, there is some doubt as to whether such a basic Islamic requirement as the pilgrimage to Mecca could be altered. Furthermore, al-Yaʿḳūbī was a violently anti-Umayyad polemicist, whose interpretations are open to criticism.

The third explanation is cultural-historical. Starting with the evidence of the inscriptions and of the mosaics, it proposes to see in the Dome of the Rock a monument proclaiming the new faith and empire in the city of the older two religions. It sanctified anew a Jewish sanctuary and slowly incorporated within itself the memories of Abraham and Joseph, among others. It set up the crowns of Byzantine and Persian kings like an offering around the centre of the monuments, and put up its own Christology above the crowns. It was a missionary monument of victory, built at a time when ʿAbd al-Malik was concerned with Christian enmity, but especially when he sought to proclaim Islamic uniqueness within a common religious tradition, as, for instance, in his coinage. As the specific need of maintaining the cohesion of the community of faithful waned, pious associations grew up and eventually transformed the Dome of the Rock into the unique sanctuary it is today.

While this third explanation seems to us to reflect better than the first two the evidence of contemporary sources and of the spirit of the time, it is only fair to say that the debate is not yet closed. However it may be eventually resolved, two conclusions are pertinent. One is that, both as a work of art and as a cultural and pious document, the Dome of the Rock is a unique monument of Islamic culture in almost all repects. The second one is that it is a monument with a history, for, whatever its initial purpose may have been, it developed more and more complicated associations as time went on. It may indeed be a rare instance of a sanctuary whose holy meaning grew after it had been built. But, as a work of art, it is one of the most telling documents about the gradual transformation of a local Syro-Palestinian Christian art into Islamic art.

Bibliography: All earlier works are listed and discussed in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, i, Oxford 1969. Of particular importance are O. Grabar, *The Umayyad Dome of the Rock*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii (1957), and C. Kessler, *Above the ceiling of ... the Dome of the Rock*, in *JRAS* (1964). Since 1969, one should see Grabar, *The formation of Islamic art*, New Haven 1973; Kessler, *ʿAbd al-Malik's inscription*, in *JRAS* (1970); M. Ecochard, *A propos du Dôme du Rocher*, in *BEO*, xxv (1972); W. Caskel, *Der Felsendom und die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem*, Cologne 1963.

(O. GRABAR)

ḲUBBE WEZĪRI (T.) "vizier of the dome" was the name given, under the Ottomans, to the members of the imperial *Dīwān* (*dīwān-i hümāyūn* [*q.v.*]) who came together on several mornings each week around the Grand Vizier in the chamber of the Topkapı Palace called Ḳubbe altı because it was crowned by a dome. The *ḳubbe wezīrleri* were the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskers* [*q.v.*] of Rumelia and Anatolia, the *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, the *defterdār* [see DAFTARDĀR], the *nishāndjī* [*q.v.*], the *aghas* of the Janissaries, the commander of the cavalry and, when he happened to be in the capital, the *ḳapudan pasha* [*q.v.*]. This institution was abandoned under Aḥmed III [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 80 ff.; see also the *Bibls.* of the articles cited above and above all, WAZĪR.

(ED.)

ḲŪBČŪR (in Central Asia), the most important of the taxes and impositions of Mongol origin in the Čingizkhānid period. It was originally a tax on flocks and herds, payable by the Mongols to their ruler. Such a levy was made by Čingiz-Khān early in his career for the support of his ally and patron the Ong-Khān of the Kereyts (*Histoire secrète des Mongols*, ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1971, 107; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Sbornik letopisei*, ed. Berezin, xiii, 178). In the formative years of the Mongol Empire, *ḳūbčūr* was levied at a rate of one animal out of every 100 (Djuwaynī, iii, 79; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djami el-Tévarikh*, ed. Blochet, 42). At this stage it seems to have been paid only by the nomads.

In 650/1252 the Great Khān Möngke introduced among other reforms a new method of taxation. Following the model that had been established in Transoxania by the governor Maḥmūd Yalawač, he imposed on the Empire a poll-tax, levied according to the wealth of the individual taxpayer on a sliding scale from ten *dīnārs* down to one. Other rates are also mentioned. This tax was to be called *ḳūbčūr*, and was to be paid by the subject population (Djuwaynī, i, 253-4). Such a tax inevitably involved periodical censuses of the conquered population (Djuwaynī, i, 25; cf. Grigor of Akancʿ, *History of the Nation of the Archers*, ed. and tr. Blake and Frye, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 57). On the basis of a new census, *ḳūbčūr* was reassessed in 656/1258 on a scale ranging from 500 *dīnārs* to one. Thereafter the imposition of census and "poll-tax" *ḳūbčūr* seems to have become a regular procedure, at least in the west, as new territory submitted to the Mongols or was conquered by them (see e.g. Rashīd al-Dīn, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. Quatremère, 256-7). It became something of a byword for Mongol oppression (see Minorsky, *Pūr-i Bahā and his poems*, in *Iranica*, Tehran 1964, 299).

The original "animal-levy" *ḳūbčūr* continued to

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be paid by the Mongols—in Persia until the reign of Ghāzān, who abolished it (Rashīd al-Dīn, *Geschichte Ġāzān-Ḫān's*, ed. Jahn, 300). The sources consequently sometimes use the term *ḳūbčūr-i mawāshī* for the animal-levy, in order to distinguish it from the poll-tax.

Bibliography: H. F. Schurmann, *Mongolian tributary practices of the thirteenth century*, in *HJAS*, xiv (1956), 304-89; J. M. Smith, Jr., *Mongol and nomadic taxation*, in *HJAS*, xxx (1970), 46-85; I. P. Petrushevsky, *Zemledie i agrarnie otnosheniya v. Irane XIII-XIV vv.*, Moscow-Leningrad 1960, 360-9; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 387-91; and see for this tax in Persia, KHARĀDJ. 2. Persia.

(D. O. MORGAN)

ḲUBILAY, Mongol Great Khān (1260-94), the brother and successor of Möngke [*q.v.*], was born in 1215. In 1251 Möngke entrusted him with the administration of Northern China, and he took part in the subsequent war which his brother launched against the Sung rulers of the South. The conquest of the Sung was finally completed only during his own reign (1279), when the whole of China was again united under one ruler for the first time since the tenth century. Already in 1260 he had transferred the capital of the Empire from Ḳaraḳorum [*q.v.*] to Peking, in Mongol Khān-Baliġh [*q.v.*], i.e. "Khān's Town", and in 1271 he proclaimed the foundation of the Yüan Dynasty, the twentieth of the Chinese Official Dynasties. His right to the Khānate was at first disputed by his younger brother Arïgh Böke, who perhaps had the stronger claim and who finally surrendered only in 1264; the struggle was then taken up by Ḳaydu [*q.v.*], who remained a thorn in Ḳubilay's side during the whole of his long reign. Nor was Ḳubilay more successful in his campaigns against the Japanese and the Indo-Chinese or in an attempt to gain a foothold on the island of Java. In China he encouraged the propagation of Tibetan Buddhism, but, like most of the Great Khāns, was favourably disposed to Islam and the Muslims; only for a time (during the years 1282-9), as a result of the events connected with the assassination of the minister Aḥmad, did the Muslims fall into disfavour with him. He was described by a European observer, who had travelled widely within his territories, the Venetian Marco Polo, as "the most puissant of men, in subjects, lands, and treasures, that there is on earth or ever was, from the time of our first father Adam to this day".

Bibliography: Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 350-580, tr. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 241-315; Waṣṣāf, ed. Bombay, 16-23; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, 352-90; P. Ratchnevsky, *Rašīd ad-Dīn über die Mohammedanerverfolgungen in China unter Qubilai*, in *Rashīd al-Dīn commemoration volume (1318-1968)*, ed. J. A. Boyle and K. Jahn, Wiesbaden 1970, 163-80. (W. BARTHOLD - [J. A. BOYLE])

KUBRĀ, SHAYKH ABU 'L-DJANNĀB AḤMAD B. ʿUMAR NADJM AL-DĪN, eponymous founder of the Kubrawī Ṣūfī order, one of the major orders of the Mongol period in Central Asia and Khurāsān, from which stem numerous derivative initiatic lines. The sobriquet of Kubrā is an abbreviation of the Ḳur'ānic expression *al-ṭāmmat al-kubrā*, "the major disaster", a nickname Nadjm al-Dīn earned through his formidable talent in polemic and disputation.

Born in Khʷārazm in 540/1145, he began his career as a scholar of *ḥadīth* and *kalām*, travelling extensively in the cultivation of these disciplines. His interest in Ṣūfism was awakened in Egypt, where he became a *murīd* of Shaykh Rūzbihān al-Wazzān al-Miṣrī, an initiate of the Suhrawardī order. After a number of years in Egypt, he went to Tabrīz to pursue his studies of *kalām*, but came instead under the influence of a certain Bābā Faradj Tabrīzī, who persuaded him definitively to abandon his concern with the external religious sciences and to devote himself fully to the Ṣūfī path. He then spent some time in the company of two other preceptors, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir al-Bidlīsī and Ismāʿīl al-Ḳaṣrī, from both of whom he received the ritual *ḫirḳa*, before returning to Shaykh Rūzbihān in Egypt. By then, Rūzbihān evidently regarded Kubrā as fully mature, for in about 540/1145 he sent him back to Khʷārazm with full authority to train and initiate disciples. Kubrā swiftly gathered a large following, including a remarkable number of individuals who attained prominence in their own right as gnostics and writers on Ṣūfism; he is, in fact, frequently designated as *walī-turāsh*, the "manufacturer of saints". Among his foremost disciples were Madjd al-Dīn Baghdādī (d. 616/1219), Nadjm al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (d. 654/1256; author of the celebrated Ṣūfī compendium *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, ed. Amīn Riyāḥī, Tehran 1352/1972; Eng. tr. Hamid Algar, *The path of God's bondsmen from origin to return*, forthcoming), Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya (d. 650/1252), Bābā Kamāl Djandī, Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī (d. 658/1260; cf. Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī*, in *Madjalla-y Dānishkada-i Adabiyyāt*, ii/4 [Tīr 1334/October 1955], 1-15, and Īradj Afshār, *Sargudhasht-i Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī*, Tehran 1341/1962), and Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī Lālā (d. 642/1244). Kubrā died during the Mongol conquest of Khʷārazm in 617/1220; according to the traditional accounts, he refused an invitation by the Mongols to leave the city before they proceeded with their massacre of the inhabitants, and died at the head of a band of followers while engaged in hand-to-hand combat. He is reputed to have been buried at the site of his *khānaḳāh* outside the city, and his tomb, located in what subsequently became known as Köhne-Urgenj [see GURGANDJ], became a centre of pious visitation, retaining this function even under Soviet rule (cf. G. P. Snesarev, *Relikti domusul'manskikh verovanii i obryadov u Uzbekov Khorezma*, Moscow 1969, 269, 433).

Kubrā left behind a number of brief but important works dominated by a concern with the analysis of the visionary experience. He discussed in them, for example, the various significances of dreams and visions; the degrees of luminous epiphany that are manifested to the mystic; the different classes of concept and image (*khawāṭir*) that engage his attention; and the nature and interrelations of man's "subtle centres" (*laṭā'if*). Most important of Kubrā's treatises are *Fawā'iḥ al-djamāl wa-fawātiḥ al-djalāl* (edited with an exhaustive introduction on the life and work of Kubrā by F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957), *al-Uṣūl al-ʿashara* and *Risālat al-khā'if al-hā'im min lawmat al-lā'im* (edited, together with other lesser treatises, by M. Molé under the title of *Traités mineurs*, in *Annales Islamologiques* (*Cairo*), iv [1963], 1-78). In addition to these short works on the path, Kubrā also embarked on a Ṣūfī commentary on the Ḳur'ān that he was unable to complete but was continued after his death first by his *murīd* Nadjm al-Dīn Rāzī and then by another Kubrawī, ʿAlā' al-Dīn Simnānī (cf. H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1972, iii, 175-6, 276 n. 90, and Süleyman Ateş, *Işarī tefsir okulu*, Ankara 1974, 139-60).

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The line of Kubrā was perpetuated by several of his disciples. Sayf al-Dīn Bākharzī established a well-endowed *khānaḳāh* in Bukhārā. *Wakf* documents relating to this *khānaḳāh* have been published by C. D. Čekhovič, *Bukharskie dokumentī XIV v.*, Tashkent 1965); it was there that Berke Khān, fifth ruler of the Golden Horde, proclaimed his acceptance of Islam (J. Richard, *La conversion de Berke et les débuts de l'islamisation de la Horde d'Or*, in *REI*, xxxv [1967], 173-9). Badr al-Dīn Samarḳandī, a *murīd* of Bākharzī, travelled to India and established there a branch of the Kubrawiyya that came to be known as the Firdawsiyya; its most important figure was Aḥmad Yaḥyā Manērī (d. 772/1371), author of widely-read *Maktūbāt* (publ. Lucknow 1911). Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya established a *khānaḳāh* at Baḥrābād in Khurāsān, the direction of which was assumed by his son, Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who in 694/1295 presided over the conversion to Islam of Ghāzān Khān, the Īlkhānid ruler of Iran (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 76-80). Another *murīd* of Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya was ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī (d. 661/1263), author of several important treatises (published by Molé under the title *Kitāb al-Insān al-kāmil*, Tehran and Paris 1962).

The most long-lived and prolific initiate line deriving from Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā was probably that descending by way of Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī Lālā and two further links of the chain to ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī. Simnānī further elaborated the analysis of the *laṭāʾif* and also formulated a critique of Ibn ʿArabī's doctrine of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* that was to have much influence on Indian Naḳshbandī circles (see H. Landolt's introduction to *Mukātabāt-i ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Isfarāʾinī wa ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī*, Tehran and Paris 1972, for a copious bibliography on Simnānī). ʿAlī Hamadānī, a *murīd* successively of two of Simnānī's followers, Taḳī al-Dīn Aḳhī and Maḥmūd Mazdaḳānī, introduced the Kubrawī order to Badakhshān and Kashmīr. He died in 786/1385, and is variously reputed to have been buried in Khuttalān (present-day Kulāb, Tadzhik SSR) [see KHUTTALĀN] and Srinagar (J. K. Teufel, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung des Scheichs ʿAlī-i Hamadānī*, Leiden 1962; Sayyida Ashraf Ẓafar, *Amīr-i Kabīr Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadānī*, Lahore 1972). He designated himself as a "second ʿAlī", and although the branch of the Kubrawī order he introduced to Kashmīr remains purely Sunnī to the present day, it is not surprising that various descendants of Hamadānī came to adopt Shīʿism. Isḥāḳ al-Khuttalānī, successor of ʿAlī Hamadānī, was murdered by emissaries of the Tīmūrid ruler Shāhrukh in about 826/1423, but before dying appointed as his successor Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh. The majority of Khuttalānī's followers accepted Nūrbakhsh, but a minority gave their loyalty to ʿAbd Allāh Barzishābādī instead. This schism gave rise to two separate derivatives of the Kubrawiyya, each with its own name, but having in common an adoption of Shīʿism. One was the Nūrbakhshiyya, that survived in Iran into the Ṣafawid period; the other came to acquire, at a date and in a fashion unknown, the designation of Dhahabiyya, and has survived down to the present in Iran, where its chief centre is Shīrāz (cf. R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, in *AfKM*, xxvi/1 [1965], 14-26).

The latter history of the Kubrawiyya in its Central Asian homeland is not well-known. It is probable that it was almost universally displaced, even in Khwārazm, by the Naḳshbandiyya from the early 9th/15th century onwards. The small town of Sāktarī near Bukhārā remained, however, an active centre of the Kubrawiyya until at least the early 11th/17th century (for a list of works produced by the *shaykh*s of Sāktarī, see A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostočnīkh rukopisei Akademii Nauk Uzbekskoi SSR*, Tashkent 1955, iii, 327-8); and at some point the Kubrawiyya spread eastwards from Central Asia into the Muslim regions of China (cf. Muḥammad Tawāḍuʿ, *al-Islām wa 'l-Ṣīn*, Cairo 1364/1945, 112).

Finally, there are traces of the Kubrawiyya in Turkey—a Kubrawī *shaykh* by the name of Muṣṭafā Dede is recorded to have fought in the ranks of the army that conquered Istanbul (Ayvānsarāʾī, *Ḥadīḳat ül-djewāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281/1861, ii, 261)—but no lasting implantation of the order appears to have taken place either in Turkey or the Arab lands. Only a nominal existence of the Kubrawiyya persisted in the western Islamic world as one of the multiple secondary affiliations professed by Naḳshbandīs of the Mudjaddidī-Khālidī line (cf. Muḥammad Asʿad al-Irbilī, *al-Risāla al-asʿadiyya fi 'l-ṭarīḳa al-ʿaliyya*, Istanbul 1343/1924, 29).

Bibliography: (in addition to that contained in the text): Meier's introduction to his edition of the *Fawāʾiḥ al-djamal* contains a comprehensive listing of all sources on the life and work of Kubrā. See also Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī, *Tibyān wasāʾil al-ḥaḳāʾik wa-salāsil al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, ms. Ibrahim Efendi (Süleymaniye) 430, iii, ff. 79b-84a; Molé, *Les Kubrawiya entre Sunnisme et Shiʿisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'Hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 61-142 (a pioneering study, despite excessive emphasis on allegedly proto-Shīʿī elements in the early Kubrawiyya; cf. Algar, *Some observations on religion in Safavid Persia*, in *Iranian Studies*, vii/1-2 [winter-spring 1974], 287-90); Ye. E. Bertel's, *Četverostishiya Sheikha Nadžm ad-Dina Kubra*, in *Sufizm i sufiiskaya literatura*, Moscow 1965, 324-8; Corbin, *L'Homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien*, Paris 1971, 95-148; J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 55-8.

(H. ALGAR)

ḲUBRUS, modern Turkish Kıbrıs, Greek Kúpros (etymologically derived probably from the word for "copper"), in western languages Cyprus, is the largest island in the Eastern Mediterranean, with a surface area of 9,251 km². The nearest distance to the mainland is from Cape Kormakiti in the north to Anamur on the southern coast of Turkey, 71 km. The distance to the Syrian coast between Cape Andreas and Raʾs ibn Ḵhān north of al-Lādhikiyya [*q.v.*] is 98 km. The distance to Crete (Arabic Iḳrīṭish [*q.v.*] is about 553 km. The island consists of two mountain ranges, Kyrenia-Karpass rising to 1,019 m. altitude in the north, and Troodos rising up to 1.952 m. in the south-west. In between lies a plain, the Mesaoria (Turkish Mesarya, Mesalya), which supports most of the island's agriculture, although its rainfall is marginal and the percentage of irrigated land is not large. Agriculture continues to be the mainstay of the economy. Copper has been mined since before 3,000 B.C., but its known veins, like those of other minerals (iron pyrites), are near exhaustion. Non-metal minerals are available in exportable quantities, e.g. asbestos. Refining of salt is still revenue-producing; it is being extracted from salt lakes in the low lands near Limassol and Larnaca (old names Les Salines, Turkish Tuzla).

The geopolitical situation of Cyprus within the spheres of the ancient civilisations of the Near East explains why the island has always played a certain

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role in history, although its importance has sometimes been overrated. Lying on the main sea routes of the Levant, within striking distance of the mainland, the island has always been in a dependent position to any of the surrounding big powers; political independence has rarely been attained (see below, *Lusignan period*).

1. *Byzantium and Islam (632-1192).*

Cyprus' history in antiquity will not be dealt with here. When the expansion of Islam began, the island was a province of the Byzantine Empire, with its capital at Constantia, ancient Salamis. Since 431 (Council of Ephesus) the Orthodox Church of Cyprus has been autocephalous under an archbishop who ranks immediately behind the four great patriarchs. The church has moulded the island into a social, religious and cultural unit. The old and strong links between clergy and people have created a sense of social solidarity, which has remained characteristic for the history of the Orthodox Greek population of the island during the succession periods of foreign dominations. Cyprus's important cities at this time were: Salamis-Constantia, Citium (near Larnaca), Curium (near Episkopi), Tamassus (Nea) Paphos, Neapolis (Nemesos) (= Limassol), Amathos, Arsinoe (Marium) (= Chrysokhou), Lapithos, Karpasia (Near Rhizo karpaso), Chytri (= Kythrea), Tremithus, Soli, Kerynia and Ledrae or Leukosia (= Nicosia).

It was after the reign of Heraclius (610-41) that Cyprus began to be invaded by the Arabs. According to a Greek writer, a raiding party under the caliph Abū Bakr appeared on the island in 632, which is not very probable. In 647 (648, 649 ?) Muʿāwiya, governor of Syria, organised an expedition against the island, which was in fact the first large-scale maritime enterprise of the Arabs in the Mediterranean (cf. Balādhurī, tr. Hitti, i, 235 ff., 431 f.). His fleet of 17,000 sail, commanded by ʿAbd Allāh b. Kays, landed the Arab forces at Constantia. The city was besieged, surrendered and sacked. The whole island was overrun. Cyprus was compelled to pay a tribute of 7,000-7,200 goldpieces, to be paid annually to the governor at Damascus, a sum equal to the island's tribute to the Byzantine treasury. This seems to indicate a form of joint-rule over the island by the Emperor and the caliph. It was during this raid that Umm Ḥarām, wife of ʿUbāda b. al-Sāmit, a relation of the Prophet, died and was buried near Larnaca. On that site was to be erected the most venerated shrine of the Muslims of Cyprus, the Hâla Sultan Tekke. A second raid was organised by Muʿāwiya in 33/653-4 led by Abu 'l-Anwār. Lapithos was sacked, and a force of 12,000 occupied the island permanently till the caliph Yazīd (680-3) withdrew it. The tributary relationship with the caliph at Damascus lasted till the time of caliph al-Manṣūr (754-75), it seems.

The peace treaty concluded between Constantine IV and ʿAbd al-Malik in 685 and renewed in 688-9 with Justinian II provided for the division of the revenues of Armenia, Iberia and Cyprus. The last-mentioned emperor decided to transplant the Orthodox population of Cyprus to the south coast of the sea of Marmara near ancient Cyzicus, where the city of Nova Justiniana (Justinianopolis) was founded for the archbishop of Cyprus and his flock. (This town's name still figures in the title of the head of the church of Cyprus. This exile of the Cypriots lasted till 698, when the island became resettled by its old inhabitants, and also by those who had gone to Muslim Syria.) For two-and-a-half centuries longer, there persisted the intermediate status of Cyprus between the Roman Emperor and the caliph. The island was normally used as a base for Arab maritime actions against Asia Minor.

In 747 a fleet from Alexandria was destroyed by a Byzantine force commanded by the admiral of the Cibyrrhaeote Theme. Raids and attacks followed each other in 772, 790 and 806 under command of the ʿAbbāsid governor in Syria, Ḥumayd. The island nevertheless remained a part of the Byzantine Empire, and the Emperor Basil I (867-86) reorganised its administration temporarily into a theme, the general Alexius being governor. The tribute to the caliph was continued (cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, Bonn ed., 40). Cyprus served as a base during the campaign of Himerius against the Arabs in Crete [see IKRĪTISH] in 902. In 911-12 an Arab force under Dimyana occupied the island for four months. Byzantine authority was restored after the recovery of Crete in 963. After *ca.* 963, Cyprus was hardly ever more troubled by Arab invasions, and was able to restore its economy. Evidence for the island's renewed florescence is the new foundation of the main cities, old sites on the sea coast being abandoned. In 1042-3 and in 1092 revolts against the Emperor Alexius Comnenus occurred.

Towards the end of that century, Cyrpus became a base for operations of Byzantine land and sea forces, sometimes in combination with those of the Crusaders (in particular, Raymond de St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse, and his successors at Tripoli). Scanty evidence for the interior history of Cyprus in this period points to maladministration and the economic draining of the island's resources by the Byzantine government. The source of Nicolas Mouzalon, one-time archbishop of Cyprus, must, however, be considered suspect because of prejudice against the emperor. The first half of the 12th century left Cyprus in peace. Pilgrim traffic passed through it as usual, and relations with Muslim powers were correct. The *amīr* of Beirut and many inhabitants of that city found refuge on Cyprus when Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, captured it on 13 May 1110. The first Maronites probably settled on the island around this time. Inhabitants of Tell Ḥamdūn in Little Armenia were removed to Cyprus by the Emperor John II Comnenus (Caloioannes) (Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, tr. H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1932, 241). In 1148 Manuel Comnenus extended the commercial privileges of the Venetians to Crete and Cyprus. This marked the beginning of the Latin penetration.

In 1155 or 1156 the Crusader Renaud of Châtillon, in co-operation with Thoros II (1145-68) of Little Armenia (Armeno-Cilicia), launched an expedition against Cyprus and put the Byzantine authorities (the Duke John Comnenus) out of action. Cyprus suffered badly, and had to pay ransom for hostages from among principal members of the clergy and the lay population.

In 553/1158 a fleet from Egypt raided Cyprus, and in 1161 pirates equipped by Raymond III of Antioch, Count of Tripoli, raided Cyprus and the coast of Cilicia. The last period of Byzantine dominion over Cyprus was the rule of Isaac Ducas Comnenus, the self-styled Emperor of Cyprus from 1185 to 1191, who was able with support of the Norman King William II to defeat an expedition sent by the Emperor Isaac II Angelus against him and to rule till he was dethroned by Richard the Lion Heart in 1191.

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King Richard's fleet ran into heavy weather on its way to the Holy Land. The ship carrying his sister Joanna and his bride Berengaria, daughter of the King of Navarre, sought shelter in the port of Limassol. Isaac tried to take the ladies hostage, but Richard appeared on 6 May 1191 and landed in force on Cyprus. Having been joined by Crusader lords from Syria, among whom were Guy de Lusignan, a claimant to the crown of Jerusalem, Richard, after failure of a peaceful settlement, opened war against Isaac and defeated his forces. Isaac surrendered at the end of May 1191. The people of Cyprus delivered half of their possessions to the King of England, who confirmed the laws and institutions as granted to Cyprus by the Emperor Manuel Comnenus. Frankish garrisons took the place of the Greek ones, and two English gentlemen were appointed as justiciars and sheriffs to administer the island. It was to serve as the base to provision the Crusaders in Syria, and the island became essential for the operations of the Franks in the Holy Land during the next century, after Saladin had almost destroyed the Latin's position there at Ḥaṭṭīn (1187).

2. The Frankish period (1192-1571)

(a) The rule of the House of Lusignan (1192-1489). — The King of England sold the island in July 1191 to the Knights of the Temple. During their rule, a rebellion broke out which was suppressed at great cost. In May 1192 King Richard resold Cyprus to Guy de Lusignan, husband to the heiress of the crown of Jerusalem. The Byzantine Emperor could only raise a protest on the diplomatic level.

Aimery de Lusignan succeeded his brother as lord of Cyprus (1194-1205). He continued the feudal organisation, granting fiefs to many Latin nobles and founding an extensive private domain. The state acquired its administrative institutions, and the castles of St. Hilarion ("Dieu d'amour"), Kyrenia (Cérines) and Buffavento were built. By Papal bulls of 20 February and 13 December 1196 a Latin hierarchy was installed under the archdiocese of Nicosia, with three suffragans, as a parallel to the Latin feudal institution. In 1197 Aimery acquired the title of King, holding his dominion from the Emperor Henry VI with Papal assent. In the same year, the Syrian Crusader barons elected him King of Jerusalem in Acre. This personal union was restored under King Hugh III (1267-84) of Lusignan in 1269, to remain as a honorific title of the Kings of Cyprus after 1291. A third royal title was collected by the Lusignans, that of Armenia in 1368—again an empty title without land.

The new kingdom kept the peace with the Muslim powers in Syria till the 5th Crusade (1228-9). The Cypriots also participated in the expedition to Damietta of 1219-21. During the Seventh Crusade, the King of France, St. Louis, used the island as his support base in the campaign against Egypt, when Damietta was again taken in 1249, and both Kings entered the town triumphantly together. The Kings of Cyprus remained involved in the Crusaders' wars till the end. In 1269 Hugh III became King of Jerusalem, but could not establish his authority over the unruly Crusader barons of Syria, Cyprus and the maritime republics of Italy. He withdrew from Acre in 1276, and when that town fell to the Mamlūks in 1291, Cyprus became the last refuge for the Christians fleeing from Syria. This new position in the Levant was of advantage to Cyprus.

The 14th century was the great period of the kingdom of the Lusignan "Kings of Cyprus and Jerusalem". Its legal foundation was the purest feudal constitution ever to come about in mediaeval times, involving an elected monarchy controlled by the feudal nobility. The latter had as instruments of their policy the *Haute Cour* (*Cour des Liges*) with all executive, legislative and judicial power, as the only organ entitled to establish the rightful succession to the throne. The King was its president, and he had to convene the *Haute Cour*, but the continuity of the dynasty ensured the strong and dominating position of the monarch versus the Latin nobility.

The royal administration was directed by the *sénéchal, chambellan, chancellier* and *Grand Bailli* for civil affairs, and the *connétable, maréchal, Grand Turcoplier* (commander of light cavalry) and an admiral for military affairs. The two main cities of Nicosia and Famagusta were administered by 2 viscounts assisted by *mactasibs* (*mahtesebs*).

The King, together with the Crusader aristocracy of baronial families of French origin (d'Ibelin, de Norès, etc.) and a smaller group of Frankish citizens, formed a small ruling class. The second element of Cyprus society formed the foreign merchants communities living in privileged, extraterritorial *fondachi*, Italians from Genoa and Venice, Catalans and Provençals.

The native Orthodox Greek-speaking people formed on the whole a class of subjects, ruled and exploited like slaves and serfs, *parici* and *perperiarii*. Personally free were the Greek *lefteri* or *Francomati*. The division between native Greeks and foreign Franks became strengthened by the existence of two churches. In 1196 King Aimery installed a Roman Catholic ("Latin") hierarchy at the side of the Orthodox one. By 1260 Pope Alexander IV issued the *Constitutio Cypria* confirming the supremacy of the Latins over the Greeks. The Latin archbishop solely remained as metropolitan of both hierarchies. However, the Orthodox clergy managed to subsist as a church organisation conserving the Greek ethnicity of its flock.

The Lusignan period was the first in which the island's produce and taxation became spent in and for the land itself. This alone must be considered a major cause of its economic growth. Next to that was the island's position as a transit trading station for the East-West trade, the *échelle du Levant par excellence* after the disappearance of the Crusader states. Famagusta developed into a commercial centre connecting Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Florence, Barcelona and Montpellier with Alexandria, Damascus, Aleppo, and through to the Persian Gulf, with South and East Asia.

King Henry II (1285-1324) had to direct the influx of the refugees from Syria and Palestine after the fall of Acre (1291) and the settlement of the Syrian Crusader barons and merchants. In 1343 a Holy League between the Pope, Venice, the Knights of St. John at Rhodes and Cyprus was instituted against the emerging sea power of the *amīrs* of Aydīn [*q.v.*] in Anatolia. Smyrna was occupied on 28 October 1344. Otherwise, peaceful commercial relations were maintained with Mamlūk Egypt and the southern Anatolian coastlands. King Peter I (1359-69) revived the ideal of a crusade against Islam. In 1361 Gorhigos (Kızkalesi) was annexed and Antalya [*q.v.*] was captured from the Turkman Amīr Ḥamīdoghlu Meḥmed Bey. A European tour of the King, now styled *athleta Christi* by Pope Urban V, prepared for a Crusade: Venice, Cyprus and the Knights of St. John collected 10,000 troops transported in a fleet of 115 sail at Rhodes.

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In October 1365 Alexandria was temporarily occupied, but the commercial interests of Venice and Genoa stopped any further confrontation with Mamlūk power. These two merchant republics were to dominate Cyprus's politics in the last century of its independent existence. At first, it was Genoa which gained the upper hand in the competition with Venice. In 1372 the Genoese Podestà (in Famagusta) defeated the Venetian Bailo, whose party received support from the Greek Cypriots. A Genoese force invaded Famagusta and Nicosia. In October 1374, a treaty was concluded which assured Genoa complete economic hegemony on Cyprus for 90 years. The *Maona Cypri* was the private mercantile organisation of Genoese bankers established at Famagusta. The King of Cyprus had to cede the town as a guarantee for the payment of reparations amounting to 2,146,400 florins and the yearly tribute to Genoa of 40,000 florins.

The next blow to Cyprus's independence was an invasion by the Mamlūk Sultan Barsbāy [*q.v.*]. On 7 July 1426, King Janus (1398-1432) and his army were defeated near Khirokitia, and Nicosia was plundered. The King was set free on the condition of becoming a vassal, paying 200,000 florins' ransom and a yearly tribute of 8,000 florins. After this invasion, the island's economy began to decline. Social unrest within the Greek population worsened the situation. In 1448 Gorhigos fell under control of the Ḳaramān amīrate [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARI]. Cyprus lost her last continental interest.

When in 1458 Charlotte, the daughter of King John II, came to the throne, her half-brother James the Bastard (1440-73) disputed the succession. He applied to the Mamlūk sultan for support. In 1460, with the aid of Mamlūk auxiliaries, James II defeated the legitimist opposition and took the last stronghold of the Queen, Kyrenia, and the Genoese held Famagusta in 1464. To defend himself against a Genoese counter-attack, James II enlisted Venice as an ally, and chose a Venetian subject, Caterina Cornaro (d. 1510) as his Queen in 1472; after his death (1473), she was to rule as the last monarch of independent Cyprus till 1489. During her reign, Venice installed a virtual protectorate. A Venetian garrison and two Venetian counsellors to the Queen were not considered enough by the Venetian government to safeguard the island from the Ottoman Turks' expansion. In 1488 an Ottoman fleet appeared before Famagusta. On 26 February 1489, Queen Caterina abdicated in Famagusta, and the Venetian *Capitan Generale da Mar*, Francesco Priuli, took over the government of the island.

Thus it was Christian Venice that ended the last of the Crusader states in the East. The Signory of Venice duly notified and offered justification of the take-over to the Sultan Ḳā'it Bāy [*q.v.*] in Cairo, and the envoy carried with him presents and 16,000 ducats, being the tribute for 2 years. The Sultan thereupon agreed to the transfer of the Kingdom of Cyprus to Venice (February 1490).

(b) Venetian rule (1489-1571). — With the acquisition of Cyprus, the commercial "colonial" empire of Venice reached its greatest dimensions. The new possession was reorganised. The centralised government, the *Rettori*, consisted of the *Luogotenente* and two counsellors. Venetian nobles elected for a two years' tenure, controlled the finances and administration, and resided at Nicosia. A quadrennial census was instituted, the first reliable population data of Cyprus's history. The governor of Famagusta, the *Capitan del Regno di Cipro*, acted as commander-in-chief of the army and the fortresses in peace-time, and had a share in the civil administration. In time of war or menace, a proveditor-general was elected for two years to command. From the period of the Lusignan rule, two offices were retained only, the viscounties of Famagusta and Nicosia being reserved for Cypriots. A Great Council replaced the *Haute Cour*, but did not leave any real power to the Frankish baronage, by now a commingling of military adventurers from all over the Mediterranean world.

On the whole, Venetian administration was inefficient and corrupt. It estranged the local Latin ruling class and did not manage to gain the loyalty of the Greek population. The island remained a colony and a military base only for the Venetians, and one inadequately manned at that. The economy continued its decline, aggravated by natural disasters in the course of the century. The burden of the tribute to the Mamlūk sultans remained till 1517, when it became payable to the Ottoman sultan at Istanbul. The monopolistic exploitation of the island's resources did not encourage local enterprise. Apart from salt and grain, cotton, cultivated since the early 14th century, now became the major source of revenue, replacing sugar cane. Various forms of taxation pressed hard upon the labouring population. A conspiracy against Venice in 1562, led by a Greek, one Jacob Diassorin, was suppressed. Its dangerous aspect was that the rebels had made contact with the Ottomans. The Venetians now modernised the island's defences, and three fortresses, those of Kyrenia, Nicosia and Famagusta, were to be the sole defensible places; old fortifications like St. Hilarion, Buffavento and Kantara were dismantled by 1567.

The Ottoman threat hovered over Cyprus during the rule of Venice, and in the years following the Ottoman-Venetian peace treaty of 1540 (cf. texts ed. by Bonelli, Lehmann and Bombaci), pressure increased. The admiral Piyāle Pasha promoted the continuation of a naval policy aimed at annexing the Latin-held islands in the Levant seas on the routes of Ottoman communications; Chios and Cyprus, the principal among them, were both already tributary to the Porte. In the end, the pro-Venetian peace party at the Porte, Soḳollu Meḥmed Pasha's, gave in to the war party, and the attack on Cyprus was decided for the early spring 1570. Joseph Nasi, alias Don Juan Micas, seems to have been implicated here.

Selīm II (1566-74) issued his orders for war in 1568. A *fetwā* by the *sheykh ül-Islām* provided a justification for breaking the peace (cf. text in Peçewī, i, 386-7, tr. in d'Ohsson, *Tableau*, ed. 1824, v, 73 f. = *GOR*, iii, 566 f.). Preparations continued during 1569. On 28 March 1570 the Ottoman envoy Ḳubād formally handed to the Senate and the Doge Sultan Selīm II's demand for the cession of Cyprus, which was refused. In the meantime, Lāla Muṣṭafā Pasha, the fifth vizier [*q.v.*] was appointed *serdār*, and Piyāle Pasha, the third vizier [*q.v.*], was made commander of a fleet of 80 galleys and 30 galliots, followed by ʿAlī Pasha with troops, munitions and materials for the land campaign.

On 3 July 1570 the Ottoman fleet appeared before Larnaca (*Les Salines*). A Holy League created by Pope Pius V, Spain and Venice failed to organise a timely counterattack. The Venetian commander, the *Luogotenente* Nicolo Dandolo, had to limit himself to the defence of the fortress towns. On 25 July 1570 the siege of Nicosia began, and ended on 9 September when the city was taken by storm. Kyrenia capitulated without a fight 5 days later. The population

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in the countryside seems not to have opposed the invaders at all. The fortress city of Famagusta still held out. The Ottomans began the siege in September 1570. The fleet of the Holy League never came nearer than Castelorizo island, and only small Venetian reinforcements reached Famagusta in January 1571. The new season of war began in the middle of April 1571, when work on the siege trenches and mines was begun in earnest. Heavy bombardments, mining and ensuing man-to-man fighting exacted a heavy toll (50-80,000 on the Turkish side, out of a force totalling 250,000 or more). Marc Antonio Bragadin surrendered on 1 August upon condition of a free withdrawal of troops with their dependents. Lala Muṣṭāfā Pasha did not, however, keep to the treaty of surrender in the end, and the Venetian commander and many of his staff were massacred.

3. *Ottoman Rule (1571-1878).*

By a treaty of 7 March 1573 Venice formally ceded Cyprus to the Ottoman Sultan and agreed to pay a war indemnity of 300,000 ducats.

Already, by an imperial order of 9 September issued by the *serdār* Lala Muṣṭāfā Pasha after the capture of Nicosia, Cyprus had been made an *eyālet* or *beglerbegilik*, with Muẓaffar Pasha as the first Ottoman governor. Next to the *beglerbegi* were appointed, as usual, a chief *ḳāḍī* of the province and a *defterdār*. The new province comprised eight *sandjaḳs*: *merkez* or Nicosia (Lefḳosha), and on the mainland Ičel, Sis, ʿAlāʾiyye (Alanya), Ṭarsūs, Ṭarābłus and Shām (till 1573) (all with the *tīmār* system), and Kyrenia, Paphos (Baf) and Famagusta (Magosha) (with *sālyāne* [*q.v.*]). Apart from the main towns, there were, according to the 1572 *taḥrīr*, 905 inhabited and 76 desolate villages.

Population numbers of Ottoman Cyprus fluctuated greatly; from the 18th century many observers indicated ± 80,000, but some observers 200,000, both figures contrasting with the census result of 1572 which produced ± 85,000 taxable heads of family (*ḵhāne*). Ewliyā Čelebi indicated 30,000 Moslems and 150,000 infidels in around 1670-5. Probably the reports of the depletion of the island in the first centuries of Ottoman rule have been exaggerated. The first census after the British occupation in 1881 showed a total population of 185,630.

The organisation of the new province was based on a new survey of population and revenue, *taḥrīr*, ordered by a *fermān* of 19 Djumādā II 979/9 October 1571 to the newly-appointed *beglerbegi* Sinān Pasha. This survey is recorded in the *defter-i mufaṣṣal-i Ḳïbrus* dated 18 October 1572 (Ankara tapu ve kadastro arşivi, Old records No. 506/64). Government was to be according to Islamic and Ottoman law. A major change was the grant of *mīrī* lands in usufruct to the native farmers, who were freed from serfdom, the feudal system being abolished. The amount of *djizya* (= *ḵharādj*) [*q.v.*] was one gold piece per head of family. In the other forms of taxation, the Ottoman government also exercised moderation and produced a favourable change in respect to Venetian and Lusignan policy.

The abolition of the *mète du sel*, for instance, resulted in a sharp decrease of revenue, though production of salt was not reduced (Inalcık, *Ottoman policy* ... [see Bibl.], 60 f.). Forced labour was abolished in practice as well. From 45 % to 67 % of taxes were levied in kind, as elsewhere in the Ottoman provinces; *djizya* and *ispendje* [*q.vv.*] were paid in cash.

A squadron of galleys was stationed at Famagusta and Kyrenia. Ottoman troops garrisoned on the island numbered 3,779 including 1,000 Janissaries, established in Nicosia, Limasol, Paphos, Famagusta and Kyrenia. A great number of Anatolian Turks from the regions of Ḳonya, Ḳaramān, Niğde, Içel, Alanya, Antalya, Menteshe and Deñizli were settled on the island as so-called *sürgün* (cf. Barkan, in *IFM*, xi [1949-50], xv [1955], *fermān* of Djumādā I 980/21 September 1571 to the *Ḳāḍī*s of Ḳaramān, Anadolu and Dhulḳadriyye; see *Muhimme defteri*, 19, pp. 334-7, no. 669, publ. in *ibid.*, 552-3). In total, 1689 families immigrated by 1572, mainly farmers. In 1581 8,000 families were registered as immigrants (MD 43, cf. C. Orhonlu, art. in *Kıbrıs tetkikleri kongresi* [see Bibl.], 99-103). Conversion of Latin and Greek Christians added little to the number of Muslim "Turkish" population, amounting to only about 400.

A major contribution to the welfare of the native Greek population was the Ottoman decision to abolish the Roman Catholic hierarchy and to restore the Orthodox Church of Cyprus under its archbishop. This prelate was made representative of his community vis-à-vis the Ottoman government as the Ethnarch or head of the Greek community. It meant an increasing degree of autonomy for the Orthodox Greek population under its own chosen leaders, and the relatively unhindered development of its own cultural tradition into modern times. This privileged status of the Greek population, together with the new dominating but smaller group of Turkish Muslims on Cyprus, was to form the basic situation of the Cypriots down to modern times. The Latin element entirely lost its former status. It survived only in small numbers, profiting from diplomatic protection within the framework of the Capitulations system [see IMTIYĀZĀT].

Ottoman possession of the island was not seriously threatened after 1571. The Grand Duke of Tuscany organised a raid on Famagusta in 1607 at the time of his grand oriental scheme involving Fakhr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], *amīr* of the Druzes, and the rebel Djānbulāt ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*]. The Veneto-Ottoman war of Candia (1645-69) did not have any great effect on Cyprus. In the 17th and 18th centuries, Cyprus was still an important centre of Levant trade, cotton and salt being valuable commodities. Consuls of Venice, France, of the Dutch Republic (since 1613) and of England resided at Larnaca, the factory (*iskele* [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) of the island. The consuls and their national groups of foreign residents sometimes played an important political as well as a commercial role on the island, especially in times of rebellion.

The importance of Cyprus decreased after the conquest of Crete was completed in 1669. At that time, the *beglerbegilik* was incorporated into the province of the *Ḳapudān Pasha*, who sent a deputy-governor, the *müsellim*. The role of the Orthodox hierarchy in the administration increased at the same time. Strife among the Ottoman notables of Nicosia led to armed conflict, which in its turn caused the Porte to interfere by sending troops repeatedly. Čifutoghlu Aḥmed Pasha at last succeeded in defeating the rebels and executing their leader Boyadjī Meḥmed Agha in *ca.* 1690. In 1703 Cyprus was transformed into a *ḵhāṣṣ* domain of the Grand Vizier. The government was now exercised by a *muḥaṣṣil* (*taḳṣīldār*) in the name of the latter, who was a farmer of taxes at the same time. The frequent change of these functionaries, as elsewhere, led to overburdening by taxation. In 1745 Cyprus once

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again became an independent province under its own *paša* for a few years. Abū Bekir Pasha (1746-8) exercised his charge satisfactorily, bequeathing to the island an aqueduct serving Larnaca, the harbour and passing ships (*waḳfiyya* of 12 Rabīʿ I 1161/12 March 1748, in Luke, *Cyprus*, 69-74).

In 1754 a *ḫaṭṭ-i humāyūn* was issued at the request of the Archbishop and suffragans to fix the amount of the *ḫarādj* together with the *maʿišḥet* and *nuzūl* taxes at 21½ piastres per head on 10,066 assessments. The bishops acquired the status of *Ḳodjabaşḥī* (Gr. *demogeron*), responsible for the peace and the payment of taxes by the Greek subject population. In 1764 Čil ʿOthmān Agha, *muḫaṣṣīl* of the Grand Vizier and a *mültezim*, doubled the *ḫarādj* on Christians and Muslims alike, who rose in revolt and killed him. The revolt lasted till August 1766. Cyprus suffered the depredations of the Russian fleet after the destruction of the Ottoman one (Česhme 5-7 July 1770) till 1774. From 1777 to 1783 Hādjdjī ʿAbd ül-Bāḳī Agha was *muḫaṣṣīl*. By this time, the actual administration and levying of taxes was shared between the Ottoman administrator and the Archbishop and bishops, who employed the Greek "Dragoman of the Saray" as their agent also. In 1804 a revolt of the Turkish troops broke out against the Archbishop and the dragoman Ḥādjdjī Georgiakis Kornesios (executed in 1809), and this lasted till 1805.

The Greek Cypriots contributed little to the Greek War of Independence (1821-9). The little involvement there was (1821) gave the *müsellim* the pretext for, firstly, a general disarmament of all Christians. Then the leading personalities were arrested and put to death in July 1821, among them the Archbishop Kyprianos (1810-21) and three bishops. After the massacre there followed a partial confiscation of the possessions of the victims and of the churches and monasteries on the islands, although much was restored later. The Christians living within the fortresses of Nicosia, Famagusta and other towns were ordered to remove themselves to the outside, a situation which has remained. The archbishops never recovered their powerful pre-1821 position. The Greek Kingdom was recognised by the Porte in 1829, and this caused the beginning of nationalist aspirations of *enosis* amongst the Greek Cypriots. The overtaxation of the island's resources continued to frustrate a fundamental improvement of its economy, and revolts by both groups of the population occurred in 1833.

In 1838 the era of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] set in. By 1849 Cyprus was reformed as a *sandjaḳ* of the province of the Islands of the Aegean Sea, *Djezāʾir-i baḥr-i sefīd* [*q.v.*] and administered by a *müteṣarrif*, assisted by a *dīwān* or council where Christians and Muslims were represented. Governors followed each other in quick succession. In 1861 Cyprus became an independent *sandjaḳ* (Hill, iv, 239). The second *tanẓīmāt* decree of 1856 was applied in Cyprus, and the effects of reform were becoming noticeable during the last decades of the Ottoman administration (1856-78), when courts came into being. The population increased from *ca.* 100,000 in 1840 to 200,000 in 1862. The island's economy progressed moderately, and Larnaca remained the principal port. The administrative status of Cyprus was however reduced again in 1868 to a *sandjaḳ* in the *wilāyet* of the Islands, but restored in 1870.

4. *The British Occupation 1878-1959.*

A few days before the Congress of Berlin, Great Britain concluded with Sultan ʿAbd ül-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] a secret Convention of Defensive Alliance in which she promised help to defend his empire against Russian encroachment. The sultan ceded Cyprus for occupation and administration as a "place d'armes". In an annexe of 1 July 1878 it was provided that the annual surplus revenue of Cyprus, assessed from the average of the previous 5 years, was to continue to be paid to the Sultan. The so-called "tribute" in fact never reached the Sultan, but was diverted to the creditors of the Ottoman Debt instead, and this arrangement remained in force till Sir Ronald Storrs' administration in 1927. The Sultan retained his sovereign rights to the island and continued appointing its *müftī* and *ḳāḍīs*. This status gave little incentive to the British government to develop Cyprus, but elementary reforms and ameliorations were effected. With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Great Britain annexed the island. A representative régime was instituted (1922), with a council of 18 members, comprising 9 Greeks, 3 Turks and 6 British officials. Any proposal for union with Greece, *enosis*, could thus be deadlocked by the Turco-British bloc. The repeated refusal of *enosis* created tension between Greek Cypriots and the British. At the Peace of Lausanne (1923), Turkey formally renounced all claims to Cyprus. In 1925 Cyprus became a British crown colony.

A small number of Turks, however, opted for the Turkish nationality and left. The first great conflict between Greeks and British broke in 1931 during Sir Ronald Storrs' tenure as governor. A state of emergency was proclaimed. Military government remained till after World War II. Already in 1941, however, political parties were permitted again: a communist party A.K.E.L., a Greek nationalist party K.E.K., and a Turkish party. Trade Unions came about mainly under communist leadership. Municipal elections were held in 1943. After 1945 the British government did not consider any change of status for Cyprus. In 1950 Greek Cypriot nationalists organised a plebiscite among Greek Cypriots, and 96 % voted for *enosis*. The young Bishop of Kition, Michael Mouskos, was the organiser of this demonstration. On 18 October 1950 he was elected the "Most Blessed and Most Reverend Archbishop of New Justiniana and all Cyprus" under the name Makarios III (1919-77). In 1954 a Cyprus-born Greek officer, George Grivas, began organising an anti-British guerrilla organisation, E.O.K.A. The British government devised a new constitution for the colony without giving any hopes for independence. In early 1955 the first discussion of the Cyprus problem in the U.N.O. failed to have a pro-Greek result. Soon afterwards guerrilla warfare by E.O.K.A. began. In July 1955 the British Premier Sir Anthony Eden held the first tripartite talks on the question, with Greece and Turkey, the latter also invited to have a say as an ally of N.A.T.O. Turkey's point of view was maintenance of the *status quo* as a guarantee against *enosis*. The leader of the Greek Cypriots, Archbishop Makarios III, protested against discussion of the interests of Cyprus without the presence of its own people, meaning only the Greek Cypriots. E.O.K.A. stepped up its activities. Field-Marshal Sir John Harding was appointed governor. He opened talks with Makarios upon the base of "a wide measure of self government". This was acceptable for the Turks and nearly so for Makarios. The talks were unexpectedly broken off by order of the London government, and Makarios deported to the Seychelles Islands (9 March 1956).

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E.O.K.A. terrorism came into full fury. The

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British began to recruit Turkish Cypriots as policemen, who consequently also fell victim to Greek bullets; the beginning of inter-communal violence dates back from this time. A Turkish militant organisation grew up, and a Turkish Cypriot leader emerged, Dr. Fazil Küçük. At the U.N.O. meeting in February 1957, neither *enosis* nor its Turkish answer *taksim* (division of Cyprus into two parts) got sufficient support. The new British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, decided to release Makarios, who was not, however, allowed to return to his island, and Sir Hugh Foot was appointed governor. The Menderes government in Ankara protested against this liberal figure succeeding the Field-Marshal, and blocked the plans for self-government of Cyprus, the return of the Archbishop and talks with all Cypriot leaders. A revised Foot-Macmillan constitutional proposal contained many elements later used in the London-Zürich treaties of 1959. At the time of its announcement, Cyprus experienced the worst terrorist fighting between the two communities, between E.O.K.A. and T.M.T., the Turkish National Defence Organisation, with 200 dead in two months. At this time there were 20,000 British troops on the island.

Civil war suddenly came to an end in July 1958, although E.O.K.A. continued its fight against the British. Makarios, fearing an Anglo-Turkish co-operation to divide Cyprus, came forward in September with a proposal for independence under auspices of the U.N.O. Grivas did not support it, and *enosis* remained his only aim. Great Britain did not consider it either, but began to change its own position: 28,000 troops on Cyprus became too heavy a burden, and a Greco-Turkish conflict would harm N.A.T.O. Sovereign base areas in Cyprus would be sufficient for Britain's strategic needs. Athens wanted to prevent *taksim*; but Ankara could accept any compromise which prevented *enosis*. The U.S.A. made it clear that it would not continue supporting Great Britain in the Middle East. Any Greco-Turkish solution must be accepted.

In December 1958, the first talks between Greece and Turkey (by Averoff-Tossizza and Zorlu respectively) were held. In February 1959 the prime ministers and foreign secretaries reached agreements in Zürich. At a second meeting in London these and a draft constitution were submitted to the British government. The Cypriots had not taken part officially before, but the Cypriot leaders Makarios and Küçük were now invited to accept the agreements. Makarios was put under heavy pressure by Greece. In London, at Lancaster House on 19 February 1959, three treaties were signed by all parties:

(1) a "Treaty of establishment", Britain declaring Cyprus independent, with the reservation of two sovereign base areas.

(2) a "Treaty of guarantee": the 3 powers guarantee the independence of Cyprus and its status as defined in a number of fundamental articles of its Constitution. *Enosis* and *taksim* are forbidden, and in case of violation, all three powers together, or if not feasible, each separately, may take action to restore the *status foederis*.

(3) a "Treaty of alliance" between Cyprus, Greece and Turkey, a military alliance with headquarters at Nicosia, where 950 Greek and 650 Turkish soldiers will be stationed, was laid down as an extra guarantee for the other treaties.

Furthermore, a Constitution was laid down which came into force on 16 August 1960. The independent Republic of Cyprus, with a presidential régime and Greek and Turkish as official languages, has an executive of one President and one Vice-President, a Greek and a Turk respectively, elected by their own communities. There is a council of 10 ministers, comprising 7 Greeks and 3 Turks, deciding with a majority vote. Its decisions are subject to a veto of President and/or Vice-President. There is a Parliament of 50 (35 plus 15), with a Greek speaker and a Turkish deputy speaker, deciding with a majority vote, except in electoral municipal and fiscal legislation, when separate communal majorities are needed. (Full text in: *Conference on Cyprus. Documents signed and initialled at Lancaster House on February 19, 1959*. Cmnd. 679, London [H.M.S.O.] 1959).

5. *Independence 1960.*

After the transitory period from 19 February 1959 to 15 August 1960, Cyprus became an independent state on 16 August 1960. Its population in about 1968 was estimated at 621,500 (last official census of 1960: 557,615, with 442,521 Greeks, 104,350 Turks, 3,628 Armenians, 2,708 Maronites, 3,351 British, 2,796 Latins and 18,261 others). Reliable estimates are that in 1970 the Greeks made up 78 % and Turks 18 %, which means a slight lack of increase of the Turks.

The application of the detailed and imposed constitution caused serious difficulties. The first opposition came from Grivas, who with his followers continued to insist on *enosis*. The formation of an army caused insurmountable difficulties; the Turks wanted separate communal units and Küçük in the end used his veto against Makarios. Appointments of civil servants became problematical because the Turks could not fill all the 30 % of posts due to them. The most serious conflict was caused by the separation of municipalities, no longer desired by the Greeks. The Turks took this point as a test case for the loyal application of the constitution. When the Turks proposed to continue with it in the end of 1962, Makarios blocked it. Both parties were considered to be wrong by the constitutional court, whose members ("neutral" German lawyers) left the country not long after for fear of their lives.

On the 1 January 1963 Makarios came forward with a proposal to amend 13 points of the constitution, which was no longer functioning. The idea was to install a more unified state, with guarantees for the Turkish Cypriots, Makarios and Küçük being co-presidents.

The Ankara government declined these proposals. The intercommunal deadlock led to civil war. On 4 March 1964 a United Nations peace force was organised and a U.N. mediator was appointed. Violence continued. Makarios introduced military service, and could thus mobilise a Greek National Guard to control the extremist bands directed by Grivas from Athens. The situation worsened in the course of the year. The U.S. President Lyndon Johnson warned the Prime Minister İnönü in June that Turkey would not be protected by N.A.T.O. in case of a Russian attack after Turkish unilateral action. All over the island the Turkish Cypriots withdrew inside fortified enclaves surrounded by Greek Cypriot guerrillas and men of the National Guard. This meant a definitive change of the old settlement pattern of 120 all-Turkish and 106 mixed villages. There was a relocation to Turkish-dominated areas of at least 25,000 Turkish refugees. In 1969, 115,189 Turk refugees still remained unsettled. A precarious balance was maintained by the U.N.

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Force in Cyprus (U.N.F.I.C.Y.P.). Greek Cypriots dominated the greater part of the Republic. A U.N. mediator, Galo Plaza, began his work in March 1965. Makarios and Küçük did not act together any more, nor did the cabinet or parliament. Makarios kept on insisting that the imposed constitution was impracticable. Küçük maintained that a limitation of independence was necessary for the survival of the Turkish community, which must never be treated as a minority, and proposed *taksim*. Neither of the two Cypriot parties was able to make concessions.

Greco-Turkish talks in 1966 led to no results. In the autumn of 1967, violence flared up again after Greek Cypriot provocation. The Ankara government threatened intervention. The Athens Junta government gave in, and withdrew Grivas from the island. Makarios's position had now become the stronger one. Küçük proclaimed a separate transitional government for all Turkish sectors in December 1967. On 25 February 1968, presidential elections were held which resulted in a 95.4 % vote for Makarios and his independence policy. Concessions were granted to the Turks. R. Denktaş was allowed to return and was elected president of the Turkish Communal Chamber. He conducted intercommunal talks with G. Clerides in June, July and autumn of 1968 and in the spring of 1969. On 8 March 1970, an attack was made on President Makarios, probably by Greek ex-E.O.K.A. members. Parliamentary elections were held in July 1970 separately by both communities.

The year 1971 saw talks on Cyprus by the governments of Athens and Ankara in Lisbon (by Foreign Ministers Olçay and Xanthopoulos-Palamas). The communal talks between Denktaş and Clerides were also continued. In September, General Grivas returned secretly to organise a new E.O.K.A. terrorist (1972) movement, mainly directed against Makarios' position, but also a menace to Turkish Cypriots. In March 1972 Grivas, assisted by the Bishops of Paphos, Kitium and Kyrenia, staged a coup to defrock the President-Archbishop and followed it up with raids and killings among Makarios's party which continued during 1973. Grivas died on 27 January 1974. Makarios's conflict with the Athens Junta led to the overthrow by Greek army officers of his government on 15 July 1974.

Led by an E.O.K.A. terrorist, Nikos Sampson, the coup seemed to aim at *enosis*. The Turkish government invoked the Treaty of Guarantee and intervened unilaterally. On 20 July massive Turkish troop landings were effected near Kyrenia and elsewhere. A short war ensued between the Turkish army units and the Greek Cypriot National Guard, which led to a lasting division of the island along the cease-fire line, stretching from the East, south of Famagusta to the West, near Lefka including the Turkish zone of Nicosia. Massive relocation of the population was the result, with at least 200,000 displaced persons. In December 1974 Makarios returned to Cyprus as President. His authority was now, however, less. The new leaders of the two communities are G. Clerides and R. Denktaş, both lawyers by profession. Intercommunal talks were continued by them in 1975 without significant results, and on 13 February 1975 Denktaş announced the formation of a separate Turkish state in the northern half of Cyprus. The intercommunal talks were resumed in Vienna in April under the auspices of U.N. Secretary-General K. Waldheim.

On 3 August 1977, President Archbishop Makarios III died aged 63. S. Kyprianou succeeded him as President, and Bishop Chrysostomos of Paphos was elected head of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus in the course of the year. Intercommunal talks were resumed in January 1978 under auspices of the U.N.O. Secretary-General between Kyprianou and Denktaş.

The Cyprus Question, one of the last remnants of the Eastern Question, remains to be solved on the both national and international levels.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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(A. H. DE GROOT)

KUBU, a sub-district (*kecamatan*) of the regency (*kabupaten*) of Pontianak, situated in the south of the delta of the Great Kapuas river, in the Indonesian province of Western Kalimantan in Borneo [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In 1971 it had 16,031 inhabitants, among them 643 foreigners, most of them Chinese. The scattered population is mainly of mixed Arab, Buginese, or Malay origin, besides the Chinese and few Dayaks. Since 1955, the Indonesian government has tried to open some areas for Javanese immigrants.

The family which ruled this area until 1958 was of Arab descent originating from Ḥaḍramawt. The founder of the kingdom was Sayyid (according to others Sharîf) Îdrus al-Îdrus, who settled not far from the mouth of the river Terentang with a few Arab, Buginese and Malay followers in *ca.* 1780, soon after his brother-in-law, the Arab adventurer Sharîf ʿAbd al-Raḥmân al-Ḳadrî, had founded the sultanate of Pontianak. The capital and kingdom received its name from an entrenchment (Malay *kubu*) thrown up as a defence against raids by pirates. He put himself under the protection of the Dutch East India Company, who recognised him as a ruler with the title *tuan* (lord). One of his sons, ʿAlawî bin Îdrus, because of his opposition against the Dutch and favour of the British, left Kubu in 1823 and finally settled in Sarawak; some of his descendants have had a certain political influence there, especially since independence (1963).

In 1910, the Dutch introduced a *bestuur comité* in Kubu, consisting of three notables, each of whom was allotted a certain territory as an appanage. The last king, Ḥasan bin Zayn, was appointed as head of the *bestuur comité* by the Japanese in 1943, before he was elected head of the self-governing kingdom in 1949. In 1958, the monarchy was abolished and Kubu was transformed into its present administrative position as a *kecamatan*. The predominant religion is Islam, but this is mixed with animistic beliefs.

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(W. H. RASSERS — [O. SCHUMANN])

KŪČAK KHĀN DJANGALĪ, MĪRZĀ, known also as Shaykh Yūnus (1880-1921), Persian revolutionary and the first person to declare a republican régime in Iran. He was born into a lower middle class family of Rasht, in the north of Iran, and studied Arabic and other religious subjects in the traditional schools in his region. He then moved to Tehran, continuing his studies in a religious school called the *madrasa-yi maḥmūdiyya*. His early training in traditional schools, together with his association with the Russian revolutionaries in Tiflis and Baku in 1908, plus his close co-operation with the militant Iranians involved in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11, developed in Kūčak Khān a strong sense both of revolutionary patriotism and also of devotion to Islam. We therefore see him occasionally consulting the Ḳur'ān as well as setting up sessions for reciting the heroic poetry of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] (Ibrāhīm Fakhrā'ī, *Sardār-i Djangal Mīrzā Kūčak Khān*, Tehran 1965, 37-8). In 1909 Kūčak joined the revolutionary group of Gīlān aimed at overthrowing the then despotic Shāh, Muḥammad ʿAlī (reigned 1907-9). The Gīlān Bakhtīyārī forces moved on Tehran victoriously in July 1909 while Kūčak Khān was suffering a severe back injury caused by carrying a heavy gun during the expedition.

After this short-lived victory on the part of the constitutionalists, Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh fled to Russia, where he made an attempt to regain his throne. A year or so later he entered Iran and, with the help of some Turkoman supporters, he moved towards Tehran. At this time (1911) Kūčak Khān joined the government troops in Māzandarān and "took many heroic actions" against the former Shāh's forces (Aḥmad Kasravī, *Ta'rīkh-i hidjdahsāla-yi Āḏharbāyḏjān*, Tehran 1961, 181). In this expedition, Kūčak Khān was wounded. After his recovery, he was denied residence in Rasht by the then Consul-General of Tsarist Russia; hence he moved to Tehran, suffering extreme poverty.

While in Tehran, Kūčak Khān took an active interest in the idea of Pan-Islamism which was then (1913) being propagated by the Ottomans and which enjoyed a considerable following in Tehran and elsewhere. Kūčak Khān had a series of meetings and discussions with religious and political personalities concerned about the future of Iran, and finally decided to undertake armed struggles against the British-backed government of Iran. In 1914, therefore, he went to Gīlān and rose against the government and, with the help of some German and Ottoman advisers, organised his Pan-Islamic group, with the newspaper *Djangal* as its official organ, the latter first appearing in 1917.

After the Soviet Revolution, the termination of Tsarist claims on Iran and the conclusion of the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 which established British control over the Persian army, customs, and financial affairs, Kūčak Khān, like other revolutionary leaders such as Khiyābānī [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad Taḳī Khān Pisyān, intensified his campaign against the British. He established friendship with the Russian Bolshevik régime and in the name of the liberation of Iran, in May 1920, he proclaimed the Socialist Republic of Gīlān.

To Kūčak Khān's revolution was, of course, opposed the British-backed government of Tehran; a number of clashes therefore took place between the Djangalīs and the opposing British and Persian troops. There were also internecine fights between Kūčak Khān on the one hand and other Djangalī leaders, such as Iḥsān Allāh Khān and Khālū Ḳurbān and a number of the ʿAdālat Party members, who held extremist communist views. These conflicts finally resulted in the murder of a prominent revolutionary, Haydar Khān ʿAmū Oghlī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In the meantime, the pro-British Sayyid Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabā'ī set up the Zarganda Committee, which was joined by a number of the large landowners of Gīlān such as Fatḥ Allāh Khān Sardar Manṣūr. At the same time the Soviets decided to establish friendship with the British and the government of Tehran, culminating in the Soviet-Persian Agreement of 1921, on the basis of which the Soviet Ambassador to Tehran, M. Rothstein, wrote a long letter to Kūčak Khān urging him to put an end to his revolutionary activities. Thus abandoned, Kūčak Khān took refuge in the forests of Gīlān, and shortly afterwards his frozen corpse was found and his head was taken to the authorities.

Kūčak Khān's writings and manifestos suggest that he was aiming at a united Iran without any foreign interference, including that of the Soviets. He believed in land reform and in compulsory education, and during his short control over Gīlān, he did carry out some land reform and founded a number of public primary schools in Sawmaʿasarā, Shaft, Kasmā, and Māsūla.

The evaluation of the revolutionary activities of Kūčak Khān has caused controversy, and many contradictory accounts have also been given concerning the factual history of the Djangalī movement. He has been called a "willing puppet" of the Soviets (George Lenczowski, *Russia and the West in Iran, 1918-1948*, Ithaca 1949, 60). On the other hand, Soviet writers (*The borderlands of Soviet Central Asia*, in *Central Asian Review*, iv [1956], 287-331), as well as the Iranian revolutionary groups (S. ʿAwn Allāhī, *Inḳilāb-i kabīr-i sūsiyālīstī-yi uktubr va naḍdat-i kumūnīstī va kārgarī-yi Īrān*, and Taḳī Mūsawī, *Inḳilāb-i uktubr va naḍdat-i Gīlān*, both in *Inḳilāb-i uktubr va Īrān*, ed. Ḥizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān, 1967, 241-62, 263-74; *Djunbish-i kumūnīstī-yi Īrān*, in *Tūda: Urgān-i sāzmān-i inḳilābi-yi Ḥizb-i Tūda-yi Īrān dar khāriḏj-i az kishwar*, No. 15, 1969, 22 ff.) do not seem to have paid enough attention to the eventual Soviet abandonment of the Djangalī movement; this latter question has constituted the point of emphasis of a number of other writers (Muṣṭafā Shuʿāʿī, *Nigāhī bi rawābiṭ-i shūrawī va naḍdat-i inḳilābī-yi Djangal*, Tehran 1968) who have considered Kūčak Khān to be a national hero. A third group of the accounts are hostile to the movement, expressing openly the attitude of the big landowners of Iran, particularly of those of Gīlān; the best example of this group of literature is the anonymously-written book *Ta'rīkhča-yi Djangaliyān*, Tehran 1918.

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

ḴŪČĀN, modern form of the mediaeval Islamic Khabūshān/Khūdjān, a town of northern Khurasān on the main highway connecting Tehran and Mashhad. It lies at an altitude of 4,060 feet in the fertile and populous Atrek River-Kashaf Rūd corridors, on the headwaters of the Atrek and between the parallel mountain ranges of the Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid on the north and the Kūh-i Shāh Djahān and Kūh-i Bīnālūd on the south; the modern town lies several miles upstream, sc. to the east-south-east, of the mediaeval town.

Khabūshān was apparently the earliest Islamic form of the town's name, although nothing is known about it during the period of the Arab conquests and the ensuing two or three centuries. But already in the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries, such writers as Ibn Ḥawḳal; ed. Kramers, 433, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 419, Muḳaddasī, 318-19, the author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, § 23, and Bayhaḳī, *Taʾrīḵh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ[1], 604, 607, tr. Arends [2], 735, 739, spell its name as Khūdjān. Samʿānī (who had personally visited the town), *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, v, 223-4, repeated in Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, ii, 399-400, says that the locals pronounced Khadjdjān. The geographers and others describe it as the chef-lieu (*ḳaṣaba*) of the rich and flourishing rural district (*rustāḳ*) of Ustuwā (the Ἀσταυηνή of Greek sources), which was administratively a dependency of Nīshāpūr and comprised 93 villages. It constituted the granary of Nīshāpūr, growing corn and fruits in both rain-watered fields (*mabāḵhis*) and in those irrigated by *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 153-4. Cotton was also grown and textiles produced. Concerning the religious complexion of the district, we learn that in the early 5th/11th century the doctrines of the Shāfiʿī *maḏhab* were promoted in Khūdjān and Ustuwā by the *faḳīh* Abū ʿAmr Farāhī (Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-tawḥīd fi maḳāmāt al-Shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. Ḏhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, Tehran 1332/1953, 24); at this time, the famous Shāfiʿī scholar Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Māwardī [*q.v.*] served for a while as *ḳāḍī* of Ustuwā before moving to Baghdād (cf. H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung des šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 96). By the Il-Khānid period, the name Ustuwā was going out of use, though still used in the tax-registers, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 150, tr. 149.

Ḳūčān makes sporadic appearances in the mediaeval Islamic chronicles, since it lay on the principal route from Gurgān and the Caspian provinces to Ṭūs and Nīshāpūr, and because the pasture grounds of the upper Atrek valley were especially attractive to powers with nomadic followings, such as the Saldjūḳs, the Mongols and the Il-Khānids. It played a part in the manoeuvrings of Masʿūd of Ghazna and the Saldjūḳs under Ṭoghrïl Beg during the struggle for Khurāsān (Bayhaḳī, *loc. cit.*). In 551/1156 it was the meeting-place of the Khwārazm-Shāh Atsïz [*q.v.*] and the Ḳarākhānid Maḥmūd Khān, after the latter had invited the Shāh into Khurāsān to combat the Oghuz captors of Sultan Sandjar, and it was in Ḳūčān that Atsïz died shortly afterwards (Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion* [3], 330-1). The town suffered badly during Čingiz Khān's attack on Khurāsān. According to Djuwaynī, the Mongol general Sübetey wrought great slaughter at Khabūshān, Isfarāʾin [*q.v.*] and (?) Adkan, and for nearly 40 years the town lay devastated and depopulated. Then in 654/1256, Djuwaynī—who had with considerable acumen purchased a quarter of the town from its inhabitants—himself persuaded Hülegü to rebuild it. The latter issued a *yarlïgh* for the repair of the *ḳanāts* and the rebuilding of the houses and markets, all at his own expense, and the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Aḳa expended 3,000 *dīnārs* on reconstructing and restoring the Friday mosque and cemetery (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 146, ii, 617, cf. Boyle, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 342).

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Ḳūčān thus enjoyed a recovery of prosperity under the later Mongols and Il-Khānids. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions that there was an imperial workshop (*kārkhāna*) there (Petrushevsky, in *ibid.*, v, 513), and also that Ghāzān, when governor of Khurāsān and himself still a Buddhist, built a Buddhist temple in the town for those devotees within the Mongol court entourage and official classes (*Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Alizade, iii, Baku 1957, 373, cf. D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, The Hague 1834-5, iv, 147-8). However, Ḳūčān had at some point of time also acquired an *imāmzāde* or saint's tomb of some importance, sc. that of Ibrāhīm, son of the Eighth *Imām* of the Shīʿa, ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

The whole Atrek-Kashaf Rūd corridor lay in the front line of Persian defences against the Özbegs during the Ṣafawid period. Hence Shāh ʿAbbās I settled Kurdish tribesmen in northern Khurāsān, to the number, it is said, of 15,000 families, and subsequently, what were in effect a string of Kurdish tribal principalities grew up along the frontier, with hereditary chieftains and exemption from taxation in return for maintaining armed cavalrymen against incursions from Central Asia. Ḳūčān came within the area of the Zaʿfarānlū Kurds, whose hereditary leaders had the title of *Ilkhānī* bestowed upon them. Nādir Shāh had an especially consistent policy of resettling peoples in frontier regions for strategic purposes, and during his reign (1148-60/1736-47) there were considerable further implantations in northern Khurāsān, including the Ḳūčān district (see on all these population movements, J. R. Perry, *Forced migration in Iran during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*, in *Iranian studies, Jnal. of the Society for Iranian Studies*, viii/4 [New York, Autumn 1975], 205 ff.).

The local chiefs of Ḳūčān were nevertheless frequently in revolt against the Persian central government. Nādir Shāh was killed in 1160/1747 whilst engaged in the subjugation of the town, and a nearby hill is still called Nādir Tepe. In the reign of the Ḳādjār Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, the *Ilkhānī* Riḍā Ḳulī Khān (who entertained the British traveller J. B. Fraser in Ḳūčān in 1822) revolted against his overlord, so that the Shāh's *walī ʿahd* or heir, ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*], came and suppressed the outbreak, razing the town's walls and causing much destruction within it. Severe earthquakes in 1852, 1871, 1893 and 1895 increased the devastation, and Curzon, who was there in 1889, found many ruinous houses there, estimating the population at less than 12,000. With the pushing-forward in the later 19th century of the Russian frontier in Central Asia up to the natural frontier of the Kopet Dāgh-Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid range and the subjection to Imperial Russian rule of the formerly predatory Türkmens, the three Kurdish principalities of northern Khurāsān, Ḳūčān, Budjnurd [*q.v.*] and Darreh Gaz, lost much of their military and strategic raisons d'être, and Curzon noted that the power and prestige of the then *Ilkhānī*, Shudjāʿ al-Dawla Ḥusayn Khān b. Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, had diminished (G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 94-112).

In the present century, Ḳūčān has remained the centre of an important wheat-growing area, supplying much of the rest of Persia; these crops are grown, as in mediaeval times, both on *ḳanāt*-irrigated land and on *daymī*, dry-farmed (cf. *Admiralty handbook, Persia* London 1945, 40, 43 439, 453). Administratively, Ḳūčān is now the chef-lieu of a *shahrastān* or district of the 9th *ustān* or province of Khurāsān; the population of the *shahrastān* in 1950 was *ca.* 111,000 (cf. *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Irān*, ix, 307).

Bibliography: In addition to sources given in the article, see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 393, and for the accounts of European travellers who visited Ḳūčān, see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952, 157-61, 221-3, 252. (C. E. Bosworth)

KŪČŪK ḲAYNARDJA (modern Tkish. Küçük Kaynarca, "little hot spring", a village in north-eastern Bulgaria, 25 km. south-east of Silistre, noteworthy as the place at which was concluded between the Ottoman and Russian Empires on 12 Djumādā I 1188/10/21 July 1774 one of the most famous and important treaties in the history of diplomacy. The Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja, which brought to an end a disastrous war over the partition of Poland on which the Porte had irresponsibly embarked six years previously, contained terms which were uniformly regrettable in their consequences for the Ottoman state and, in particular, for the khānate of the Crimea.

The treaty, which consisted of 28 articles and a separate secret convention of two articles, was the final outcome of protracted negotiations for a truce which had been conducted by the two sides since 1186/1772. Only in the campaign of 1188/1774, with Russian forces strongly entrenched south of the Danube and with the strong fortress of Shumen (Shumla, Shumnī), which commanded the passage of the Balkan range, abandoned by the Ottomans, were negotiations pushed rapidly to a conclusion. The Ottoman field-commander (*serdār-i ekrem*), the Grand Vizier Muḥsinzāde Meḥmed Pasha, nominated as plenipotentiaries his *kāhyā-begi* Nishāndjī/Tewḳīʿī Aḥmed Resmī Efendi and the then *reʾīs efendi* Ibrāhīm Munīb (Münip) Efendi; the chief Russian negotiator, under the aegis of the Russian commander-in-chief, Field-Marshal Count Pyotr Aleksandrovič Rumyantsev, was Prince Nikolai Repnin, who had served as Russian ambassador at the Porte prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

Negotiations were begun and rapidly concluded in the Russian camp before Shumen on 8 Djumādā I 1188/6/17 July 1774; the actual date and place of signing were stipulated by the Russians for their historical significance. The controlling text of the treaty was drawn up in Italian; Russian and Turkish versions were also signed by the respective plenipotentiaries. Contrary to a widely-held belief, there are only minor textual variations between the Russian and Turkish versions.

The consequences of the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja were most unfortunate for the khānate of the Crimea. Although by the terms of art. 3 Russian forces were to evacuate its territory with the exception of the strong points of Kerč and Yeñi Ḳalʿe, the Ottomans were obliged to relinquish their suzerainty over the khānate, and to concede to the Crimean Tatars a specious and unlooked-for "independence" (*serbestiyyet*). Religious supremacy over the Muslim inhabitants of the khānate was reserved to the Ottoman sultan as rightful caliph ("Supremo Califfo Maomettano"), a concept entirely alien to Islamic law, and one which was to cause endless diplomatic confusion, in part corrected by the *convention explicative* of Aynalī Ḳavaḳ (3 Rabīʿ I 1193/10/21 March 1779). The "independence" of the Crimea proved in fact to be merely a prelude to its absorption by Russia, on the pretext of misgovernment, in 1783 [see further, ḲIRĪM].

For the Ottomans, the consequences, in strategic

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terms, of the treaty were equally ominous. Through her possession of the fortresses of Ḳılburun (Ḳınburun) [*q.v.*] (art. 18); Kerč and Yeñi Ḳalʿe [*q.vv.*] (arts. 3 and 19); Azaḳ (Azov) [*q.v.*] (art. 20) and Greater and Lesser Kabarda [see KABARDS] (art. 21), and despite restitution to the Ottomans of Özü (Ochakov) and Bessarabia, including, *inter alia*, the fortresses of Aḳ Kermān, Kili, Ismāʿīl, Bender and Khotin [*qq.v.*], Russia gained a secure and permanent strategic foothold on the northern shores of the Black Sea, thus bringing to an end its four centuries' history as an Ottoman "lake". This new position of strength Russia was able immediately to exploit through further concessions (art. 11) which gave her unrestricted commercial privileges in the Black Sea and through the Straits into the Mediterranean, and the right to establish consulates and vice-consulates at will on Ottoman territory and to maintain a permanent embassy at Istanbul. A further detailed clause afforded Russia a privileged position with regard to the Christian population and the semi-autonomous hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia (Boghdan and Eflāḳ [*q.vv.*]) (art. 16), while by art. 13 the Porte was obliged to concede to Catherine II and her successors the title of *pādiṣhāh* (*tamāmᵉⁿ Rusyalarınıñ pādiṣhāhi*, i.e. "Empress/Emperor of all the Russians").

Two articles in particular (arts. 7 and 14) of the treaty have given rise to much subsequent misunderstanding. Art. 7, which in fact specifically recognised the protection of the *Ottoman* government over its own Christian subjects, permitted Russia only to make representations on behalf of a single church building—an Orthodox church in Ghalaṭa [*q.v.* in Suppl.], separate from the Russian embassy chapel, where services were to be held according to the Russian rite—and those who served in it. Art. 14, which actually gave to Russia the right to establish a church in Ghalaṭa to serve the Russian community resident there "on the example of the other Powers"—i.e., France and Austria—had already been proposed in the negotiations of 1772-3. From these articles, or possibly from those which related to Moldavia and Wallachia, or to the Archipelago (still under the occupation of the Russian fleet: art. 17) or to Georgia and Mingrelia (art. 23), but more probably from a general claim to guardianship over the Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire which was put forward by Catherine II in 1775, there derived the widely held but erroneous belief that by the terms of the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja Russia had acquired an "ill-defined 'right'" to exercise a protection over the largely Orthodox Christian subjects of the Sulṭān which might serve as a basis for subsequent diplomatic claims against the Ottoman state.

Two separate secret articles provided for the evacuation at an unspecified date of the Russian fleet from the Archipelago and for the payment by the Porte of a war indemnity of 15,000 purses (*kese*), i.e. 7.5 million *ḳurush*.

The largely factitious "rights" in arts. 7 and 14 apart, the gains which were made by Russia as a consequence of the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja were considerable, and the losses in territory and prestige in which the Ottoman state was obliged to acquiesce were correspondingly severe. For the khānate of the Crimea its consequences were sombre in the extreme. To Catherine II, Küčük Ḳaynardja was a treaty "the like of which Russia [had] never had before"; a recent historian has correctly characterised it as "a major step, possibly the greatest single step prior to 1955, by Russia into the Near East".

Bibliography: No satisfactory edition of the three versions of the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja exists. The original of the Italian and Russian-language treaty seems to be lost: the Russian text printed in Družinina, cited below, 349-60, does not derive from it (for references to other published Russian versions, see Davison, below, 469, n. 22). The original of the Turkish and Russian version has not yet been found in the Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul. A register book copy exists there (Ecnebī Defterleri, 83/1, 138-49), which may be the source for the various printed versions (e.g. *Medjmuʿāt muʿāhedesi*, 5 vols., Istanbul 1294-8/1877-8 to 1880-1, iii, 254-75; Djewdet (Cevdet), *Taʾrīkhᵃ*, Istanbul 1301-9/1883-4 to 1891-2, i, 285-95; Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netāʾidj al-wuḳūʿātᵃ*, Istanbul 1294-1327/1877-1909, iii, 56-64). The Italian text is reproduced (from a version published in the *Storia del Anno* for 1774) in G. Fr. Martens, *Recueil des principaux traités de l'Europe*[1], 7 vols., Göttingen 1791-1801, iv, 606 38; 2nd edn. 8 vols., Göttingen 1817-35, ii, 286-322; no other version appears to exist. A French version (of no legal standing but widely regarded as authoritative in the 19th century) is most conveniently accessible in Gabriel Efendi, Noradounghian, *Recueil d'actes internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman*, i, Paris 1897, 319-34, and in *Treaties... between Turkey and Foreign Powers*, London 1855, 463 ff.

The sole monograph devoted to the Treaty of Küčük Ḳaynardja is E. I. Družinina, *Kyučuk-Kaynardžiiski mir 1774 goda*, Moscow 1955; a collection of essays of unequal value by Soviet and East European historians (N. Todorov, E. I. Družinina and others) is contained in *Études Balkaniques* (Sofia), 1975/2, 74-127. For the effect of the treaty on the khānate of the Crimea, see A. W. Fisher, *The Russian annexation of the Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970; for a more extended treatment from the Ottoman side, cf. Cemal Tukin, *Küçük Kaynarca*, in *İA*, vi, 1064-71. The most recent study is R. H. Davison, "*Russian skill and Turkish imbecility*": *the treaty of Kuchuk Kainardji reconsidered*, in *Slavic Review*, xxxv (1976), 463-83. All these works contain supplementary bibliographies and further references to sources in the relevant languages.

(C. J. HEYWOOD)

KÜČÜK SAʿĪD PASHA (1838-1914), 19th century Ottoman statesman, seven times Grand Vizier under Sultan ʿAbd al Ḥamīd II, and twice in the Young Turk era. Born in Erzurum, Saʿīd received a traditional Muslim education until his father's death in 1853 forced him to seek an administrative career. Trained largely as an apprentice rather than in the new secular schools being established by the Tanẓīmāt [*q.v.*], he served first as secretary to the governor of Erzurum Province (1853-7) and secretary to the Anadolu Ordusu (1857-9) before entering the central bureaucracy in Istanbul. He served for some time as secretary in the *Medjlis-i Wālā* (1859-63), rising to various high positions in and out of Istanbul before becoming director of the Imperial Press (*Maṭbaʿa-i ʿĀmire*) and editor of the official government newspaper *Taḳwīm-i Weḳāyiʿ* (1863-8). He continued to rise in the secretarial service, becoming director of a department in the Council of State (*Shūrā-yi Dewlet*) in 1868, and of the Courts Department of the *Dīwān-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye*, in 1871, rising to become Chief Secretary of the Ministry of

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Trade (*Tiǧǧāret Neẓāreti*) in 1874 and Chief Secretary of the Grand Vizier a year later.

It was during these later years that Saʿīd Efendi came into contact with Prince ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, advising him on administrative matters, so that one of the latter's first acts after his accession to the sultanate was to raise him to the rank of Pasha and appoint him as Chief Secretary (1876-8), at which time he acquired the nickname *Küčük* ("the small one") to distinguish him from Ingiliz Saʿīd Pasha, who also advised the sultan for a time until he was dismissed due to implication in the ʿAlī Suʿāwī affair.

Küčük Saʿīd now became the Sultan's chief instrument in the Ottoman cabinet. As minister of justice (1878-9), he worked to modernise the *Niẓāmiyye* secular court system, introducing the institution of public defender, and also securing promulgation of new commercial and criminal codes of law. In seven terms as Grand Vizier (1879-80, 1880-2, 1882, 1882-5, 1895, 1901-3, 1908), he faithfully carried out the sultan's reform programs, also taking the initiative to introduce important reforms. He developed a program to centralise government control of the provinces, modernised the financial system, increased tax collections and balanced the budgets, negotiated the settlement with the empire's foreign creditors that led to the creation of the Public Debt Commission (1881), established the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce to develop native trade and industry, modernised and expanded the system of secular schools on the elementary and higher technical levels in particular, reorganised and modernised the regular police, and made the secular courts fully independent of government interference so they could administer justice without fear of intervention. He played a major role in modernising the bureaucratic hierarchy, introducing examinations for appointment and promotion and establishing a pension system so that aged officials could retire without fear of poverty.

As the sultan became increasingly withdrawn and subject to the influence of his palace coterie, Saʿīd Pasha became more and more fearful of his master. At the same time, his rivalry with Meḥmed Kāmil Pasha became so intense that he at times feared for his life, and at one point refused the sultan's call to resume the Grand Vizierate. As a result, Saʿīd Pasha was not included in the disfavour of the Young Turks for most of the sultan's advisers following the Young Turk Revolution (108), and in fact served twice more as grand vizier during the Constitutional period which followed, in 1911 and 1912, with the support of the Committee of Union and Progress, leading its fight against the Liberal Union Party, and directing the government's efforts against the Italian invasions of Libya and of the Dodecanese islands. In the face of strong military pressure in support of the Liberal Union, however, Saʿīd Pasha resigned for the final time (17 July 1912), so that the hero of the Russo-Turkish war, Aḥmed Mukhtār Pasha, could establish a non-party government to resolve the crisis. Saʿīd Pasha then served as chairman of the upper house of the legislature, the Council of Notables (1913-14) until he retired shortly before his death.

Bibliography: S. J. and E. K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman empire and modern Turkey*, ii, *Reform, revolution and republic: the rise of modern Turkey*, 1808-1975, Cambridge and New York 1977, 219-20, 274-5, 290-1, 453-4; Ercüment Kuran, *Küçük Said Paşa as a Turkish modernist*, in *IJMES*, i (1970), 124-32; idem, art. *Said Paşa*, in *IA*; Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*[1], Ankara 1951, 8-112; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Son sadrâzamlar ve başvekiller*, Istanbul 1940-9, v; Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrâzamlar*, Istanbul 1940-53, 989-1263; Saʿīd Pasha, *Saʿīd Pashanīñ khāṭirāti*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1328; *Saʿīd Pashanīñ Kāmil Pasha khāṭirātına dǰewāblarī*, Istanbul 1327; ʿAbdurraḥmān Sheref, *Taʾrīkh muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1339; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Said Paşa'ya dâir bâzı vesikalar*, in *Tarih dergisi*, viii, 105-34.

(S. J. SHAW)

KUČUM KHĀN, a Tatar Khān of Siberia, in whose reign this country was conquered by the Russians. Abu 'l Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, 177), is the only authority to give information regarding his origin and his genealogical relation to the other descendants of Čingiz Khān. According to this source, he reigned for forty years in "Tūrān", lost his eyesight towards the end of his life, was driven from his kingdom by the Russians in 1003/1594-5, took refuge with the Manghīt (Nogay) and died among them. References to Kučum are also found in the work of the Ottoman Turk Sayfī, said to have been written in 990/1582 (Leiden MS., No. 197; tr. without a reference to the MS. by Ch. Schefer as an appendix to his translation of the history of Central Asia. *Histoire de l'Asie Centrale*, by ʿAbd al-Karīm Bukhārī, Paris 1876, 303 ff.). Kučum's kingdom and its capital are there called "Turā"; the Russians had taken this town during Kučum's absence. Kučum afterwards returned and drove out the Russians after a long siege (one to two years), but the latter carried off his son a prisoner to Moscow. These stories seem to show that Sayfī's work was probably composed later than the year given in the title (Schefer, *loc. cit.*, Preface, p. iv, even gives the year 990 A.H. as date of death of the author).

The name of "Isker" for the capital of Kučum (near the confluence of the Tobol and Irtish) seems to be found only in Russian sources; it is only from the latter also that the principal events of his reign can be chronologically arranged. Kučum did not inherit his kingdom from his father but had expelled his predecessor Yādigār; in 1563 Yādigār is still mentioned as king of Siberia, while in 1569 we find Kučum. In 1581 Isker was conquered by Russian Cossacks under Yermak; the Cossacks owed their victory to the use of fire-arms, then still unknown in Siberia. Kučum's son Makhmet-Kul (Muḥammad Ḳulī) was sent a prisoner to Moscow. It was not till Yermak fell in an unexpected attack (1586 or 1585) that Isker was vacated by the Russians; but by the year 1587 we find troops, who had just arrived, building the Russian town of Tobolsk near this town. Kučum did not suffer his last defeat at the hands of the Russians till 20 August 1598. He is said to have been slain by the Nogay, with whom he had taken refuge, out of revenge for his father's raids on them. The document used by Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*[2], Leipzig 1893, 146 ff.) dealing with an embassy from Kučum to Bukhārā and the order by ʿAbd Allāh Khān to his governor in Khʷārazm to send teachers of religion to Siberia, cannot be genuine. Khʷārazm was at this date an independent kingdom and not under the rule of the Khān of Bukhārā. The form "Közüm" adopted by Radloff is also not to be found in any historical sources.

Bibliography: Sir H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii, London 1880, 982 ff. and the Russian works used there; Hādī Aṭlāsī, *Sībir taʾrīkhī*, Kazan 1912, 36, 46, 67 ff., and W. Barthold's review in *ZVOIRAO*, xxiii, 421 f. (W. BARTHOLD)

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ḴUḌĀʿA, a group of Arab tribes of obscure origin. The opinions of the genealogists about their origin are contradictory. Some of them assert that they were descendants of Maʿadd, others say that they were from Ḥimyar. Both parties had recourse to traditions and utterances attributed to the Prophet, in which he is said either to have declared that Maʿadd's *kunya* was Abū Ḳuḍāʿa, or to have stated explicitly that Ḳuḍāʿa is a descendant of Ḥimyar. Harmonising traditions reported that the mother of Ḳuḍāʿa was the wife of Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Murra b. Mālik b. Ḥimyar and later married Maʿadd, bringing with her Ḳuḍāʿa, her son from the first marriage; Ḳuḍāʿa was therefore later called Ḳuḍāʿa b. Maʿadd. A contradictory tradition of this kind claimed that Ḳuḍāʿa was the son of Maʿadd; later his mother married Mālik b. ʿAmr al-Ḥimyarī, who adopted the child, Ḳuḍāʿa, and thus he was called Ḳuḍāʿa al Ḥimyarī (see M. J. Kister and M. Plessner, *Notes on Caskel's Ǧamharat an-nasab*, in *Oriens*, xxv-xxvi [1976], 56-7, and references in notes 43-51; also Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Maḏjmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, repr. Beirut 1967, i, 194-5; *Aghānī*, vii, 77-8; al-Hāmdānī, *al-Iklīl*, ed. Muḥammad al-Akwaʿ al-Ḥiwālī, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 180-90). Some traditions say explicitly that the Ḳuḍāʿī tribes related themselves to Maʿadd, but turned to the Ḥimyarī *nasab* under Muʿāwiya's pressure and bribes (see e.g. Kister and Plessner, *op. cit.*, notes 51-7; Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *op. cit.*, i, 194; Aghānī, *loc. cit.*; Iḥsān Naṣṣ, *al ʿAṣabiyya al-ḳabaliyya wa-aṯaruhā fi ʾl shiʿr al-umawī*, Beirut 1964, 340 3; and see al-Ḳuṭāmī, *Dīwān*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrāʾī and Aḥmad Maṭlūb, Beirut 1960, 34, 145, 147, 149; al-Kumayt, *Shiʿr*, ed. Dāwūd Sallūm, Baghdād 1969, nos 162, vv. 10-13, 469 vv. 1-7, 509 vv. 1-4, 523 v. 2, 550 v. 1, 606 v. 1). The name Ḳuḍāʿa is an early one and can be traced in fragments of the old Arab poetry. The tribes recorded as Ḳuḍāʿī were: Kalb [*q.v.*], Djuhayna, Balī, Bahrāʾ [*q.v.*], Khawlān [*q.v.*], Mahra, Khushayn, Djarm, ʿUdhra [*q.v.*], Balḳayn [see AL-ḴAYN], Tanūḵh [*q.v.*] and Salīḥ; the attribution of some of these tribes to Ḳuḍāʿa (like Tanūḵh, Khawlān and Mahra) was the subject of dispute among genealogists. Several of the clans of Ḳuḍāʿa joined other tribes, adopting their pedigree and changing their tribal identity.

Among the prominent divisions of Ḳuḍāʿa one may particularly refer here to Djuhayna and Balī.

1. The vast territory of Djuhayna, controlling the coastal route of the caravans between Syria and Mecca, included the localities of Ṣafrāʾ, Ṣufayna, al Marwa, al Ḥawrāʾ and Yanbuʿ; to them belonged the mountains of Raḍwā ([*q.v.*]; and see M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig 1943, ii, 361, on the legendary story of the hidden *Imām* living in Raḍwā), Adjrad, Aṯhʿar and ʿAzwar and the *wādīs* of Iḍam and al-ʿIṣ (see e.g. al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā staʿdjam*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳā, Cairo 1364/1965; Yāḳūt, s.v. Raḍwa; ʿArrām, *Asmāʾ djibāl Tihāma wa-sukkānihā*, in ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn's *Nawādir al-maḵṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1375/1956, ii, 8, 396-8 and indices; cf. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *Bilād Yanbuʿ*, Riyāḍ n.d., *passim*, and see esp. the supplement: *bilād djuhayna wa-manāziluhā ʾl ḳadīma*, 156-7). Djuhayna seems to have had a clear perception of tribal identity, as can be gauged from a collection of tribal war poetry, the *ayyām Djuhayna*; some fragments of this poetry were recorded as late as the 4th/10th century (see al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Mukāṯhara ʿind al-muḏhākara*, ed. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭandjī, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, i [Ankara 1956], 37-9; see on Bughayt: al-Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif wa ʾl muḵhtalif*, ed. Krenkow, Cairo 1354, 57-8; and see on Salāma b. al-Yaʿbūb, *ibid.*, 53, 165; on the compilation of war poetry of the Ḳuḍāʿī tribe of Balḳayn, *aṯhʿar Banī ʾl Ḳayn*, see *ibid.*, 23-4).

According to a tradition recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī, a Djuhanī, ʿAbd al-Dār b. Ḥudayb (or Hudhayl in another version), intended to build a sanctuary in one of the centres of Djuhayna, Ḳawdam, to rival the Kaʿba of Mecca; however, he encountered opposition on the part of his people who were reluctant to aid him in carrying out his plan (Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pasha, Cairo 1343/1924, 45; Yāḳūt, s.v. Ḳawdam). This report may give us a clue for assessing the attitude of some other tribal groups of Ḳuḍāʿa. Ibn Hishām records a tradition according to which al-Ghawth, who was in charge of certain pilgrimage practices at Mecca, used to announce during one of the services, "O God I am following the example of others; if there is a sin it is Ḳuḍāʿa's" (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. al-Saḳā, al-Abyārī, Shalabī, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 126, l. 1; Guillaume's translation, *The life of Muhammad*, Karachi 1967, 50, of the second hemistich "If that is wrong, the fault is Ḳuḍāʿa's" is inaccurate). It is evident that this declaration points to certain sections within Ḳuḍāʿa who were reluctant to acknowledge the authority of Mecca and the sanctity of the Kaʿba.

The relations of Djuhayna with the Aws and Khazradj seem to have been quite close; some Djuhanīs are recorded as allies of the Medinan families or clans (see e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1962, 444). It is noteworthy that among the Anṣārī group who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance at the ʿAḳaba was an ally of the Banū Salima of Kalbī extraction, who joined Djuhayna and stayed with them, ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays; he gained the honourable titles of *al-muhādjirī*, *al-anṣārī*, *al-salamī*, *al-djuhanī al-ʿaḳabī* (see e.g. Ibn Hishām, ii, 106 sup.; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 22346, f. 73a; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. ʿAlī al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1389/1970, iv, 15-17, no. 4553; Ibn Ḳudāma al-Maḳdisī, *al-Istibṣār fi nasab al-ṣaḥāba min al-anṣār*, ed. ʿAlī Nuwayhid, Beirut 1392/1972, 166-8; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, ed. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1380/1960, 869-70, no. 1477; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-aṯhrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullāh, Cairo 1959, i, 249). It was ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays who asked the Prophet on which night he should come to Medina from his abode in al-Aʿrāf during Ramaḍān, and the Prophet bade him come on the night of 27 Ramaḍān; this night is therefore named "The Night of the Djuhanī". It refers, of course, to the *laylat al-ḳadr* (see e.g. *al-Aghānī*, xvii, 133; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *op. cit.*, 870).

On the Day of Buʿāth [*q.v.*], Djuhayna fought on the side of the Khazradj (*Aghānī*, xv, 162-3; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, Beirut 1956, ii, 602), but on the eve of the encounter of *Badr al-mawʿid* they were said to have hurried to Medina (together with Balī) as allies of the Aws (al-Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, Oxford 1966, 385, l. 11).

When the Prophet settled in Medina, he was, of course, concerned to establish peaceful relations with its neighbours, Djuhayna. Djuhayna, making a careful assessment of the fundamental change in the situation in Medina with the advent of the Prophet, were eager to secure their position in the new structure of power. According to some traditions, a delegation of Djuhayna came to the Prophet in Medina, pointed out that the Prophet alighted

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"among them" (*bayna aẓhurinā*, i.e. in the area controlled by them) and requested him to conclude with them an agreement of mutual security (*fa-awṯhiḳ lanā ḥattā naʾmanakā wa-taʾmananā*). This treaty was indeed agreed upon between the Prophet and Djuhayna. A peculiar aspect of this treaty was the tacit agreement by the Prophet for Djuhayna not to convert to Islam; this is clearly indicated in the account about the treaty, *wa-lam yuslimū*. The implementation of the treaty occurred a short time after its conclusion; the Prophet sent a troop of less than hundred warriors to raid a tribal group of Kināna which dwelt in the neighbourhood of Djuhayna. When the Muslim warriors realised that the Kinānīs outnumbered them, they retreated asking refuge with Djuhayna. When the Djuhanīs interrogated them as to why they had gone out fighting in the holy month of Radjab, they justified their deed by mentioning that they were driven out from the *Ḥaram* (of Mecca) during the holy month. The account further tells about dissension among the Muslim warriors; a group of them wanted to remain in the place where they were staying, whilst another one planned to return to the Prophet to obtain a decision from him. When this group met the Prophet, he expressed his anger about the division that had occurred within the expedition, which having left in unity returned divided. He then appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaḥsh as the commander of the troop; ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaḥsh was thus the first appointed *amīr* in Islam (Ibn Abī Shayba, *Taʾrīḵh*, Ms. Berlin 9409 = Sprenger 104, ff. 28b-30a; cf. Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, vi, 66-7, with an essential variant, that the Djuhanīs converted to Islam after the conclusion of the treaty; and see al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUthmān, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 304-5 [the commander of the first troop, dispatched by the Prophet, was Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳās]; Ibn Djunghul, *Taʾrīḵh*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 5912, i, 229b).

The reports about the first cases of co-operation between Djuhanīs and the nascent Muslim community at Medina, though sometimes divergent or even contradictory, point clearly to the period preceding the battle of Badr and are connected with the earliest attempts of the Prophet at impeding the free traffic of the Ḳuraysh caravans. The detachments dispatched by the Prophet were relatively small and served a twofold purpose: that of reconnoitring in case a greater force of the enemy made an appearance, and of an attacking troop in case they met with a smaller division of the enemy. It was essential in such a situation to have at their disposal a territory with a friendly population both for military enterprises and as a resort to which the force could retreat in safety. The treaty with the Djuhanīs was indeed successful, and enabled the Prophet to launch his first attacks against some Kinānī allies of Ḳuraysh; the expeditions operated indeed in the territory controlled by Djuhayna.

Furthermore, some Djuhanīs carried out certain subtle and responsible duties for the Prophet's troops: Basbas b. ʿAmr and ʿAdī b. Abī 'l-Zaghbāʾ (both allies of the Anṣārī clans) served as spies for the Muslim troops (see e.g. Ibn Ḥazm, *Djawāmiʿ al-sīra*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, Aḥmad Shākir, Cairo n.d., 110; Ibn Hishām, index; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1280, i, 178 ult.-179; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, i, 288, no. 640, iv, 474, no. 5486; al-Wāḳidī, 40-1; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 289). Another Djuhanī, Kashad, granted shelter to two other spies of the Prophet, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Saʿīd b. Zayd; he misled the men of the Ḳurashī caravan who inquired about the spies sent by the Prophet. After the departure of the Ḳurashī caravan, Kashad accompanied the two spies to Turbān, where he met the Prophet; the Prophet wanted to grant him Yanbūʿ (as an *iḳṭāʿ* or fief), but Kashad advised the Prophet to grant it to one of his relatives (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 19-20; Ibn Ḥadjar, v, 590, no. 7409; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 239; al-Māḳrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʾ*, ed. Maḥmūd Shākir, Cairo 1941, i, 62). Another Djuhanī, Madjdī b. ʿAmr, performed an even more complicated service for the Muslim detachment; he interposed between the small Muslim force under the command of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the Ḳurashī caravan escorted by 300 Ḳurashī riders under the command of Abū Djahl (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 9-10, 40-1; al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 302; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 446; idem, *Djawāmiʿ*, 101, cf. 110; al-Maḳrīzī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 51-2; Ibn Hishām, ii, 245, 269). Madjdī succeeded in accomplishing his task as he was an ally (*ḥalīf*, *muwādiʿ*) of both parties (i.e. of the Muslim party and the Ḳurashīs). It is noteworthy for the assessment of the personality of Madjdī and the reliability of the traditions that some reports state that he did not convert to Islam (see e.g. al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-ladunniyya*, Cairo 1325, i, 390).

The reports about the participation of Djuhanīs in the first encounters of the Prophet with Ḳuraysh seem to be sound, and are confirmed by a tradition recorded by al-Ṭabarānī, stating that the first tribe to fight on the side of the Prophet was Djuhayna (al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Awāʾil*, Ms. Br. Mus., Or. 1530, f. 196b).

Some factors which motivated Djuhayna in concluding the treaty with the Prophet can be deduced from a report recorded by al-Samhūdī and al-Fayrūzābādī; the Prophet alighted at Dhu 'l-Marwa; Djuhanī people assembled at the place from the mountains and the plains and complained of being pressed by alien people, who were trying by force to get hold of their wells. Then the Prophet granted the people of Djuhayna the lands of Dhu 'l-Marwa, forbade them to be treated with iniquity and announced that the angel Djibrīl ordered him to consider Djuhayna as his allies (al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, 1305-6; al-Fayrūzābādī, *al-Maghānim al-muṭāba fī maʿālim ṭāba*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1389/1969, 379). It is plausible that this utterance of the Prophet confirmed Djuhayna's rights to their landed property and formed a warning for tribal groups to refrain from transgressing on the wells (sc. wells and other property) of Djuhayna, as they were the allies of the Prophet and their rights would be defended by the Prophet. The lands of Dhu 'l-Marwa were in fact granted by the Prophet to a man from Djuhayna (see Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1380/1960, i, 271; see on ʿAwsadja b. Ḥarmala, Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 216; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iv, 739, no. 6093; on Dhū 'l-Marwa see al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. Marwa).

The Prophet concluded several treaties with the various tribal groups of Djuhayna. Some of these treaties can be traced to the very early period of the Prophet's stay at Medina; they do not contain any stipulation as to conversion to Islam. There are, however, some treaties which may be attributed to a later period, when conversion to Islam became obligatory, and include instructions concerning the religious duties to be performed (cf. Ibn Saʿd, i,

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270-1). A tradition recorded by Ibn Saʿd (i, 333) says that a delegation of the Prophet to Medina; this story may, however, refer to a unit of Djuhayna, and certainly not to the whole tribe.

The early conversion of several groups of Djuhayna and another Ḳuḍāʿī group, the Aslam, is reflected in some traditions attributed to the Prophet, in which Djuhayna is counted among the tribal groups surpassing (in virtues) the great tribes of Asad, Ghaṭafān, Tamīm and ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa (see e.g. al-Ḥumaydī, *Musnad*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut-Cairo 1381, ii, no. 1048; ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *al-Muṣannaf*, ed. al-Aʿẓamī, Beirut 1392/1972, xi, 47, no. 19877; al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿdjam al-ṣaghīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUthmān, Cairo 1388/1968, i, 54, ii, 151). Only few cases of opposition by some units of Djuhayna against the Muslim commonwealth of Medina are known (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 774-5; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1969, iii, 32, about the expedition of Abū ʿUbayda). When the Prophet set out for al-Ḥudaybiya, some nomad Djuhanīs were disinclined to respond to his summons and to join him, fearing that the Muslims might be defeated by the Ḳurashī forces (see e.g. Mudjāhid, *Tafsīr*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭāhir al-Sūratī, Beirut n.d., 601 inf.; Muḳātil, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Aḥmet II, 74/II, ff. 160b, 166b; al-Wāḳidī, 574, 619; al-Nawawī al-Djāwī, *Marāḥ labīd*, Cairo 1305, ii, 305 inf.; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1387/1967, xvi, 268, 348; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, Cairo 1314, vi, 72-73).

Djuhayna appeared as a strong force of 800 warriors and 50 riders (or 1400 warriors according to Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 65 sup.) on the expedition for the conquest of Mecca; four banners were borne by its leaders (see e.g. al-Wāḳidī, 799, 820, 896; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Hyderabad 1390/1970, xvii, 78, no. 199; and see Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, ii, 445, no. 2549, ii, 604 sup., no. 2897, vi, 165, no. 8098; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 124; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 871-2). The Djuhanī Rāfiʿ b. Makīth was appointed by the Prophet as tax-collector (*muṣaddiḳ*) of his tribe (al-Wāḳidī, 1073). A number of Djuhanīs emigrated to Medina; the Prophet himself fixed the place of the tribal mosque of Djuhayna in Medina (Ibn Saʿd, i, 333).

Djuhayna remained faithful to Islam after the death of the Prophet (cf. al-Wāḳidī, 1122) and favourable utterances attributed to the Prophet emphasised their virtues. The Prophet is said to have considered Djuhayna among his *mawālī* (see e.g. al-ʿAynī, *ʿUmdat al-ḳārī*, Cairo 1348, xvi, 75-6; al-Munāwī, *Fayḍ al-ḳadīr*, Beirut 1391/1972, iv, 516, no. 6122). The Prophet is said to have recommended seeking refuge in the mountains of Djuhayna during the periods of strife, *fitan* (see e.g. al-Bakrī, 154; Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *Abū Alī al-Hadjarī*, Riyāḍ 1388/1968, 192; and see the utterance of the Prophet in Ibn Saʿd, i, 333). In an alleged utterance, the Prophet is said to have recommended marrying Djuhanī women (Ibn Ḥibbān, *Kitāb al-Madjrūḥīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Beg al-Nakshbandī, Hyderabad 1390/1970, ii, 10). A peculiar tradition attributed to the Prophet forbids anyone to harm Djuhayna, saying "he who harms Djuhayna harms me, and he who harms me harms God"; this utterance was instantly denied when transmitted to Muʿāwiya (al-Āmidī, *al-Muʾtalif*, 60, no. 147).

Djuhayna participated, together with other groups of Ḳuḍāʿa, in the conquest of Egypt; some of them settled in Fusṭāṭ (cf. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, New Haven 1922, index). Djuhanīs lived in Manfalūṭ and Asyūṭ. After clashes with other tribal groups, Djuhayna migrated to Upper Egypt and settled in the region of Ikhmīm during the Fāṭimid period; they became one of the powerful Arab tribes of Egypt (see Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān wa 'l-iʿrāb ʿammā fī arḍ Miṣr min al-aʿrāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd ʿĀbidīn, Cairo 1961; and see the researches of ʿĀbidīn, in *ibid.*, 77-8). Groups of Djuhayna penetrated in the 8th/14th century into the Christian kingdom of Nubia and got mastery over it. From Nubia, Djuhayna continued to push forward into the Sudan and mixed with the native tribes (see C. H. Becker, *Zur Geschichte des östlichen Sudan*, in *Isl.*, i, 153-77; idem, *EI*[1] art. *Djuhaina*; F. C. Thomas Jr., *The Juhaina Arabs of Chad*, in *MEJ* [1959], 142-55; von Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, ii, 359). In the Djuhanī territories of the Arab peninsula, the different sections of that tribe became controlled by the descendants of ʿAlī, who succeeded in acquiring a great deal of landed property in these regions. Nevertheless, the various branches of Djuhayna succeeded in keeping their identity during the centuries. Although wavering at the beginning of the First World War, the majority of the tribe followed the sons of the *Sharīf* Ḥusayn; later, they changed attitude and became loyal subjects of the Saʿūdī dynasty (see von Oppenheim, ii, 360). In recent times, they have been exerting themselves in developing their region (see Ḥamad al-Djāsir, *Bilād Yanbuʿ*, *passim*).

2. To the north of the territory of Djuhayna was the region of Balī, another branch of Ḳuḍāʿa. Starting at Wādī Iḍam, their usual habitations extended far to the north, including the places of Shaghab, Badā and Taymāʾ (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, 516; von Oppenheim, ii, 315, 352-3). The Ḳuḍāʿī tribal groups of Balī, Djuhayna and ʿUdhra migrated, according to tradition, to the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā in which Jewish settlers cultivated the soil, dug the wells and planted palm-trees. According to an agreement between the Jewish settlers and these Ḳuḍāʿī groups, the Jews undertook to give them a certain payment; in return Balī, Djuhayna and ʿUdhra were under obligation to give protection to the Jewish settlements against the Bedouin tribes, including other Ḳuḍāʿī units (see Yāḳūt, s.v. al-Ḳurā; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, i, 43). The stipulations of this agreement remained valid until the advent of Islam; then the ʿUdhrī Djamra b. al-Nuʿmān visited the Prophet and was given by him a grant of land. The Jewish settlers of the family of ʿUrayḍ (or ʿArīḍ) were allowed by the Prophet to stay in their places; they were granted by the Prophet the privilege of receiving a certain annual payment (see Ibn Saʿd, i, 279; al-Bakrī, i, 44; cf. W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 107-8). Some clans of Balī got involved in internal fighting; one of the fighting groups, the Banū Ḥishna, was compelled to seek refuge with the Jewish settlers of Taymāʾ, and at their demand converted to Judaism. Some of these refugees left later for Medina and embraced Islam at the advent of the Prophet (see al-Bakrī, i, 29). A corroborating report counts among the Jewish tribal groups at Medina three groups from Balī (see Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, ii, 596; and cf. al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, i, 162-3, 194, 200, 223). Some traditions, in reporting of the migration of the Balawī clans to Medina, remark that they became allies (*ḥulafāʾ*) of the Aws and Khazradj (see e.g. al-Bakrī, i, 28; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh ʿalā*

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ḳabāʾil al-ruwāt, Nadjaf 1386/1966, 128). The position of Balī at Medina and their status can be gauged from the accounts about the ʿAḳaba meeting, reporting that seven members out of the seventy Anṣārī group of delegates, who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance, were of Balawī descent (ʿUwaym b. Sāʿida [on whom see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 241; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istiʿāb*, 1248, no. 2052; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 158; cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iv, 745 inf., no. 6116], Maʿn b. ʿAdī [on whom see al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, 241; Ibn Ḳudāma, *al-Istibṣār*, 297; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iv, 401], Khadīdj b. Uways [on whom see al-Balādhurī, i, 249; Ibn Hishām, ii, 106], Abu 'l-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān [see on him: al-Balādhurī, i, 240; Ibn Ḳudāma, *op. cit.*, 228], Abū Burda b. Niyār [on whom see Ibn Hishām, ii, 198; al-Balādhurī, i, 241; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, i, 28 inf.], al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAmr [or b. ʿIṣr, on whom see Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, v, 27; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 443], Yazīd b. Thaʿlaba [on whom see al-Balādhurī, i, 251; Ibn Ḳudāma, 202; al-Samhūdī, i, 228; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, vi, 650]. However, the Balawī descent of some of these persons is put in question in some of the sources). Balawī tribesmen took part in the battles between the Prophet and Ḳuraysh on the side of the Prophet, and names of Balawī warriors can be found in the lists of those who were killed in the encounters. The traditions mention a peculiar letter of the Prophet sent to a Balawī group, the Banū Djuʿayl. According to this letter, the Prophet granted to them the privileges of being taxed no more than once a year and of not having to gather with their live stock in the tax-collection centres (*lā yuḥsharūn wa-lā yuʿsharūn*; this explanation given by Ibn Saʿd seems however to be uncertain: there are interpretations commenting that *ḥashr* and *ʿashr* refer to exemption from being levied and taxed); they were also appointed by the Prophet as tax-collectors of some other tribes. They were given the status of Ḳurashīs, as they were allies of the ʿAbd Manāf (see Ibn Saʿd, i, 270-1; Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, 111). The favourable conditions granted to the Banū Djuʿayl were probably intended to gain the loyalty of a tribal group allied with Ḳuraysh, securing their control over other tribal groups for the benefit of the Muslim community.

The expedition against the Balī sent in 8 AH was intended to gain their allegiance and their succour for the Muslim community; it was essential for the latter to secure the co-operation of the Balī who dwelt in the northern regions of the peninsula, who controlled the road to Medina and Mecca, and of whom some members were in the service of the Byzantine army; the commander of the troop which fought the Muslim force at Muʾta was a Balawī (see al-Wāḳidī, 760). It was a shrewd decision of the Prophet to appoint ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, whose mother was from Balī, as commander of the Muslim force (*ibid.*, 770); the expedition was also directed at the Mahra and Balḳayn, two Ḳuḍāʿī tribes sojourning in the region of Balī. In 9 A.H. the Prophet met the delegation of Balī, who embraced Islam (see e.g. Ibn Saʿd, i, 330; al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib*, iv, 57-8; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Zād al-maʿād*, Beirut n.d., iii, 49).

The forces of Balī played an important role in the conquest of Egypt; ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ fought under the banner of Balī (see Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, i, 62). ʿUmar established the pay of Balī warriors as equal to that of Muḍar, Kalb and Ṭayyiʾ, sc. 300-400 *dirhams*; it was lower than that of the Yemenī tribes because they were closer to the places of migration (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-ʿUthmāniyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1374/1955, 212). When ʿUmar was informed that a man from Balī summoned his people in Syria by the battle-cry *yā Ḳuḍāʿa*, he ordered a third of Ḳuḍāʿa to be removed to Egypt; as Balī formed a third part of Ḳuḍāʿa, they were indeed transferred to Egypt (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, 116; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān*, 29). It was a Balawī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUdays, a Companion of the Prophet, who was at the head of a troop of riders in revolt against ʿUthmān. He was later imprisoned by Muʿāwiya, and was killed on his flight from the prison (see al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, Hyderabad 1963, ii, 324, Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, iii, 309-10; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iv, 334, no. 5166; Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Aṣhʿarī al-Mālikī, *al-Tamhīd wa 'l-bayān fī maḳtal al-shahīd ʿUthmān*, ed. Maḥmūd Yūsuf Zāyid, Beirut 1964, index).

Balī settlements are mentioned in the regions of Aḳhmīm, Asyūṭ and Ushmūn; they were expelled by Fāṭimid troops and were compelled to move to the south. In the 8th/14th century the Balī entered together with Djuhayna, the Sudān and contributed considerably to the islamisation and arabisation of the native tribes of the Bedja and the Baḳḳāra [*q.vv.*]; the Arabic language is known among the Bedja even today as "Balawiyyat", i.e. the language of Balī.

In the Arabian peninsula, the Balī played during the First World War an important role in the conflict between the *Sharīf* Ḥusayn and the Turkish authorities, finally (in 1918) following the lead of the sons of the *Sharīf* Ḥusayn.

Some groups of Balī joined the new régime in the Ḥidjāz in 1925 and became loyal subjects of Saʿūdī Arabia; but some rebellious units of Balī took refuge in the kingdom of Trans-Jordan. They crossed the borders at ʿAḳaba and raided, together with other rebels, the northern districts of Saʿūdī Arabia in 1932, but were defeated by the Saʿūdī forces (cf. von Oppenheim, ii, 354).

In Spain descendants of the Balī tribe lived in the region of Cordova or Ḳurṭuba and it was reported that they excelled in hospitality. They were unable to speak Romance (*al-laṭīniyya*), and spoke only Arabic, according to Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 443.

Bibliography: given in the article essentially, but see also W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885, 8-9, 155, 246-9, and H. Lammens, *EI*¹ art. s.v.

(M. J. KISTER)

ḴUDĀMA B. DJAʿFAR AL-KĀTIB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, ABU 'L-FARADJ, philologist, historian, and one of the first scholars to introduce the systematic study of the figures of speech in Arabic literature. The date of his birth is nowhere mentioned and may have been as early as around the year 260/873-4. He died at an uncertain date which is variously given as "during the reign of al-Muḳtadir" (i.e. not later than 320/932), 328/939-40, and 337/948. The dates "shortly after 300" and 310 cannot be correct (see below).

Almost every aspect of Ḳudāma's biography, his work, and his personality as a scholar raises delicate problems which cannot be fully discussed, let alone answered, in the context of this article. The only data which are certain, or at least have not been questioned, are (a) that he converted from Christianity to Islam during the reign of al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8); (b) that he held unimportant positions in various *dīwāns* of the central administration in Baghdad till he won an appointment in Shawwāl

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297/910, or shortly thereafter, to the *madjlis al-zimām* in the *dīwān al-mashrik* when Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*] appointed his son, al-Muḥassin, as head of that office (thus according to Yāḳūt, vi, 205, whose account however contradicts reports that al-Muḥassin was in charge of the *dīwān al-maghrib*); (c) that he was alive in 320/932; and (d) that he was the author of a *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, which has survived in part. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the famous and often-quoted *Kitāb Naḳd al-shi'r* was written by Ḳudāma, since al-Muṭarrizī [*q.v.*] in his commentary on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (quoted in the introduction to the edition of Ḳudāma's *Djawāhir*, 13), who lived three centuries later, is the only author to mention that the *Naḳd* was sometimes attributed to Ḳudāma's father.

The *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* does not have a biography of Ḳudāma. It only mentions (vii, 205) one Dja'far b. Ḳudāma b. Ziyād whom the Khaṭīb describes as a learned and distinguished secretary. The Khaṭīb also mentions that Dja'far wrote books dealing with the secretarial art as well as other subjects, that he was often quoted as an authority by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, the author of the *Aghānī*, and was himself a pupil of, among others, Ḥammād, the son of the famous Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī. Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 130) states that Ḳudāma's father, Dja'far, was a man without scholarly distinction, and this statement is repeated by Yāḳūt, who clearly borrowed it from Ibn al-Nadīm. Since Yāḳūt (ii, 412-15) also has a fairly elaborate biography of Dja'far b. Ḳudāma b. Ziyād al-Kātib (he adds the *kunya* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, cf. *Aghānī*³. x, 281, l. 7) he apparently did not believe that this Dja'far b. Ḳudāma was the father of our author, since otherwise he would have noticed the discrepancy between the facts as they appear from this biography and the characterisation of Ḳudāma's father as a man without learning (if the "poet-secretary", Dja'far b. Ḳudāma, mentioned in the *Fihrist*, 168, l. 7, is identical with the scholar mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* and in Yāḳūt, Ibn al-Nadīm must have held the same view). Yāḳūt's contemporary, al-Muṭarrizī does not, however, hesitate to identify the scholar mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* as the father of Ḳudāma. The question is of considerable interest, since, according to the *Aghānī*³ (x, 280-5, xii, 52), Dja'far b. Ḳudāma [b. Ziyād al-Kātib in several places in the *Aghānī*] was a close friend of Ibn al-Mu'tazz [*q.v.*], the author of the *Kitāb al-Badī'*. Yet Ḳudāma is reported to have written a book to refute Ibn al-Mu'tazz (according to the version of the title of the book in Yāḳūt, in order to refute Ibn al-Mu'tazz's views on the poet Abū Tammām) and makes no mention of his predecessor in the *Naḳd*, even though some of the subject matter is the same and may even have been borrowed by Ḳudāma from the *Kitāb al-Badī'* (see *Naḳd*, introd., 29-30). Ḳudāma also fails to use the term *badī'*, but here the explanation may be that, unlike Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Ḳudāma was not concerned with the identification of the figures of speech to which this term was applicable, and that the practice of using the term as a collective for figures of speech had not yet been established (cf. *Kitāb al-Badī'*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, London 1935, 57, l. 15-58, l. 3, and S. Bonebakker, *Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣba'ʿs text of the Kitāb al-Badī'*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, ii [1972], 89-90). One could also suggest that the *Naḳd* was written shortly after the abortive attempt to bring Ibn al-Mu'tazz to the throne and that Ḳudāma thought it wiser not to make any reference to the unfortunate "one-day caliph". His attack on Ibn al-Mu'tazz could have been written in the same period as an attempt to dissociate himself from his famous predecessor. Still, the possibility remains that there were two personalities by the name of Dja'far b. Ḳudāma who could easily be confused. The first would have been a member of a Christian family and a professional secretary who occupied a minor position in the central administration, in which he was succeeded by his son, Ḳudāma; the second a Muslim official who enjoyed a considerable reputation as a scholar, distinguished himself as a poet, and won the favour of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, of Ibn al-Mu'tazz's champion, the vizier 'Alī b. 'Īsā (see below), and later of 'Alī b. 'Īsā's rival, the vizier Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. al-Furāt (see Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Tuḥfat al-umarā' fī ta'rīkh al-wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Beirut 1904, 211-12; Yāḳūt, ii, 414, ll. 9-10). It is curious that the *Aghānī* nowhere mentions that Dja'far b. Ḳudāma was a Christian, and even suggests in two places that his name was Dja'far b. Muḥammad b. Ḳudāma (³x, 131, note and xxiii, 115). That both this Dja'far and Ḳudāma were acquainted with members of the Ibn al-Furāt family and with the vizier 'Alī b. 'Īsā [*q.v.*] may be due to the fact that both of them pursued the same type of official career (for 'Alī b. 'Īsā and Dja'far, see Yāḳūt, ii, 413, ll. 16-18, and for 'Alī b. 'Īsā and Ḳudāma, see below). Similarly, the fact that Dja'far and Ḳudāma distinguished themselves as men of letters would account for their reliance on the same sources: Ḳudāma, in his *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, used the same sources as Ibn Khurradādhbih [*q.v.*] (see de Goeje's ed., introd., xxii). Dja'far was acquainted with the same Ibn Khurradādhbih, as is shown by an *isnād* in the *Aghānī*³, xxii, 201, l. 6. It appears certain that Ḳudāma knew a definition of the *ishāra* [*q.v.*] by Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī and a definition of the *taḳsīm* by the same scholar (see Bonebakker, *Notes on the Kitāb Nadrat al-Ghrīd*, Istanbul 1968, 18-19; idem, *Materials for the History of Arabic Rhetoric*, in *AIUON*, Suppl. no. 4 = vol. xxxv [1975], 36, 45, 48-50; cf. also *Naḳd*, introd., 26, ll. 17-21). Dja'far was a pupil of Isḥāḳ's son, Ḥammād. Less likely to be coincidental—and therefore to be considered an argument in favour of al-Muṭarrizī's identification—is the acquaintance of the two authors with the family of the Ṭāhirids (see *Materials*, 36-7; *Aghānī*³, v, 390, xi, 337, xviii, 128). Finally there is strong evidence that the author of the *Aghānī*, who related many traditions from Dja'far, also knew Ḳudāma's work and may even have met him in person (see *Notes*, 17-18, 27-9; *Materials*, 39, 51). If al-Muṭarrizī is correct, one could suggest that Ibn al-Nadīm had wrongly identified a certain Abū Ḳudāma as the father of our author. This Abū Ḳudāma appears in al-Marzubānī's *al-Muwashshaḥ* (Cairo 1385/1965, 572) as a *kātib* who composed bad verse (cf. also an anecdote on a certain Ibn Ḳudāma whom Yāḳūt, ii, 414-5 is apparently unable to identify, and al-Ṣūlī, *Kitāb al-Awrāḳ: Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa-'l-Muttaḳī*, ed. J. Heyworth Dunne, Cairo 1354/1935, 212-13).

The date 337/948 for Ḳudāma's death which is reported by Ibn al-Djawzī (*al-Muntaẓam*, vi, 363) and repeated by others, is rejected by Yāḳūt (vi, 204). Yāḳūt also rejects a statement by an unnamed commentator on the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī who makes Ḳudāma a secretary of the Buwayhids. He argues that Ḳudāma was a contemporary of Tha'lab (*adraka zamana Tha'labin*), al-Mubarrad, Abū Sa'īd al-Sukkarī, Ibn Ḳutayba, and other scholars of the same generation. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm* (Cairo 1348, iii, 297-8) goes further and says

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explicitly that Ḳudāma was a pupil of al-Mubarrad, and according to Ibn al-Djawzī, he consulted Thaʿlab; but in the *Naḳd* there is evidence only of a personal acquaintance between Ḳudāma and Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) (*Naḳd*, text, 35, 44, 45, 102, 115, 117, introd., 23-9). If Ḳudāma was indeed a pupil of Abū Saʿīd al-Sukkarī (d. at the latest 275/888), this would mean that he was born around 260, which would not necessarily conflict with the date reported by Ibn al-Djawzī. Yāḳūt offers the year 320/932 as the only reliable *terminus post quem*. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, to whom Yāḳūt refers, mentions that in that year Abū ʿAmr (*sic*; read Abū ʿUmar wa-?) Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar attended a famous disputation between Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī and Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus in the presence of Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Faḍl b. Djaʿfar b. al-Furāt (in 326 according to Abū Ḥayyān's *Imtāʿ*, Cairo 1373/1953, i, 108, but cf. i, 129, l. 1; in 320 according to his *Muḳābasāt*, Cairo 1347/1929, 69, and Yāḳūt, iii, 106 and vi, 204, see also *JRAS* [1905], 82, 84-5). According to a second report by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (*Imtāʿ*, ii, 145-6), Ḳudāma showed (*ʿaraḍa*) his *Kitāb al-Kharādj* to the vizier ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā in that year.

The two other dates for Ḳudāma's death, "during the reign of al-Muḳtadir" and 328, appear respectively in al-Suyūṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ* (Cairo 1351, 256 = Cairo 1383/1964, 386) and in the *Dhayl taʾrīkh Baghdād* of Ibn al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*] as quoted in an unedited section of the *Wāfī bi 'l-Wafayāt* of al-Ṣafadī (see Ṭabāna, 4 and 71).

Finally, mention should be made of de Slane's assertion that Ḳudāma belonged to a Christian family from Baṣra, possibly based on a statement by al-Idrīsī, who mentions one Ḳudāma al-Baṣrī among the sources which he used in compiling his monumental geography (*Opus geographicum*, i, Naples-Rome 1970, 6).

It is not easy to determine the range of Ḳudāma's scholarly interests on the basis of the titles of his works. So much seems certain that he was competent as a philosopher and commentator on Aristotle, as well as a historian, a philologist, and an expert on administration. To the list in the *Fihrist*, 130, 250, we should add a *Zahr al-rabīʿ fi 'l-akhbār* mentioned by al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ed. Ch. Pellat, i, 15-6) and Yāḳūt, and an *al-Ḥayawānāt* (*Djawābāt*, *Djawābān*?) listed by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (*al-Baṣāʾir wa 'l-dhakhāʾir*, Cairo 1373/1953, 6). Lists of titles given by later authors are probably unreliable (see below). Only three works have survived: (a) the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*. The full title of this work is no doubt *Kitāb al-Kharādj wa-ṣināʿat* (or *ṣanʿat*) *al-kitāba*. Not only is this the form in which the title appears in the unique manuscript of this work in the Köprülü Library (the manuscript in Paris is a late copy), but it also agrees with the contents of the work as far as they are known (Ṭabāna, 81-4; the *Ṣināʿat al-kuttāb* quoted by al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 481, must be a work by Abū Djaʿfar al-Naḥḥās quoted by al-Ḳalḳashandī elsewhere in the *Ṣubḥ*). Only the second half of the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* (the 5th to the 8th *manzila*) have survived. They deal not only with a wide range of technical matters, sc. the various departments which constitute the central government, taxation and its historical, geographical and legal foundations, etc., but also give attention to linguistic usage, literary traditions, and the proper forms for conducting official correspondence. The first half had a section (the 3rd *manzila*) especially devoted to literary rhetoric (see Bonebakker, *A Fatimid manual for secretaries*, in *AIUON*, xxxvii [1977], 328), on which ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (quoted in the *Imtāʿ*) had made some interesting observations. Some prose examples quoted on Ḳudāma's authority may go back to this section, and its fame may have earned Ḳudāma his proverbial reputation as a master of eloquence (see al-Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. de Sacy, 9; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xi, 306; al-Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1388/1968, ii, 670). There is no satisfactory explanation for the statement of the *Fihrist* (repeated by others) that the book consisted of eight *manāzil*, to which Ḳudāma himself added a ninth (Ṭabāna, 93). This statement conflicts with the testimony of al-Muṭarrizī, who had read the work and found that it had only seven. A note in the Chester Beatty manuscript of the *Fihrist* (quoted on p. 144 of the Tehran ed. of 1391/1971) lends support to al-Muṭarrizī's assertion and suggests that the 8th *manzila* did not originally belong to the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, though it may have been identical with a *Kitāb al-Siyāsa* by Ḳudāma which is also listed in the *Fihrist*. This 8th *manzila* is the only extant section that remains unedited (apart from the historical outline in the 7th *manzila*, which merely copies al-Balādhurī, cf. de Goeje's ed. of the *Kharādj*, xxiii). It is characterised by Rosenthal as a systematic presentation of social and political science and as a *Fürstenspiegel*. De Goeje believes that the *Kitāb al-Kharādj* was written between 316 and 320.

(b) There is no reason to question the authenticity of the *Kitāb al-Alfāẓ* or *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ*, even though al-Muṭarrizī is the only author to mention this work (see *Naḳd*, introd., 7-8, 12-5, 47 note, and the above-mentioned article in *AIUON*, 328-9, 336-7 and notes 34-5, 43). Nor is there any reason to suggest that it was originally perhaps part of the *Kitāb al-Kharādj*. The *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ* lists synonyms and phrases in *sadjʿ* for use by orators and writers of artistic prose, and offers a short introduction on the figures of speech.

(c) The *Kitāb Naḳd al-shiʿr* is intended, as its title says, as a guide for the literary critic. Disregarding the treatise by Ibn al-Muʿtazz and the Introduction to the *Kitāb al-Shiʿr wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ* of Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*], Ḳudāma claims that no book has ever been written that would enable people to distinguish between good and bad poetry. He defines poetry as "metrical, rhymed speech expressing a meaning" (*maʿnā*). This definition in itself cannot be used to distinguish good poetry from bad, but it is possible to set standards for the use of the four constituent elements of poetry implicit in this definition, sc. the *maʿnā* (content), the *lafẓ* (verbal expression of this content, wording), the *wazn* (metre), and the *ḳāfiya* (rhyme) [*q.v.*], and the combination of these elements two by two (the combination of the *wazn* with the *ḳāfiya* need not be considered, since the *ḳāfiya* is part of the *lafẓ* and as such already subject to the metre). In passing, he reminds his readers that the distinction between good and bad poetry does not rest on the moral quality of the theme or on the question whether or not the poet is consistent in the sentiments he expresses, but rather on his skill in the use of the four constituent elements separately and in combination. The success of the poems thus depends on the ratio between good qualities (*nuʿūt*) and defects (*ʿuyūb*) specifically related to these elements or to combinations of these elements. Ḳudāma lists these *nuʿūt* and *ʿuyūb* in separate sections. In the first section he begins by discussing the four elements separately. Speaking of the *maʿnā*, he admits that there are an unlimited number of *maʿānī*, i.e. concepts, ideas, that may come to the

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poet's mind. He will therefore limit himself to the principal "aims" (*aghrāḍ*), i.e. subjects or themes which can be associated with these *maʿānī* and to which the *maʿānī* should correspond; panegyric, satire, elegy, simile, description, and the *nasīb* [*q.v.*] which he sees as an erotic theme. The various figures of speech which come next are interpreted as ornaments pertaining to the *maʿnā* or as successful combinations of the four constituent elements. In the classification of these figures Ḳudāma shows much ingenuity. He has to recognise, however, that there are no figures of speech that can be classified as combinations of *lafẓ* with *wazn* and *maʿnā* with *wazn*: all technically good poetry that adequately expresses the poet's intentions illustrates these two combinations. Specimens of bad poetry are therefore the only illustrations of the principles involved. The section on the defects in poetry follows the arrangement of the section on the good qualities: Ḳudāma examines the faults resulting from a wrong use of the four constituent elements and classifies certain errors under these four elements or the combinations of these elements two by two. He also shows how the figures of speech are sometimes handled incorrectly. In both sections the discussion follows the pattern of term—definition—example found in the *Kitāb al-Badīʿ* and the *Ḳawāʿid al-shiʿr* of Thaʿlab [*q.v.*]; but whereas the two earlier treatises usually do not comment on the examples, Ḳudāma often analyses his examples in detail.

There are some further points in Ḳudāma's presentation that deserve to be mentioned. The following are perhaps the most important: (a) his interest in Greek philosophy which appears, for instance, in his analysis of the function of the four cardinal virtues, *ʿaḳl*, *shadjāʿa*, *ʿadl*, and *ʿiffa* in panegyric, elegy, and satire (he goes on to list other virtues as deriving either from these cardinal virtues themselves or from combinations of these cardinal virtues two by two), from a quotation from Galen's Περὶ ἠθῶν in the chapter on satire, and from arguments based on Aristotle's *Categories* (further details in *Naḳd*, introd., 36-44 and the recent studies cited in the *Bibliography*). There is no clear evidence, however, that he was influenced by the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle; (b) his defence of the hyperbole (*ghuluww*). Ḳudāma quotes an unidentified connoisseur of poetry as saying: "The best poetry is the least truthful" (*aḥsanu 'l-shiʿri akdhabuhū*). He finds that the "Greek philosophers" support this view, but does not attribute the maxim itself to the Greeks (an antecedent of this famous maxim in L. Zolondek, *Diʿbil b. ʿAlī*, Lexington, Kentucky 1961, 128b, 133; cf. also al-Djāḥiz, *Bukhalāʾ*, Cairo 1958, 26-7). Ḳudāma does not go so far that he accepts every form of hyperbole: there must be a link with reality which can be established by using the verb *kāda*, "to be almost . . ." in a paraphrase of the statement, e.g. "You inspire the infidels with fear so that even the seed [of these infidels] fears you before it becomes a creature [in the womb]" can be paraphrased ". . . so that it is almost as though the seed of the enemy fears you . . .", but a prayer to grant immortality to a ruler cannot be justified, since immortality in man is inconceivable (*laysa fī ṭibāʿi 'l-insāni*; he illustrates this rule more clearly when he points out that describing the noise of battle as being so strong that it can be heard as far as a two days' journey is an exaggeration, though it is possib'e in principle that this should happen); (c) his lack of interest in the early ʿAbbāsid poets (*muḥdathūn*). This tendency appears clearly from the above-mentioned list of the "principal aims" from which genres like the love lyric (*ghazal*), the wine poem (*khamriyya*), and the hunting poem (*ṭaradiyya*) are conspicuously absent. Ḳudāma nowhere expresses a categorical judgment. One could suggest therefore that his choice reflects a belief, which was perhaps not uncommon in his days, that ʿAbbāsid poetry did not represent a real break with ancient, that is classical, tradition. Consequently he may not have felt that there was a need to justify his choice. The same may be true of the examples, most of which are taken from ancient poetry, though Ḳudāma occasionally discusses examples by later poets (see *Naḳd*, text, 80-1, 83; for a list of *muḥdathūn* poets quoted in the *Naḳd*, see p. 72 of the article by Kratchkovsky cited in the *Bibl.*).

Ḳudāma may have been more dependent on his predecessors than is apparent at first sight (see *Naḳd*, introd., 22-36). He may have followed Ibn Ḳutayba and Ibn al-Muʿtazz respectively when he discussed the *lafẓ* and the *maʿnā* as independent constituent elements and distinguished between the proper and the erroneous use of the figures of speech. He may have depended on Ibn al-Muʿtazz and on earlier critics for the choice of his terminology and examples. Yet the theory on which he based the framework of his thesis, as well as many aspects of the elaboration of this theory, appear to be unique. However, his system did not provide a sound basis for a theory of literature and quickly fell into oblivion: the four-element scheme was rarely taken over and never in its complete form. The same is true of the distinction between *nuʿūt* and *ʿuyūb* and the system of cardinal virtues. By contrast, those aspects of his work that conformed closely to the system of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and the 2nd and 3rd century scholars who preceded him were readily accepted, in particular his terminology and definitions of the figures of speech. Ḳudāma's figures were combined with those of Ibn al-Muʿtazz and came to be known collectively as *badīʿ*. The exact extent of Ḳudāma's influence is not, however, always easy to determine, since direct references to Ḳudāma are far exceeded by instances of unacknowledged borrowing (*Naḳd*, introd., 44-60). In other cases it is clear that scholars used not only the *Naḳd*, but also the *Kharādjī* (*ibid.*, 57 and 47 note). There is a third category of borrowings where we find scholars borrowing from Ḳudāma without having any direct knowledge of the text they are quoting (ibid., 58; Bonebakker, *Notes*, 16-17 and the above-mentioned article in *AIUON*, 309-10). Parallel to this we find that biographers after the time of Yāḳūt copy out their predecessors or offer erroneous information on the author and his work (see, for instance, al-Sharīshī, *Sharḥ Maḳāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*, Cairo 1372/1952, i, 20).

Ḳudāma's *Naḳd* was the subject of refutations and commentaries, none of which appear to have survived. A complex system of division into sections, chapters, and paragraphs introduced by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] was recently discovered in a manuscript in Tunis (see Bonebakker in a forthcoming article in *RSO*, which also offers minor corrections to the text of his ed.). A work with the title *Naḳd al-nathr*, erroneously attributed to Ḳudāma, was identified in 1949 as the *Kitāb al-Burhān fī wujūh al-bayān* of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān b. Wahb al-Kātib (ed. A. Maṭlūb and Kh. al-Ḥadīthī, Baghdād 1387/1967), though it is occasionally still quoted by its old title [see IBN WAHB in Suppl.]. The Shīʿī bias of this last work may have prompted Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī to include Ḳudāma in his *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-shīʿa* (*al-Ḳarn al-*

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rābiᶜ, Beirut 1390/1971, 221). The attribution to Ḳudāma existed as early as the 6th/12th century (see *Naḳd*, introd., 15-20, 60-1; Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the Tawriya*, The Hague 1966, 48-9 note).

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(S. A. Bonebakker)

AL-ḲUDS, the most common Arabic name for Jerusalem.

A. History

1. The Islamic history of Jerusalem clearly falls into three periods. During the first six hundred years, the possession of the city was contested between Islam and Christianity and between many Islamic princes and factions. After the bloodless and poorly-recorded delivery of the town into the hands of an inconspicuous tribal commander, the history of the period was solemnly inaugurated by the erection of the marvellous Dome of the Rock, the majestic testimony to the Islamic presence in the Holy City; it culminated in the vicissitudes of the Crusades and was concluded by the devastations of the first half of the 7th/13th century, which, with the exclusion of the buildings on the Temple area and the Holy Sepulchre, left Jerusalem a heap of ruins.

The subsequent six hundred years were comparatively uneventful. Jerusalem mostly lived the life of an out-of-the-way provincial town, delivered to the exactions of rapacious officials and notables, often also to tribulations at the hands of seditious *fellaḥīn* or nomads. But, in conformity with the religious policy of the Mamlūks and Ottomans, and with the general spirit of the age, Jerusalem greatly benefited by its holy character. The many Mamlūk buildings still decorating the old city and Sultan Sulaymān's wall encircling it manifest this trend to the present-day visitor.

The modern history of Jerusalem begins with its conquest by Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1831. The reforms started by the son of Muḥammad ᶜAlī could not be ignored by the Ottomans, to whose control the city reverted in 1840. The restrictions imposed on the non-Muslims were alleviated. Many important Christian buildings and institutions were erected both inside and outside the old city. The improved living conditions (albeit still very hard) induced many religious persons to settle in Jerusalem. By about 1880 Jews formed the majority of the population. Jerusalem became the capital of a *mutaṣarrīflīḳ*, whose governor was directly responsible to the government in Istanbul, and by 1920 it was the capital of mandatory Palestine. In December 1949 the State of Israel made it its capital and seat of government (a step not recognised internationally). Fortunately, the war of 1967 and the events following it have not changed the historical character of the old city, while the new city has immensely expanded in every respect and direction. Jerusalem will always live on its past, but at present one feels in it the pulse of an active and vigorous community.

Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ᶜUlaymī, the excellent historian of Jerusalem, who wrote his book *al-Uns al-djalīl bi-taʾrīkh al-Ḳuds wa 'l-Khalīl* in 900/1494-5, rightly observes (p. 6) that besides material of the type of the *faḍāʾil* ("Praises of the excellence of the city"), "ᶜUmar's conquest" and stories about the Dome of the Rock and scholars visiting Jerusalem, little useful about the history of the city had been written before him. He explains this deficiency partly by the interruption of the Muslim tradition by the Christian conquest (232, 262, etc.) and mentions the symbolic fact that Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Makkī, who had compiled a book on the subject, was killed by the Crusaders before completing it (264). The intrinsic reason for the absence of coherent information was, of course, the character of Jerusalem as a holy city which lived on the care lavished on it from outside, rather than being itself of political, administrative or cultural significance. Consequently, the presentation of its history must be one of highlights rather than a continuous account.

I. The first six hundred years

2. *Names.* In early Islam the full name of Jerusalem was *Īliyāʾ madīnat bayt al-maḳdis*, "Aelia, the city of the Temple" (Ṭabarī, i, 2360, l. 15). In practice, Īliyāʾ, or, more commonly, *bayt al-maḳdis*, were used. Īliyāʾ (pronounced in three different ways, Bakrī, *Muᶜjam*, ed. 1945, i, 134, l. 5; 217), is the Roman Aelia, but since this origin was unknown to the Muslim scholars, they suggested various other ex-

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planations, such as the sanctuary of Elijah (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, ed. Huart, iv, 87, l. 8; from Hebrew, since the Ḳur'ānic form of the name is *Ilyās*), or "the House of God" (*Yāh* as name of God is mentioned by Muṭahhar). *Bayt al-maḳdis* is Aramaic *bēth maḳdᵉshā*, "Temple", and was used in this sense by Muslims, e.g. *ʿIḳd al-farīd*, 1321, iii, 290, l. 10: "In the prayer of Ezra this is found: Oh God, from all places you have chosen Īliyā' and from Īliyā'—*bayt al-maḳdis*". Soon, however, the term (pronounced also *bayt al-muḳaddas*, see below) was transferred to the city, while the Temple area was designated by the Arabic equivalent of *bayt al-maḳdis*, sc. *al-ḥaram*.

The common name of Jerusalem, *al-Ḳuds*, still unknown to Ibn Saʿd, Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, the *Aghānī*, the *ʿIḳd al-farīd* and other classics of the 3rd/9th century, underwent a similar development. Muṭahhar, himself a native of Jerusalem, writing in 355/966, mentions the term only once (vi, 91, perhaps a later change), but al-Muḳaddasī, writing *ca.* 375/985, uses it frequently. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (439/1047) states that *al-Ḳuds* was used by the local people. *Al-Ḳuds* is Aramaic *ḳudsha*, which, in the term *ḥarta de-ḳudsha* (e.g. Isaiah, xlviii, 2) was understood not as "city of holiness", but as "city of the sanctuary". This is borne out by the usage of Karaite scholars writing in Jerusalem early in the 10th century, who call the city *bayt al-maḳdis*, but the Temple area *al-ḳuds* (see the lengthy quotation in J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, Philadelphia 1935, ii, 18; cf. also the Geniza [*q.v.*] fragment in S. Assaf, *Texts and studies*, Jerusalem 1946, 21, l. 13). Similarly, in a version of the often-quoted tradition in which the Jewish convert Kaʿb al-Aḥbār tries to induce the caliph ʿUmar to pray north of the Holy Rock, he says to him: "Then the entire *al-ḳuds*, that is, *al-masdjid al-ḥaram* (!) will be before you (Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf al-aḵhiṣṣā'*, Ms. Heb. Univ. Library, fol. 81a, l. 8). It should be noted that, in letters from the 5th/11th century, when Hebrew had replaced Aramaic, Jerusalem was commonly called *ʿīr haḳ-ḳōdesh*, to be understood as "city of the sanctuary".

In accordance with the principle that "the multitude of names proves the excellence of their bearer", *Itḥāf al-aḵhiṣṣa'*, ff. 9b-10b, enumerates seventeen Arabic names of Jerusalem (*Midrash Tehillim*, ed. S. Schechter, 1896, 8-9, has "seventy"). Suyūṭī's list does not include here the Ḳur'ānic expressions taken by the Muslim commentators as denoting Jerusalem, such as *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* (see below), or *mubawwā ṣidḳ*, "the safe abode" (X, 93, cf. *neve ṣedeḳ*, Jeremiah xxxi, 22). *Al-arḍ al-muḳaddasa* (V, 21), "the Holy Land", also was understood as denoting Jerusalem (*Itḥāf*, fol. 188b, l. 9), which is in conformity with Jewish and Christian usage, which often expands the name of the city on the country. This explanation might have influenced the pronunciation of *bayt al-maḳdis* as *bayt al-muḳaddas*.

Various Arabic versions of Hebr. *shālēm* (Ps. lxxvi, 3) and Aram. *Urishlem* (Arabicised *urshalīm*) are found in the sources and even in ancient Arabic poetry (*Sallam*, al-Aʿshā, al-Bakrī, 144, l. 22, 812, l. 17; *Salim*, *Itḥāf*, f. 10a). Whether *dār al-salām*, "abode of peace" (S. Assaf, *Texts*, 108-10, corresponding to Heb. *ʿīr hash-shālōm*, Gottheil-Worrel, *Geniza fragments from the Freer Collection*, New York 1926, 26), found in Geniza letters of the 11th century, was used also by Muslims has not yet been ascertained.

3. *Jerusalem in the Ḳur'ān.* Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly in the Ḳur'ān. But "the city of the sanctuary" certainly was known to the Prophet. Sūra XVII, significantly named both *al-Isrā'* and *Banū Isrā'īl*, in vv. 2-8 clearly refers to the destruction of the first and second temples (called *masdjid* in V, 7) as crucial events in the history of the Banū Isrā'īl. *Al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* in the opening verse of the Sūra is taken by the prevailing Muslim tradition as referring to the sanctuary of Jerusalem. Against this, it has been argued that there was no building on the site of the Temple at the time of the Prophet, that the Holy Land is called in the Ḳur'ān the "nearest" (XXX, 2) and not the farthest (XVII, 1), and that, in general, the verse makes the impression (and is taken thus by Islamic tradition) of an account of a nightly ascension to a heavenly sanctuary (details in the articles of Bevan, Schrieke and Horovitz, cited in MIʿRĀDJ). But knowledge of the state of the site of the Temple or consistency in geographical definition were outside the interests of the Prophet. It may be concluded with reasonable certainty that, at the time when XVII, 1, was combined with XVII, 2-8, the tradition identifying *al-masdjid al-aḳṣā* as the Temple of Jerusalem was already dominant, and that the original meaning of the verse as that of a visionary experience was connected with it in one way or another (cf. "The Jerusalem above", St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, iv, 26).

The situation is similar with regard to the *ḳibla*, or direction of prayer (II, 136-8). Again, Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly, but the Islamic tradition that it was intended by "the first *ḳibla*" is no doubt genuine; since the new *ḳibla*, which satisfied the Prophet's heart, was to the direction of the sanctuary of his native city, it stands to reason that the original one also was oriented to a holy city, and there was none for monotheists except Jerusalem. No "political" reasons, however, should be assumed for this change ("trying to win the Jews", "breaking with the Jews"). One prayed towards Jerusalem because this was the direction of the People of the Book as was known in Medina. It simply was the proper thing to do. When Islam became a separate religion with Mecca as its central sanctuary, the change was natural and religiously cogent.

4. *The Conquest.* The battle of Adjnādayn [*q.v.*] in the summer of 13/634 opened southern Palestine to the conquering Muslims. No siege was laid on Jerusalem, but already in his sermon on Christmas night 634 the aged patriarch Sophronius expressed his grief that it was impossible to proceed from Jerusalem to Bethlehem as usual because of the marauding Arabs. A few days later, in his sermon on Epiphany, he mourned over the bloodshed, the destruction of the monasteries, the plunder of the cities and the burning of the villages by the Saracens, "who boast they would conquer the entire world". Still, four years passed from the Arab invasion of Palestine to the fall of Jerusalem. It came about early in the year 638 (end of 16, or beginning of 17 A.H.), after the decisive battle of the Yarmūḳ [*q.v.*] (Radjab 15/Aug. 636).

The stories about the fall of Jerusalem can be divided into three groups. The ancient and most trustworthy tradition simply reports that the capitulation was arranged with Khālid b. Thābit al-Fahmī, a little-known tribal commander, under the condition that the open country belonged to the Muslims, while the city would not be touched as long as its inhabitants paid the tribute imposed on them (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 139, ll. 4-9). No treaty is mentioned yet. The second type, represented, e.g. by Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 167, and Eutychius, *Annales*, ii, 17, reproduces a treaty,

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but the treaty is very succinct and does not differ much from Balādhurī's version. Later, conditions similar to those made with the Byzantine authorities in Egypt were added and some (but not all) Christian authors added the condition "that no Jew should live with them in Jerusalem". This condition is found also in Ṭabarī, i, 2405, from where several later Muslim writers have copied it. But Ṭabarī's source here was Sayf b. ʿUmar, whose fathomless unreliability has been proved in detail long time ago (J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 3-7) and who tells us, e.g. here, Ṭabarī, i, 2404, about the conquest of Ramla, a city founded by the crown prince Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik eighty years later. A mere look at the treaty produced by Sayf, its wrong date and fantastic witnesses, shows its worthlessness. It is natural, however, that in times of tension, as in 879/1474, when the Mamlūk sultan ordered the rebuilding of a synagogue in Jerusalem, or as from 1929, this treaty served a purpose. From the Christian point of view, it is understandable that some writers wished to preserve Jerusalem as a Christian city, as it was in Byzantine times, but this was hardly in the interests of the Muslims, and their actions proved that such a stipulation never existed.

In addition to these three comparatively old versions, a later one, represented among many others by *Uns*, 225, adds several conditions of the legendary "Covenant of ʿUmar", in which the Christians undertake, *inter alia*, not to speak Arabic. Even more fantastic is Ibn ʿAsākir, ii, 323 (pseudo-Wāḳidī), where the treaty is made with twenty Jews headed by Yūsuf (a scribal error for Yūshaʿ) b. Nūn. This is a "harmonising" legend; a Jew, bearing the same name as the Jewish conqueror of the Holy Land, delivers it into the hands of the Muslims.

5. *The beginnings of Islamisation*. Ṭabarī, i, 2408, ff., and many later Muslim and Christian sources, tell about a visit to Jerusalem by the caliph ʿUmar, but all we have about it are legends whose easily recognisable tendencies betray their worthlessness. According to one school, the caliph was accompanied by Jews who showed him the true site of the Temple, which was concealed by rubble purposely heaped on it by Christians. When the place was cleared and the ubiquitous Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] suggested to ʿUmar to pray behind the Holy Rock so that the two *ḳiblas* should be in front of him (see § 2, above), the caliph refused, since the Muslims should turn towards the Kaʿba alone. This is, of course, one of the many traditions against the *bidʿa* of the overrating of the sanctity of Jerusalem (see § 11, below). According to Christian sources, the caliph visited the churches, but declined to pray in one of them in order to preclude any claims on it by later Muslim generations. This legend was a pious wish which originated at a time when the encroachments of the Muslims, which later became a reality, still were only a menace, see § 7, below. Since the conditions of the surrender safeguarded to the Christians the use of their churches, it is likely that the Temple area, which was largely or entirely unoccupied, served as a place of prayer to the Muslims from the very beginning, and there is no reason to doubt that this was done on order of the ruling caliph ʿUmar.

As far as the ancient sources go, it appears that the early Muslim settlers in Jerusalem were people from Medina, such as Aws, the nephew of the Prophet's court poet Ḥassān b. Thābit. Aws was a disciple of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and himself a pietist, Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 124; his tomb was still known at the time of Mudjīr al-Dīn, *Uns*, 233. Several other Medinese are listed as settlers in Jerusalem by Ibn Saʿd, iii/3, 57; vii/2, 129, l. 13, etc. Among them the famous "companion" ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit, the first Muslim judge in the city (al-Dhahabī, *Duwal al-Islām*, 1364, i, 14) is to be noted. The Anṣār were accounted of Yaman; thus it was natural that the Yemenī auxiliary corps, *al-madad min ahl al-Yaman*, also was stationed there (Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 140, l. 14). Simeon, the father of Muḥammad's Jewish concubine Rayḥāna, settled in Jerusalem and delivered sermons in the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area. He, too, of course, was from Medina (*Uns*, 235).

The strange *ḥadīth* running *ʿimrān bayt al-makdis ḵharāb yaṯrib*, "The building of Jerusalem is the destruction of Medina", might have been originally a *bon mot* on this exodus from the capital of the Ḥidjāz to Jerusalem (which cannot have been more than a trickle); but soon became a standing element in the *malāḥim* literature. (Its continuation: *wa-ḵharāb yaṯrib ḵhurūdj al-malḥama*, "and the destruction of Medina is the beginning of the war of the End of the Days". *Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*, v, 232, 245; Abū Dāwūd, *Malāḥim*, 3; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Sandūbī, ii, 28; Ibn Kathīr, *Nihāyat al-bidāya*, i, 79; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ*, 1955, i, 120; *al-Sirādj al-munīr*, ii, 460, where are further sources).

Muḳaddasī, 171, l. 12 and others report that the caliph ʿUthmān, whose rule began only eight years after the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem, dedicated the revenue from the rich vegetable gardens of Siloam (which, in accordance with the peace settlement, belonged to the Muslims) to the poor of the city. Umm al-Dardāʾ, the wife of the wise *ḳāḍī* of Damascus, spent every year six months in Jerusalem, where "she sat among the poor" (*Uns*, 254). These and similar reports are not necessarily spurious, but may betray early Christian influence.

The Islamic conquest threw the Christian community of the city into complete disarray. The aged patriarch Sophronius died shortly afterwards and no new one was appointed until 706. The further history of the patriarchate of Jerusalem in early Islamic times is almost as obscure as that of the Jewish spiritual leadership in the country during that period. But Jerusalem retained largely its Christian character. As al-Muḳaddasī tells us (182, l. 16 ff.), the Christian holidays regulated the rhythm of the year also for the Muslim population, and through Jerusalem and the hermits populating the mountains in its environment, pious Muslims became acquainted with the ways of Christian ascetism (S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history*, 141, 146).

6. *The Umayyads (19-132/640-750)*. About two years after the fall of Jerusalem, the Umayyad Muʿāwiya was appointed commander of the army operating in Palestine and Syria. He governed these countries for forty years, first as governor, and later as caliph. Jerusalem was the scene of two decisive events in his career. In 38/658, Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, the conqueror of Egypt, concluded there a pact of co-operation, which decided the contest between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in the latter's favour (Ibn Saʿd, iv/2, 2, l. 22 ff.; the text of the agreement seems to be genuine). In Ṣafar-Rabīʿ I 40/July 660 homage was paid to Muʿāwiya as caliph in Jerusalem. A Syriac source, giving this date, reports also that Muʿāwiya prayed on this occasion at Golgotha, Gethsemane and the Tomb of Maria (T. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxix, 95). This was hardly mere politics (*ibid.*, 85), but a manifestation of the chiliastic state of mind of the time, sc. Islam entering into its inheritance of the preceding monotheistic religions.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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During the long rule of Muʿāwiya, the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area, approximately described by bishop Arculfus in *ca.* 680 (see L. Bieler, *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*, clxxv, *Itineraria etc.*, Turnhout 1965, 177), must have taken shape. Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, iv, 87, l. 11, expressly states that Muʿāwiya built the Muslim sanctuary there "after ʿUmar". It stands also to reason that the plan for the erection of the Dome of the Rock, which needed immense preparations, was already made during the protracted and orderly rule of Muʿāwiya. The inscription in the dome bears the year 72/691-2, but the beginning of ʿAbd al-Malik's reign (65-86/685-705) was extremely turbulent. ʿAbd al-Malik had good reasons to make efforts towards the completion of the building, which would show him as the great champion of Islam, but the early years of his caliphate were hardly suited for both conceiving such an enormous undertaking and carrying it out to its very end during a comparatively short period. Contrariwise, Muʿāwiya is known also by his extensive buying and building activities in Mecca (in order to provide shelter for pilgrims and *muḏjāwirūn*), in which he was not followed by later Umayyads, see M. J. Kister, *Some reports concerning Mecca*, in *JESHO*, xv (1972), 84-91.

Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 35-7, Eng. tr. ii, 44-6, expounded the theory that ʿAbd al-Malik, by erecting the Dome of the Rock, tried to divert the Pilgrimage from Mecca, then the capital of his rival ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr, to Jerusalem, and that the many "traditions" in the name of the Prophet in favour or against the sanctity of Jerusalem reflect this political contest for the caliphate. This thesis was generally accepted and has found its way into the textbooks on Islamic history. It cannot be maintained, however. None of the great Muslim historians of the 3rd/9th century who describe the conflict between ʿAbd al-Malik and Ibn Zubayr in utmost detail, nor any of the older geographers, including al-Muḳaddasī, a native of Jerusalem, makes the slightest allusion to such an intention of the Umayyad caliph. On the contrary, for the year 68/687-8, Ṭabarī, ii, 781-3 and others, report expressly that the soldiers of ʿAbd al-Malik's expeditionary force participated in the *ḥaḏjḏj*. They wished to do so even during the very siege of Mecca, a request which Ibn Zubayr naturally had to refuse, Balāḏhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 360. Moreover, it is obvious that ʿAbd al-Malik would not have strengthened, but endangered his position by trying to divert the *ḥaḏjḏj* from the holy sites expressly mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, and this after the *ḳibla* had been emphatically turned away from Jerusalem. By abolishing one of the five pillars of Islam, he would have made himself a *kāfir*, against whom the *ḏjihād* was obligatory. The two older sources that mention the allegation that ʿAbd al-Malik, by constructing the Dome of the Rock, tried to attract the *ḥaḏjḏj* to Jerusalem, sc. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 311, and Eutychius, i, 39, invalidate their statements by others, obviously untrue, connected with them. They have the Umayyads forbid the Pilgrimage to Mecca, which is in flagrant contradiction to trustworthy reports that Umayyad caliphs made the pilgrimage themselves.

Nāṣir-i Ḵhusraw, who visited Jerusalem in 439/1047, reports that people in Palestine who were unable to make the *ḥaḏjḏj*, assembled in Jerusalem *wa-bi-mawḳif bi-Īstand*, "and performed the *wuḳūf*", the standing in the presence of God which was the main ceremony at the sacred mountain of ʿArafāt [*q.v.*]. This statement, which has sometimes been adduced as a corroboration of Goldziher's thesis, must be understood in a wider Islamic context. Such a substitute for the pilgrimage is attested also for the main cities of other provinces, such as Baṣra and Fusṭāṭ; it even had a special name, *taʿrīf*, derived from ʿArafāt, Ibn Taghribirdī, i, 207. But, like the individual sacrifices, it manifested a participation in the *ḥaḏjḏj*, celebrated on the same day in Arabia, not its replacement by a local pilgrimage.

The real urge for the erection of the Dome of the Rock on the site where it stands and in the form which it has, was religious, in addition, of course, to the natural acculturation of the Arabs to an environment, where magnificent edifices were the eloquent witnesses of a triumphant Church and of great rulers. Rajāʾ b. Ḥaywa [*q.v.*] of Baysān, who was in charge of the building operations (*Uns*, 241, and others; probably only the financial aspect, while the *mawlā* Yazīd b. Salām supervised the actual work) was the most prominent traditionist of Shaʾm, a pietist and ascetic, (Ibn Ḥaḏjar, *Tahḏhīb*, iii, 266), and he and people of his ilk might have been the spiritual originators of the undertaking. By choosing the site, Islam manifested itself as the exclusive heir of the older religions. The gorgeous mosaics, representing jewels and ornaments of the greatest variety, were in chiliastic fulfillment of the prophetic descriptions of the future Jerusalem (Isaiah, liv, 12, etc.), which had become known to the Muslims (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 97, ll. 11-13) and were incorporated by them in the legendary descriptions of Solomon's Temple (*ibid.*, 99, l. 10). The detailed inscriptions in the Dome betray a spirit of Islamic mission, specifically to the Christians, since the "prophethood" of Jesus is emphatically stressed and his sonship denied with equal fervour. Details in the articles of Goitein, Grabar and Caskel; see Bibliography.

Muslim and Jewish sources report that Jews were employed as servants of the sanctuary on the Temple area, its cleaning and illumination (including the making of the glass lamps). If true at all, these reports can refer only to an early and very short period. On the other hand, the contribution of oil for the illumination of the Temple area seems to have been regarded by both Christians and Jews as a pious deed, widely observed. Al-Ḵhaṣṣāf (d. 261/874-5) in his book on *waḳf*, 341, says: "If a Christian or Jew dedicates his land or house to the repairs of the *Bayt al-maḳdis* or for the purchase of oil for its illumination, it is permissible to accept this from him, for this is an act of piety both with regard to Muslims and to them". Previously, the author had explained that it was not permitted to accept from non-Muslims a *waḳf* for specific Muslim purposes). An Italian Jew of the 10th century, who was of great munificence, also contributed oil "to the sanctuary on the Western Wall, namely to the altar (clearly an expression for a non-Jewish building) which is inside" (*Aḥimaʿaʾs chronicle*, ed. B. Klar, Jerusalem 1944, 47).

Besides the erection of the Dome of the Rock, the Umayyad period contributed to Jerusalem other great architectural achievements, the *masḏjid al-aḳṣā* and the *dār al-imāra*, see section B. New gates were added (Ibn Kaṯhīr, xi, 226, repeating the anecdote that the gate with the inscription of al-Ḥaḏjḏjāḏj, at that time governor of Filasṭīn, remained intact, while that bearing the name of ʿAbd al-Malik collapsed) and the road to Jerusalem was repaired (mentioned also in a Jewish source), its milestones receiving Arab inscriptions (*RCEA*, no. 15). It is evident that such comprehensive building operations must have had a considerable impact on the composition of Jerusalem's population.

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The extensive foundations of Umayyad buildings laid bare to the south and south west of the Aḳṣā mosque during the recent excavations of B. Mazar (1968-76) suggest that the Muslims planned to do in Palestine what they had done in Ifrīḳiya, Egypt and Syria, sc. to replace the Byzantine capital situated on the seashore (Caesarea) by an inland administrative centre. In view of the lack of written sources on the subject, we cannot know why Jerusalem finally did not acquire this status. For the then available means of transportation, Jerusalem was perhaps too far away from the main lines of international traffic.

The foundation of Ramla [*q.v.*] as capital city of the province of Filasṭīn by the crown prince Sulaymān was in the first place a blow for neighbouring Lod or Lydda, but in the long run was detrimental to Jerusalem. According to later traditions, Sulaymān himself received homage in Jerusalem and intended to stay there (Ibn Kathīr, ix, 174; cf. also E. Sivan, in *Israel Or. Stud.*, i, 270, n. 33), but he took Ramla as his permanent residence and the town became the administrative and economic centre of the country. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were well aware of this fact, as Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, one of them, observes (iv, 72, ll. 2-3): *bayt al-maḳdis min sawād al-ramla baʿd mā kānat dār al-mulk fī ayyām Sulaymān wa-Dāwūd*, "Jerusalem is a provincial town attached to Ramla after having been the seat of the government in the days of Solomon and David".

7. *The ʿAbbāsid Period (132-358/750-969).* The end of Umayyad rule was for Jerusalem, as for Palestine and Syria in general, a period of great tribulations. In the wake of a rebellion against the last Umayyad Marwān II, the walls of Jerusalem were pulled down and its inhabitants punished. Earthquakes aggravated the situation. At the beginning, the new dynasty paid special tribute to the holy character of the city. This was manifested by the first visit of al-Manṣūr, who set out for Jerusalem immediately after returning to Baghdād from the pilgrimage to Mecca of the year 140/758 (Ṭabarī, iii, 129). He did so in order to fulfill a vow (Masʿūdī, vi, 212, l. 9), made perhaps because a hundred lunar years had passed since Muʿāwiya had received homage in the Holy City in 19/40. A second visit of the ʿAbbāsid caliph, in 154/771 (Ṭab. iii, 372) was made in connection with a great rising in the Maghrīb; al-Manṣūr accompanied as far as Jerusalem the large army assembled by him for the quelling of the revolt (Balādhūrī, *Futūḥ*, 233, ll. 4-5, Ibn al-Athīr, v, 467). His son al-Mahdī also visited Jerusalem and prayed there (Ṭab. iii, 500), but Hārūn al-Rashīd, who made the *ḥadjdj* almost every second year and frequented Syria because of the Holy War against Byzantium, never came to Jerusalem. Nor did his son al-Maʾmūn, although he sojourned in Syria and even in Egypt, or any other later ʿAbbāsid caliph. This change of attitude probably reflected the new trend of Islamic piety, which abhorred the *bidʿas*, the foreign elements and "innovations", in the legends about Jerusalem.

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, i, 446, reports that al-Manṣūr, on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem, ordered the Christians and Hebrews to tattoo their names on their hands (so that they could not escape the poll tax), whereupon many Christians fled to "Romania" via the sea. Such measures had been taken earlier in Islam; their adoption with regard to Jerusalem obviously means that at that time both the Muslim and the non-Muslim population of the city must have become quite numerous and the mutual assimilation of the various elements comparatively progressed. This increase must have been due to religious incentive, for the ancient *ḥadīth* assuring the Muslims that God permanently guaranteed sustenance to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 94, l. 12, and others) proves that life there never was easy. The legendary biographies of most of the early Ṣūfīs, especially those of Iranian origin, contain the detail that they stayed in Jerusalem one time or another (*JAOS*, lxx, 107), and well-founded sources prove a considerable Muslim influx from Iran, see § 9, below.

The Christians of Jerusalem received a mighty uplift by the interest shown for the Holy City by the rulers and the pious of Western Europe. Whatever the truth about the embassies exchanged between Hārūn al-Rashīd and Charlemagne, and the delivery to the latter of the key and the standard of Jerusalem (received by him in Rome in the year 800, at the time of his coronation as Emperor), there can be no doubt that many new buildings destined for the religious and material needs of pilgrims and newcomers were erected in Jerusalem by the emperor and his successors (a list in T. Tobler, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, i, 314). Charlemagne's son and successor Louis ordered each estate in his empire to contribute one denarius for the needs of Christian Jerusalem. It is evident that most of the money needed for the payment of the poll tax and other impositions on the Christians of the city came from abroad. The composition of the Christian population may be gauged from a list of the hermits living in cells on the Mount of Olives, of whom eleven said their psalmodies in Greek, six in Syriac, five in Latin, four in Georgian, two in Armenian, and one in Arabic (Tobler, *op. cit.*, i, 302).

Ca. 800, the Jewish High Council, the *yeshiva*, headed by the Gaon (corresponding to the Christian patriarch), moved from Tiberias to Jerusalem. His authority was soon challenged by the Karaites [*q.v.*]' a dissident Jewish sect, which made Jerusalem its centre. The Karaite dispensation, which mainly developed on Iranian soil, is to be understood in the Islamic context as a branch of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], emphasising the return to the Bible, the revival of Hebrew, and the settling in the Holy Land. As is natural, the movement originated preponderantly in circles near to the Arabs, Jewish government officials or otherwise prominent people. Consequently, the Karaite settlers in Jerusalem easily got the upper hand. Jerusalem became indeed their main spiritual centre. In the ensuing controversies, which, during the turbulent 3rd/9th century, were brought before the Muslim authorities, one Gaon lost his life and two others with difficulty escaped a similar fate (J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimids*, repr. 1970, i, 57). In the course of time, the two denominations learned to co-exist and to co-operate, but in Jerusalem rather less than, e.g., in Egypt. The Fāṭimids recognised the Gaon of Jerusalem as the head of the Rabbanite Jews in their empire (see Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, ii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, 5 ff.).

During the reign of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33), Jerusalem suffered by a famine and became depleted of its Muslims, an opportunity used by the patriarch to execute repairs in the building of the Holy Sepulchre (Eutychius, ii, 55-57). More serious was a great revolt of *fellāḥīn*, which broke out at the end of the reign of his successor al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42). The revolt was led by one Abū Ḥarb al-

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Mubarḳaʿ ("veiled one"—as former impostors had been) and soon encompassed the whole of Syria. Its leader assumed the role of the Sufyānī, *or* messiah of Umayyad stock, reduced the poll tax and made other promises to the population. But soon he changed his ways. When he entered Jerusalem, its entire populace, Muslims, Christians and Jews, fled and all the places of worship were pillaged. Only a large contribution by the patriarch prevented him from burning the Holy Sepulchre. It was a typical peasants' revolt, which was unable to make a stand against the regular army sent to subdue it by al-Muʿtaṣim's successor (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 371-2, who does not mention Jerusalem; Michael Syrus, ii, 541).

In 256/869-70 Syria and Palestine received for the first time a Turk as governor (Amadjūr, Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 165, ll. 3-7), but this did not change the ways of the ʿAbbāsid régime, which had long before assumed the character of a bureaucracy based largely on foreign hirelings. Precisely at that time, the patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem praised the Saracens for permitting the Christians to build churches and to live in accordance with their religion without oppressing them. (J. D. Mansi, *Conciliorum collectio*, repr. 1960, xvi, 26), and Bernard the monk expressed his admiration for the safety of the roads in the country (Tobler, *Itinera*, 319).

Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, who had made himself lord of Egypt in 254/868, conquered Palestine in 264/878, but in the wars between the Ṭūlūnids and later the Ikhshīdids [*q.v.*], the rulers of Egypt, and their overlords, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, Jerusalem played no role. But a new turn in the concepts about the holy character of Jerusalem must have taken place. The belief that it would be the scene of the Last Judgement and the gate to Paradise (Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 94, etc.), must have gained ground, whence people who could afford it arranged for their burial there. Ṭabarī, i, 486, l. 12, and others report that the Jews from all countries, following the example of Moses, who carried the coffin of Joseph with him from Egypt, used to bring their dead to the Holy Land. This custom, as is proved by many Geniza documents, was indeed widespread, even among people of limited means. It went back to Roman times, when "Ḥimyarite" Jews buried their dead in the Bēth-Shaʿarayim necropolis near Haifa. In the 4th/10th century it must have become popular among Muslims. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā al-Nūsharī, the first ʿAbbāsid governor of Egypt after the overthrow of the Ṭūlūnids, was buried in Jerusalem in 296/909; the founder of the Ikhshīdid dynasty, the Turk Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj, happened to die in Damascus in 334/946, but he and several other members of his family and retinue, including the famous black eunuch Kāfūr, one of the able rulers of Egypt, were interred in Jerusalem.

Ṭabarī, iii, 2128, l. 18, and others report under the year 891 that the esoteric sect of the Ḳarmaṭians [*q.v.*] turned towards Jerusalem in their prayers. But he notes also that they kept Monday instead of Friday as their weekly day of worship and celebrated it (in the Jewish fashion) as a day of rest. Such oddities (if they really existed) were of no general significance for Islam. In their devastating raids, the Ḳarmaṭians reached also Palestine, but Jerusalem is not mentioned at that time in connection with their exploits.

The absence of a strong central government during the 3rd/9th century and perhaps also other circumstances, such as the Byzantine offensive against Islamic territories (culminating in the boasting threat of the emperor Nicephorus II Phocas in 964 that he would take Jerusalem) caused friction between the various religious communities. Half of the outer court of the Holy Sepulchre was taken away and a mosque erected on it (later called *masdjid ʿUmar*, probably in order to emphasise, against Christian claims (above, § 4), that the caliph had prayed there). Shortly afterwards, on Palm Sunday 938, the Christian procession was attacked and the Holy Sepulchre damaged by fire. Even worse, and characteristic for the period, were the events of 355/966. The patriarch of Jerusalem had sought the intervention of Kāfūr, the black viceroy of Egypt, against the overreaching Berber governor of Jerusalem who had imposed excessive financial demands on the Christians. Kāfūr sent a Turkish officer for the protection of the Christians. But the governor did not budge. When, on Pentecost, the patriarch refused to pay more than the tribute usually delivered on that holiday, the Berber incited the mob; the Holy Sepulchre and other churches were pillaged and set on fire, the patriarch was murdered and his body burnt. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, 125, who tells this story, adds that the Jews outdid the Muslims in damaging the sacred buildings. This sounds strange, considering the weak position of the Jews in Jerusalem, but perhaps finds its explanation in a cryptic remark by a contemporary Karaite scholar about dangerous Christian machinations against the Jews in the city (J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, ii, 18-19) and in complaints about Jews in letters sent from Jerusalem and Venice to Henry I the Fowler in 922 (*M.G.H. Const.*, i, 4-7).

8. *Fāṭimids, Turkomāns and Saldjūḳs (358-492/969-1099).* Shortly after the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimids [*q.v.*], Palestine with Jerusalem came under their domination, but participated only comparatively little in the economic efflorescence of the first hundred years of their rule. Palestine was incessantly harrassed by Ḳarmaṭians and bedouins, first as allies, but soon (as from 363/974) separately. For about seventy years the Banū Djarrāḥ chieftains tried to get a hold of the country including Jerusalem (Ibn Athīr, x, 308, l. 17), sometimes supported by the Byzantine emperors. The 1020s were particularly harrowing. The outrages perpetrated by the bedouins "were unlike anything experienced in the countries of Islam since its inception" (Geniza letter, J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt*, ii, 181, l. 22). The details reported in the Geniza letters are revolting.

The unceasing local tribulations were temporarily overshadowed by the general persecution of Christians and Jews ordered by the caliph al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021). It culminated in the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre on 28 September 1009. This extraordinary measure cannot be explained by special circumstances alone, such as the abnormal state of mind of the caliph or the Muslims' anger over the pious fraud of the holy fire (M. Canard, *La destruction de l'Église de la Résurrection . . . et . . . la descente du feu sacré*, in *Byzantion*, xxv (1965), 16-43, where the literature on the event is surveyed). The persecution was a prolonged process; that of the Jews began only in 402/1012, at a time when the Christians of Jerusalem, with the help or connivance of the bedouin chieftain Mufarridj b. al-Djarrāḥ already tried to restore the Holy Sepulchre. Most likely, an inner turn-about of the religious policy of the Ismāʿīlī leadership was the main cause of the persecution. Anyhow, it left Jerusalem, which had consisted largely of Christian buildings, a shambles. The earthquake of 407/1016, in which the dome of the

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Ṣakhra collapsed, made things worse (according to a Geniza letter, the collapse occurred on the 25 July, at 4 p.m., J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, i, 313). The persecution petered out, but the Jews and Christians were much too impoverished to be able to undo the destruction. It took almost forty years until the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre was completed.

Around the middle of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem began to take the place of Ramla as the main city of the country. Ramla had suffered by the earthquakes of 424/1033 and 460/1068 and by the endless depredations of the bedouins more extensively than had Jerusalem (cf. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, ii, 201). Contrariwise, the stream of pilgrims from Europe to Jerusalem became ever stronger, the great caravan of 12,000 pilgrims from southern Germany and Holland arriving in 1065, so lively described by Lambert of Hersfeld, being one of its best known examples. It may also be that the techniques of warfare and fortifications had changed, making Jerusalem more easily defendable than a city in a flat country like Ramla. The audacity of the Banū Djarrāḥ and other bedouin hordes forced the Fāṭimids to strengthen the walls of Jerusalem in 424/1033 and again in 455/1063. In the last third of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem and not Ramla was in the centre of military events.

The Saldjūḳ invasions set into motion motley crowds of soldiers of fortune from many nations, led by ruthless condottieri. One of these was the Turkoman Atsïz b. Uvak [*q.v.*], whom the Fāṭimid government, paralysed by famine, plague and complete anarchy in Egypt, called in against the unruly bedouins in Palestine. But Atsïz turned against the Fāṭimids and took Jerusalem in 463/1071 after a prolonged siege. Emboldened by his successes, he attacked Egypt itself, but there order had been restored by the Armenian convert Badr al-Djāmālī [*q.v.*], and Atsïz was forced to retreat (469/1077). In a long Hebrew poem celebrating the Fāṭimid victory, a Jewish dignitary from Palestine describes in detail the sufferings of Jerusalem, and in particular the devastation of its environment with its vineyards and orchards by Atsïz's hordes (ed. J. Greenstone, repr. from *AJSLL* [1906], 1-34). The local population rose against the barbarian conquerors and Atsïz had to take Jerusalem a second time, putting the inhabitants to sword, even those who had fled into the al-Aḳṣā mosque. Only those who had taken refuge in the Dome of the Rock were spared. Atsïz was soon liquidated by the brother of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Malik Shāh, Tutush, who then was governor of Damascus (470/1078). Thus Jerusalem was incorporated in the great Saldjūḳ empire, the borders of which henceforth were given as stretching "from Kāshghar to Jerusalem" (Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, iii, 139). Tutush assigned Jerusalem to Artuḳ [*q.v.*], the founder of the Mesopotamian dynasty called after him. It is not sure when exactly Artuḳ took possession of the city; it was in his hands in 479/1086 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 96), and was given by him to two of his sons in 484/1091. In Shaʿbān 491/July 1098 (Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, 38), that is, when the Crusaders were already on their march to Jerusalem, al-Afḍal, the Fāṭimid viceroy of Egypt, laid siege on the city, "bombarding it from forty catapults during forty days" (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, v, 184). The two brothers surrendered, but were released unharmed by al-Afḍal. How unaware the Muslims were of the magnitude of the Crusader menace can be gauged from the fact that another Saldjūḳ, Riḍwān, a son of Tutush, set out from Damascus via Nābulus to wrest Jerusalem from the Fāṭimids. But he was no match for al-Afḍal's army; the viceroy returned to Egypt, leaving a small garrison in Jerusalem.

9. *Life in Jerusalem in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries.* Copious references in the works of Muslim authors and over a hundred Geniza letters from Jerusalem written during the 5th/11th century enable us to form a fairly substantial idea about life in Jerusalem during the two centuries preceding its capture by the Crusaders. This is particularly true with regard to the last third of the 4th/10th century, when al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir and al-Muḳaddasī wrote, and the second third of the 5th/11th, when Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited the city and when the country had a short respite of comparatively normal times, reflected in the Geniza letters, between the atrocities of the bedouins and the devastations of the Turkomans.

The Muslim geographers naturally dedicated most of their attention to the sacred buildings and the fortifications, see section B. Al-Muḳaddasī, a keen observer (see e.g. his remark about a bath near the Bāb al-Asbāṭ (St. Stephen's gate), which was built half in the local tradition, and half according to the Persian fashion, 440, l. 15) again and again praises the unique beauty of Jerusalem (e.g. 33, l. 16; 166, l. 2; 167, n.n.), its clean and well-stocked markets and public bathhouses, and does not forget to mention the latrines near the mosques and in the bazaars (182, l. 9). During the 4th/10th century, it seems, Muslim religious instruction in Jerusalem was mainly concentrated in the mosques of the Ḥaram (comparable to what happened in other Islamic cities; see also below). In the wake of al-Ḥākim's persecution, some Christian buildings might have become available for the *zāwiya*s mentioned by Mudjīr al-Dīn, 264. The Persian religious group of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*], which had first settled in Jerusalem already around the middle of the 3rd/9th century, erected *ḵẖānaḳāh*s for the needs of its members. By the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Christian quarter in the north-western part of the city, that is, around the Holy Sepulchre and other age-old churches, the Armenian quarter near St. James cathedral in the south, as well as two Jewish enclaves, one near the Western Wall, where people prayed, and one near the Damascus gate, were well-established. The synagogues referred to by Muṭahhar, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and Ḳalānisī, might have been identical with the *midrāsẖ*s or houses of learning mentioned in a Geniza letter as places where prayers were held. The Karaites lived in a separate quarter in the south of the city, called *ḥārat al-mashāriḳa*, the quarter of the Easterners, since most of them had come from Persia and ʿIrāḳ.

It is difficult to form a judgment about the size of the population. Nāṣir-i Khusraw's 20,000 betrays only the mysterious and widely-diffused predilection for the number 20. He gives 20,000 also for Tripoli in Lebanon, and for the number of people assembling in Jerusalem during the *ʿīd al-ḳurbān*, but Ibn Athīr, xi, 20, assigns that number to the membership of the Karrāmiyya settled in Jerusalem alone. Al-Muḳaddasī is more helpful when he says that Jerusalem was smaller than Mecca, but larger than Medina (167, l. 9), or more populous than many a provincial capital (165, l. 12). The repeatedly-mentioned number of 70,000 persons killed by the Crusaders in 492/1099 can by no means be used as an indication of the number of the inhabitants. Many people fled into the city before the approaching

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invaders, and in general, on such occasions numbers are grossly exaggerated and worthless. If the al-Aḳṣā mosque was indeed reduced from fourteen to seven aisles after the earthquake of 424/1033 and others, the population must have considerably shrunk, possibly an outcome of the catastrophic tribulations by the bedouins in the 1020s.

The most characteristic trait of life in Jerusalem was, of course, that "no day passed without foreigners" (Muḳaddasī, 166, l. 6). Pilgrims from all regions filled the city (*ibid.*, 167, n. 12). The usage of pious Muslims to enter the state of *iḥrām* [*q.v.*] for the pilgrimage to Mecca in Jerusalem had the consequence that the city was frequented by Muslims from distant countries, in particular from the Maghrib (*ibid.*, 243, l. 12). Similarly, many a Jew from the Maghrib and Spain, visiting Jerusalem either as *ḥādjdj* (i.e. on the holidays prescribed for the pilgrimage) or as the *zā'ir* (on another occasion) has left letters in Geniza. The religious ceremonies of the various communities were not always confined to the houses of worship or even the walls of the city. We have detailed descriptions of these processions and assemblies. They must have conveyed to Jerusalem a festive appearance during many days of the year.

As to the government of the city, Muḳaddasī, 167, l. 7, complains that "the oppressed has no helper". But he makes similar remarks concerning other places, e.g. 448, and the Geniza letters show that the situation was not quite so hopeless. Justice was done, provided that there was someone strong and interested enough to take care of the case. Since Ramla was the capital of the province, everything had to be dealt with there, and in more serious cases appeals had to be made to Cairo. A dignitary from Jerusalem would appeal to a notable in Ramla such as "the chief physician of the dysentery department in the hospital", and ask him to bring the case of the wronged person or institution before the governor or chief *ḳāḍī* there, as the matter required, whereupon the latter would instruct their subordinates in Jerusalem to settle the dispute properly. In public affairs, the system worked the same way, as the edicts of the Fāṭimid caliphs for and against the Karaites of Palestine and the correspondence connected with these matters prove (see S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid decrees*, London 1964; idem, *A petition to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir*, in *REJ*, cxxviii [1969], 203-22).

Ramla was also the economic centre of the country, as many references prove. *Suftadjas*, or bankers' cheques, for persons in Jerusalem were converted into cash in Ramla, which then was forwarded to Jerusalem, though we find also a banker, with a Persian name, in Jerusalem who issued *suftadjas* on Cairo. The money mostly used in Jerusalem around the middle of the 5th/11th century was the "Rūmī" (i.e. Southern Italian) and Muslim quarter-*dīnār* of the West, presumably because the pilgrims coming from those parts and from western Europe formed the majority of the customers. Oil, cheese, cotton and fruits are mentioned by the Muslim geographers and in the Geniza letters as main exports from Jerusalem. A letter from Tyre speaks of yarn sent from Jerusalem sufficient for the weaving of a thousand robes, *thawb*, of the bazaar type and even more of the home-made class. Since every mediaeval traveller tried also to do some business, we find in Jerusalem transit trade too, especially with Persians, bringing the heavy *ibrīzim* silk from Ḵhurāsān (to be re-exported to Egypt), and taking with them Mediterranean goods such as coral. Jerusalem, as becoming a holy city, affected some austerity in clothing. "Here", a silk merchant writes in a letter to Fustat, "black and sky-blue silk is worn, not crimson as in Ramla and Ascalon". Wool traders, *ṣawwāf*, clothiers and *tāḏjirs* are mentioned as the prominent types of businessmen in the city. The well-developed commercial mail service connecting Jerusalem with Cairo, which was carried on by Muslims, shows that the city must have had some economic importance (Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, 292-4).

Those newcomers who could afford it bought houses and stores and lived on the income from their rents. Others tried to do business, but complaints such as "there is no livelihood in Jerusalem", "when one exerts oneself here, the exertion works against him", or "many have come here rich and have been reduced to poverty", are frequent. As many letters show, the town was too far away from the main stream of international commerce. Another unfavourable factor was the crushing impositions on non-Muslims (or perhaps on foreigners in general). The Jewish community was almost permanently in debt to Muslim creditors, paying them exorbitant interest, because it had to deliver the yearly tributes to the authorities and others, e.g. the *Aḥdāth* [*q.v.*], whether the expected numbers of pilgrims arrived or not. To a large extent, the city was a refuge for the poor, of whom their respective religious communities abroad took care in many different ways (about which social service the Geniza is again very specific, cf. Goitein, *op. cit.*, ii, 96-7 and *passim*).

Jerusalem's mostly unsatisfactory economic situation might have been responsible for another negative aspect of its life during this period; despite its holiness for the three monotheistic religions, it did not become for any of them a great spiritual centre with a characteristic contribution of its own (smaller groups, such as Armenians and Georgians on the Christian side and the Karaites among the Jews, perhaps excepted). Many Muslim scholars came there to teach or to study, cf. Yāḳūt, i, 516, 859, 887, etc.; Ibn ʿAsākir, i, 397, l. 26; ii, 54, l. 3; 161, 14; iv, 153, l. 16; 154, l. 2, etc. But it is characteristic that in Yāḳūt's *Dictionary of learned men* Baṣra occurs 170 times, Damascus 100, but Jerusalem only once and in passing; in the *K. al-Aghānī* it is not mentioned at all. Al-Muḳaddasī's complaint, 167: "The mosque (that is, the house of study, see above) is empty, there are no scholars and no savants, no disputations and no instruction", was certainly an exaggeration, inspired by the deep love of the writer for his native city, as was his famous censure that Christians and Jews had there the upper hand, but Jerusalem certainly could not boast of excellence in the sciences of Islam or any other fields. The great al-Ghazālī sojourned there in 488/1095 not in order to make contacts, but with the intention to locking himself up and of seeking solitude.

The city had some importance as a refuge or place of banishment for persons with unorthodox views and ways of life. This trend began already in Umayyad times (Ṭabarī, i, 1920, l. 10; Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 156-7). Thawr b. Yazīd had to leave Damascus because of his Ḳadarī [*q.v.*] views and died in Jerusalem ca. 153/770 (Ibn ʿAsākir, i, 68, l. 21; iii, 383-84). Tekīn, the Turkish governor of Egypt (who, at his request was buried in Jerusalem in 321/933) banished thither the Ṣūfī Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Dīnawarī (Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, i, 294). In Mamlūk times forced retirement in Jerusalem became almost customary, see § 12, below.

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Jerusalem was a town of copyists, the occupation of the pious who were both learned and poor. Christian Arabic manuscripts written in the monastery of Mār Sābā near Jerusalem in the second half of the 3rd/9th century and in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 4th/10th are still extant, and an Armenian colophon from Jerusalem from the year 870 is known (J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic*, Louvain 1966, i, 24, 25, 33; E. Stone, *The manuscript library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem*, in *Tarbiz*, xli [1972], 158). Jewish copyists active in Jerusalem during the 5th/11th century give us many details about their work.

According to Mudjīr al-Dīn, 263-5, the main local *maḏhhab* in the town, even before the Crusades, was Shāfiʿī, with a sprinkling of the Ḥanbalī, introduced by the Persian Abu 'l-Faradj al-Shīrāzī, while a Ḥanafī Turk was the *ḳāḍī*, a situation similar to that of much later times.

There was a marked difference between the spirit of the late 4th/10th century and the 5th/11th one. The former was characterised by three highly interesting Jerusalemites of Persian origin and of wide humanistic interests: the great traveller al-Muḳaddasī, one of the finest personalities produced by Islamic civilisation; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, a keen and remarkably unbiased student of religions, writing in Bust, eastern Persia; and Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Maʿshar al-Ḳudsī al-Bustī, who, according to Abū Sulayman al-Manṭiḳī, was the author of the *rasāʾil* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ [*q.v.*]. The subsequent century witnessed a narrowing down to the more specifically Islamic branches of knowledge. A typical representative of the age was Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Ṭāhir al-Ḳaysarānī, active in Arabic language study, *ḥadīth*, and, especially, mysticism; he made his extensive travels on foot, carrying his books on his back and finally settled in Hamaḏhān, continuing the long-standing connection between Jerusalem and Persia. Al-Musharraf b. Muradjdjaʾ, the author of a book on the *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* (see § 11, below) lived in the same century. The leading scholar of Jerusalem, "the *shaykh*" of the Shāfiʿīs in the whole of Syria", Abu 'l-Fatḥ Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm, left the city for Tyre (Yāfiʿī, *Miʾrāt*, iii, 152-3). The Jewish Gaon did the same (*ca.* 1071). This, as well as many Geniza letters, shows that the situation in Jerusalem had become unbearable long before the Crusaders temporarily suspended Muslim and Jewish life in the city altogether.

10. *Crusaders and Ayyūbids*. The Crusaders laid siege on Jerusalem on June 6, 1099 and took it by assault on July 15, penetrating into the city from three different points. The behaviour of the different groups of conquerors, Frenchmen, Flemings, Provençals and Normans from Sicily, was not entirely uniform. Tancred, the leader of the Normans, granted safe-conduct to the Fāṭimid commander of the citadel (the "Tower of David") and to his men. A Geniza letter reports that the Jews in the entourage of the commander were included in the safe-conduct. Thus, no doubt, the Muslim civilians in the citadel were saved as well. The same letter says also that "the damned ones called Ashkenazim" (convincingly identified by B. Z. Kedar as Normans), "unlike others", did not rape women. The massacre of the Muslims and the Jews in the town was perpetrated out of military and religious considerations alike. The Crusaders did not run berserk, but proceeded systematically, as is shown first by the fact that they took time to collect hundreds of books, which they sold at Ascalon soon afterwards. The Geniza naturally speaks about Hebrew books, but there is no reason to assume that Muslim books were treated differently. The fact that a number of prisoners were sold far beneath the standard price of 33 1/3 *dīnārs* per person does not prove at all that the Crusaders were ignorant of the accepted norms; the war situation did not permit the keeping of larger numbers of captives for a protracted period. But prisoners from better families, for whom higher ransoms could be expected, were retained in Antioch for years. All in all, the letters of persons actually involved in the events somehow qualify the accepted notions about the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. There was a gruesome bloodbath, no doubt. But it was not as all-embracing as the summary reports of the chroniclers led us to believe.

Jerusalem became a Christian city, where no Muslim or Jewish cult was permitted and no non-Christian could take residence permanently. The mosques were turned into churches or used as secular buildings. The newly-founded kingdom was appropriately called the Kingdom of Jerusalem, *Regnum Hierusalem*, since the conversion of the Holy City into a Christian sanctuary had been the purpose of its erection. As a capital city, Jerusalem soon began to flourish. The court, the administration of the state, the ecclesiastical authorities, the monastic and military religious orders were all located here, and thousands of pilgrims visited the city every year, many staying on for longer periods or for good. Besides Eastern Christians, such as Syrians, Copts, Armenians and Georgians, the inhabitants were mostly Europeans, above all French. Smaller European communities, such as Spaniards, Provençals, Germans and Hungarians, lived in compact groups around their churches and public institutions. Many new buildings were erected, of which the enlarged Holy Sepulchre was the most conspicuous. The remarkably spacious and beautiful market hall, erected on the foundations of a similar Islamic building, still dominates daily life in the Old City today. Everywhere in Jerusalem the vestiges of Crusaders' activities are visible. When, after the war of 1967, the ruins of the Jewish quarter were cleared away, what is believed to be the remains of St. Mary of the Germans made their appearance.

Less than a decade after the conquest, a letter from Palestine (not from Jerusalem) reports that life in the country had returned to normal also for the non-Christian population. Jerusalem remained closed to Muslims and Jews, but, in the course of time, they were permitted to come there for business and prayer. A famous incident reported in the autobiography of Usāma b. Munḳiḏh [*q.v.*] shows him performing his prayers on the Temple area during a considerable stretch of time (ed. P. K. Hitti, Princeton 1930, 134-5). Jewish dyers worked for the King's wardrobe in the vicinity of the palace *ca.* 1170.

After the decisive victory of Ḥaṭṭīn (Rabīʿ II 583/July 1187), Saladin advanced towards Jerusalem and laid siege on the city. After prolonged negotiations, in which the defenders threatened to kill the Muslim prisoners and all non-combatants (so that they would not be sold into slavery), to burn all the valuables and to destroy the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, an agreement was reached in Ramaḍān 583/November 1187, which permitted the inhabitants to ransom themselves after surrender. Only the Eastern Christians remained, and Jerusalem soon assumed the character of a predominantly Muslim city. The Muslim shrines were given back to their original destination and many Christian buildings were

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dedicated to Muslim purposes. Outstanding examples were the convent of the church of St. Anne, which became the famous Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa*, so called after its founder Saladin, and the Mūristān, a hospital, which originally had been the church at the hostel of the Knights of St. John. The Holy Sepulchre was left to the Christians, but the pilgrimage to it was temporarily suspended until 1192.

There remained the problem of repopulation. In 587/1191 the great port city of Ascalon was dismantled and destroyed at Saladin's command, in order to prevent the Crusaders from turning it into a new base for their operations. The dispossessed inhabitants must have found new homes in the empty houses of Jerusalem, for the Geniza letters from this period repeatedly speak of a community of *ʿAsāḳila* in the Holy City, and Jews certainly were given no preferential treatment. Another community listed alongside with them was that of the *Maghāriba*—a trend noted already two hundred years before by al-Muḳaddasī, see § 9 above. Individuals are described in the same source as hailing from Yaman, ʿIrāḳ, and Egypt. The influx of learned Jews from France attested for the period *ca.* 1210-15 in both literary texts and Geniza letters proves that Ayyūbid rule at that time must have had a reputation of an orderly government able to guarantee the safety of foreigners. But life in Jerusalem was hard, and before the 6th/12th century was out, we already read about newcomers who had left for the greener pastures of Egypt and the port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.

A new and catastrophic turning point in the history of Jerusalem was the rule of Saladin's nephew al-Muʿaẓẓam, the Sultan of Damascus. On the one hand, as his many inscriptions prove, al-Muʿaẓẓam did much to adorn the Ḥaram, and erected there the Ḥanafī college called after him, see section B; but being afraid of a new encroachment by the Christians, he ordered in 616/1219 the destruction of the city with the exception of the Temple area, the Holy Sepulchre and the citadel. His apprehensions did not materialise, but his brother al-Kāmil, the ruler of Egypt, in order to shield himself from the Syrian Ayyūbids, concluded a treaty with the Emperor Frederick II, ceding to him the city for ten years (626/1229). The emperor, being under papal ban, crowned himself there without clerical assistance—the last time that a monarch was crowned in Jerusalem. Again Muslims (and of course, also Jews, as proved by a Geniza letter from 1236) were not permitted access to the city with the exception of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, which remained in Muslim hands, but the *ḳāḍī*, the bearer of Muslim authority, had his seat outside Jerusalem (in al-Bīra, near Rāmallāh, J. Prawer, *Royaume latin*, Paris 1970, ii, 199). The subsequent hostilities between the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria resulted in an agreement between the latter and the Christians, which seemingly removed the Muslims even from the Temple area, so that the commander of the Templars could boast that the city was inhabited solely by Christians (Matthew Pāris, *Historia major*, iv, 290, quoted by B. Z. Kedar, in *Tarbiz*, xli [1971] 88). But this lasted only a very short time. The Egyptian Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn enlisted the help of the wild Khʷārazmians, who had been driven to the West by the Mongols. The Khʷārazmians overran Syria and Palestine, took Jerusalem in Rabīʿ I 642/August 1244 and plundered and murdered in the town, desecrating the Holy Sepulchre and other churches. The combined armies of the Khʷārazmians and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm joined battle with the Syrians and their allies, the Crusaders, and vanquished them (Djumādā I 642/October 1244). Consequently, Jerusalem came under the domination of the rulers of Egypt, under which, after a short interval in 647/1249, when again it was returned to the Sultan of Damascus, it remained until the Ottoman conquest of 922-3/1516-17).

II. The second six hundred years

11. *The sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam. Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds.* The history of Jerusalem during this period was largely influenced by the enhanced religious halo it had acquired through the long struggle between Christians and Muslims. The position of Jerusalem in Islam had its ups and downs. It cannot be described yet in full, since important relevant texts, such as the *Tafsīr* of al-Muḳātil (d. 150/767), the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (d. 211/827) and the two oldest books of *Faḍāʾil al-Ḳuds* still await publication (see below). An excellent discussion of the literature on the subject and the present stage of research is found in E. Sivan, *Le caractère de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XIIe-XIIIe siècles*, in *SI*, xxvii (1967), 149-82, and idem, *The beginnings of the Faḍāʾil al-Quds literature*, in *Israel Or. Stud.*, i (1971), 263-71.

It was entirely in the spirit of early Islam that it incorporated the Jewish and Christian notions of the holiness of Jerusalem and made the area of the ancient Jewish Temple into a Muslim place of worship (§§ 4-6, above). The *ḥadīth* ranking Jerusalem as the third central sanctuary of Islam after Mecca and Medina, excluding others, was formulated in the course of the first century of Islam and obtained general recognition during the second, after the status of Jerusalem had been vehemently contested as being alien to Islam, whose cradle was the Ḥidjāz (cf. the saying attributed to ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd and Ḥudhayfa: "Even if the distance between me and Jerusalem was only two parasangs, I would not go there", quoted in M. J. Kister, *You shall only set out for three mosques, a study of an early tradition*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxii [1969], 173-96, where the material about this struggle is assembled [this quotation at 182, n. 39].

Both aspects, the veneration for Jerusalem and the objection to it, deepened with the increasing influx of foreign ideas on the subject and their development by Islamic popular piety. The notions that Jerusalem was holy as the domicile of the ancient prophets and saints [see ABDĀL] and as the scene of Muḥammad's *Isrāʾ* and *Miʿrādj* [*q.v.*] (the latter was mentioned in Saladin's letter to Richard Cœur de Lion as the main proof for the Muslims' claim on Jerusalem, Sivan, *Caractère sacré*, 165) were accepted by everyone; it was the more exuberant legends woven around those notions and, above all, the belief that Jerusalem would be the scene of Resurrection and of the Last Judgment, and the crude fantasies evolving from these themes, which aroused criticism and suspicion that they were local inventions destined to attract pilgrims and visitors. As Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, viii, 280, l. 4 ff., formulated it: "They (the people of Jerusalem) have depicted there the spectacles of the *Ṣirāṭ* (the bridge suspended from the Mount of Olives to the Temple Mount, which will be thinner than a hair etc.), of the gate of the Paradise, of the footprints of the Prophet, and of the valley of Gehenna". As a result, Jerusalem during the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries did not gain

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mand a paramount position in the religious consciousness of the Islamic world. While many Islamic cities inspired books of *faḍā'il* already by the end of the 3rd and throughout the 4th centuries, Jerusalem appears only with two, compiled during the 5th: a tract by Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, a *ḵẖaṭīb* of the al-Aḳṣā mosque (recently identified by M. J. Kister in the library of the al-Djazzār Pasha mosque of Acre; in the course of publication by Y. Hasson), and another by Abu 'l-Ma'ālī al-Musharraf b. Muradjdjā', a *faḳīh* living in Jerusalem (to be edited by E. Sivan). The author of a third compilation, mainly of *ḥadīṯ*s, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Makkī al-Maḳdisī, did not complete his work, since he was captured and killed by the Crusaders, see above. It is characteristic that these three authors were inhabitants of Jerusalem. The often-noted astounding fact that the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders and its conversion into an exclusively Christian city did not arouse any strong Muslim reaction for decades also indicates that the veneration for the Holy City had not yet become a spiritual force in Islam.

The situation changed when 'Imād al-Dīn Zankī's conquest of Edessa in 539/1144 suggested to an ambitious ruler that territorial aspirations could well be underpinned by religious propaganda. The court poets and secretaries of Zankī and his son Nūr al-Dīn took up the topic of the *djihād* for Jerusalem. With Saladin, both before and after 583/1187, this propaganda reached its apogee. While no *Faḍā'il al-Ḳuds* work appeared during the first half of the 6th/12th century, they became abundant and ubiquitous in the second half and in the subsequent centuries. How much Jerusalem had become an all-Islamic concern might be gauged from the widely diffused protests against al-Mu'aẓẓam's dismantling of the city in 616/1219 and al-Kāmil's ceding it to the Emperor Frederick II in 626/1229. Precisely after Jerusalem had ceased to be a military or political issue, sc. during the Mamlūk period, the *Faḍā'il al-Ḳuds* multiplied; at least thirty are known from this period, see Sivan, *Caractère sacré*, 181. The exceptions taken by Ibn Taymiyya [*q.v.*] in his treatise on the subject were directed against the *bid'a*s disfiguring the cult of Jerusalem; its canonical status as third in rank of the sanctuaries of Islam was never questioned.

To modern Muslims, this position symbolises the universal character of Islam. Sayyid Ḳuṭb (d. 1966) writes this in his huge work on the Ḳur'ān with reference to Sūra XVII, 1: "The *Isrā'* connects the great monotheistic religions from Abraham and Ishmael to the Seal of the Prophets. It combines the sites holy to the monotheistic religions with one another and it is as if Muḥammad, the last of the prophets, declares by this wondrous night voyage that his message contains those of the prophets preceding him and is connected with theirs" (*Fī ẓalāl al-Ḳur'ān*, xv, 12, ll. 5-9).

12. *Jerusalem under the Mamlūks (648-922/1250-1516).* At the beginning of this period, Jerusalem was mostly in ruins and deserted. The few Christians who remained or returned there after the sack by the Khwārazmians in 642/1244 and the Muslims and Jews who had settled there anew, fled in 658/1260 before the onslaught of the Mongols who had reached places as far south of Jerusalem as Hebron and Gaza (latest discussion of the sources: B. Z. Kedar, *Tarbiz*, xli [1971], 89-91). After the victory of the Mamlūks at 'Ayn Djālūt [*q.v.*] in Shawwāl 658/September 1260, Jerusalem was definitely incorporated in their empire and was administered first by the Mamlūk viceroy of Damascus. In 778/1376 the Jerusalem district was made a separate administrative unit, whose governor, styled *nā'ib*, or deputy of the Sultan, was directly responsible to the government in Cairo. The sanctuaries of the Ḥaram (together with that of Hebron) were under the supervision of the "superintendent of the two holy sites", *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*, who was responsible for their upkeep and in charge of their endowments. The history of the period was mainly one of rebuilding the city, see section B, Monuments. While the sultans repaired or adorned the great sanctuaries and carried out works for providing them with water, or erected important institutions such as the Ashrafiyya (see section B), so the *amīr*s and princes of the Mamlūk empire, as well as of other Muslim states and private persons erected *madrasa*s, *zāwiya*s, *ḵẖānaḳāh*s, and mausoleums, many of which are still extant, or at least identifiable. Most of these buildings were small, having the appearance of ordinary townhouses, and were probably built with the use of ruins and their materials. But some of these foundations, such as the 8th/14th century Tengiziyya college, were spacious and distinguished.

Because of its relative isolation, its proximity of Egypt the absence of strong fortifications or of a garrison of any size, which might be used by a potential insurgent, Jerusalem served as a place of compulsory sojourn for discharged, dismissed, or exiled members of the Mamlūk military nobility, the so-called *baṭṭāl*s. What had been in early Islam an occasional occurrence (§ 9, above), now became a widespread practice of high socio-economic importance. As D. Ayalon, in a special study devoted to the subject, has pointed out, the Holy City was the most commonly assigned place of exile in the entire Mamluk empire (*Discharges from service, banishment and imprisonments in Mamluk society*, in *Israel Or. St.*, ii [1973], 324-49). To the many reasons for this choice adduced by the author, *ibid.*, 333, it might be added that the authorities intended with this perhaps the repopulation of the city. In any case, these *baṭṭāl*s, to whom fixed incomes were assigned by the government and who often possessed means of their own, were in a position to keep fine households and to leave behind them well-constructed mansions.

In the main, Jerusalem of the Mamlūk period must be envisaged as a city of Muslim divines living on pious foundations and salaries. The most conspicious aspect of the members of this dominant class of Jerusalem's society was their mobility. They served, often simultaneously, in different occupations and posts, such as professors or "repetitors" in *madrasa*s, as *ḵẖaṭīb*s, *ḳāḍī*s, *muftī*s, or heads of dervish convents. They rarely stayed in Jerusalem for good, but moved on to Cairo or Damascus or other places, often returning for some time to Jerusalem, and finally concluding their lives somewhere else or back in the Holy City. Their literary output was equally diversified, comprising several or all of the fields of *ḥadīṯ*, *fiḳh* (*uṣūl* and *furū'*), *tafsīr*, *sīra*, occasionally also Arabic language and rhetorics. Arranging and classifying the knowledge they wished to impart under novel headings, or in the form of commentaries to other works, or in versifications, were favourite means of pouring old wine into new bottles.

A second characteristic of this class of scholars was the prominence of leading families which divided between themselves the most richly-endowed offices. This was, of course, nothing new in Islam. But in Jerusalem, which lived on endowments from abroad, nepotism was rife, and family rule was not always

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to the benefit of scholarship or good administration (we often hear about pious foundations falling into desuetude). The most prominent family of Muslim divines during almost the entire Mamlūk period (and also in early Ottoman times), were the Banū Ibn Djamāʿa [*q.v.*], who originated in Ḥamā and inhabited in Jerusalem a mansion bordering on the north-west corner of the Ḥaram. The biographies of the more prolific authors of this family show, however, that they passed most of their adult lives in the great centres of Islamic scholarship, sc. Cairo and Damascus. In Jerusalem they mostly served as *khaṭībs* and *ḳāḍīs*. One branch of them, the al-Khaṭīb family, is still extant. (There are other families in Jerusalem, unconnected with them, bearing this name.) An Egyptian family, the Ḳarḳashandīs, shared with them the prerogative of the office of *khaṭībs* in the al-Aḳṣā mosque. The Banū Ghānim, also living on the northern edge of the Ḥaram, mostly held the position of heads of the large al-Ṣāliḥiyya *khānaḳāh*. All these were Shāfiʿīs. The most important Ḥanafī family were the Dayrīs, natives of Palestine. They served as Ḥanafī judges in Jerusalem and in other cities of Palestine, as well as in Cairo, as teachers in the Ḥanafī al-Muʿaẓẓamiyya *madrasa*, and one of them became *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*. The well-known modern al-Khālidī family (see §§ 13 and 14, below) derives its origin from them.

Besides the great families of divines, there were smaller ones, as well as unaffiliated scholars, local and foreign, who were appointed to teaching of juridical posts, or purchased them (or parts of them; positions were often held in partnership). Of the more distinguished scholars who passed considerable parts of their lives in Jerusalem, Ibn al-Hāʾim, an expert on arithmetic and the science of the division of inheritances (d. 412/1021), and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn Abī Sharīf, a native of Jerusalem and great authority on Muslim law (822-905/1419-1500), both prolific authors, should be noted. Both died in Jerusalem and were buried in the Māmillāh cemetery (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī taʾrīkh al-Ḳuds*, Jerusalem 1961, 506, 508).

Jerusalem, the city of the poor and the pious, was the proper domicile for Ṣūfīs. Mudjīr al-Dīn notes about twenty Ṣūfī convents representing most of the major orders and several less known ones. E. Ashtor, in his study on Jerusalem in the Mamlūk period (the most comprehensive one on the subject, see Bibliography) describes the ambivalent relations prevailing in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, between the two classes of Islamic divines, the scholars and the mystics. On the one hand, we read about members of a *zāwiya* studying at a *madrasa* or about prominent scholars adopting the Ṣūfī way of life. On the other hand, the ecstatic practices of some orders, especially the whirling dances accompanied by instrumental music (prohibited in principle by Islam) were sharply condemned. A collection of *fatwās* in this spirit, written by an Ibn Djamāʿa and copied many years later by a Dayrī, has been described by Ashtor.

The Christians, hard pressed in this intensely Islamic atmosphere of Mamlūk Jerusalem, were strengthened by the establishment of a Franciscan monastery on Mount Zion in the 1330s. Mount Zion with its many religious associations, the "Tomb of David", the Cenaculum (scene of the Last Supper) and the Dormitio (the place where Mary, the mother of Jesus, fell into eternal sleep), was the scene of endless contests between Christians and Muslims and even Jews, involving the demolition, re-erection and renewed destruction of buildings down to the very end of the Mamlūk period, see section B. Other Christian buildings were also objects of attacks. The demolition and restoration in 879/1474 of the synagogue of the then small Jewish community is described in great detail by Mudjīr al-Dīn, 633-46, by Ibn Iyās, ii, 154-5, and in a book especially devoted to this matter by the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* of Jerusalem Ibn ʿUbayya (analysed by Goitein, in *Zion*, xiii-xiv [1948-9], 18-32). Against orders from Cairo, Ibn ʿUbayya three times decided that the Jewish place of workship was to be closed; it was finally demolished by mobs led by a Ṣūfī *shaykh*. Upon this, the Sultan took stern measures. Ibn ʿUbayya and others involved were summoned to the capital, flogged and imprisoned; Ibn ʿUbayya lost his post and ended his days in Damascus, consoling himself with writing poems; the synagogue was restored. These happenings were typical for their time and place. Ibn ʿUbayya was certainly right in asserting that the synagogue was "new", that is, a building erected after the advent of Islam and used as a non-Muslim house of worship, which was against the provisions of Islamic law. But the government, naturally, had to pay attention to the exigencies of life and the preservation of public order.

The impressive number of Muslim schools founded in Jerusalem in the course of this period (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 236-57, describes fifty-six) should not be taken as an indication of economic prosperity. The endowments were mostly limited in size and dwindled rapidly. The governors and other officials who had often to buy their offices for considerable sums and frequently also served for only short terms, had to indemnify themselves by heavy impositions, first on the non-Muslims, but on Muslims as well. Jerusalem's only important industry (still flourishing in the 19th century), sc. the manufacture of soap made from the oil produced in the then rich olive groves of its environment, was heavily damaged by the pernicious economic policy of the Mamlūk government, which monopolised production and forced the population to buy quantities not needed by it for exorbitant prices. The constant insecurity inside and, in particular, outside the city added to the hardships of life. Early in the 16th century no one could make the *ḥadjdj* from Jerusalem for ten years because bedouin anarchy prevented travel between Jerusalem and the Red Sea (L. A. Mayer, *A sequel to Mujīr al-Dīn's chronicle*, in *JPOS*, xi [1931], 95-6, Ar. text 11-12). At that time, as travellers' reports show, there were still many unbuilt areas within the boundaries of the city. But the core of the Old City outside the Ḥaram, as it appears today, was the creation of the Mamlūk period.

13. *The first Ottoman period (922-1247/1516-1831).* The exact date of the entry of the Turks into Jerusalem during the victorious campaign of Selīm I against the Mamlūks in 1516-17 is not known. His successor Sultan Sulaymān Ḳānūnī left most enduring imprints on the city: the wall, constructed between 944/1537 and 948/1541, as indicated in its eleven decorative inscriptions, the renovated Dome of the Rock and the four beautiful public fountains, *sabīl*, inside the city and the one near the Sultan's Pool, also created by him, at the foot of Mount Zion. The many *wakfs* made by him and his wife Khurrem [*q.v.*] further contributed to the welfare of the city during his reign. The soup kitchen, *ʿimāret*, donated by her for the feeding of the poor and of students, naturally does not operate any more, but its caul-

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drons, lists of recipients and other impressive remnants can still be seen in the Ḥaram Museum.

The Ottoman archives for the first time provide us with exact demographic, topographic and, to a certain extent, also economic data about Jerusalem. Bernard Lewis analyses the relevant material in *Studies in the Ottoman Archives*, in *BSOAS* xvi/3 (1954), 476, and *Yerushalayim*, ii/5, Jerusalem 1955, 117-27 (see *ibid.*, 117, n. 1, further publications of his on the subject, and also his *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives*, Jerusalem 1952). The population movement during Sulaymān's reign is illustrated on p. 122 by lists of taxpayers: (H = Heads of households; B = Bachelors; E = Exempt from the duty of paying taxes, such as religious dignitaries and insane persons):

	932/1525-6			940-45/1533-9			961/1553-4		
	H	B	E	H	B	E	H	B	E
Muslims	616	2	1	1168	75	34	1987	141	16
Christians	119	-	-	136	26	42	413	25	3
Jews	199	-	-	224	19	-	324	13	1
Totals	934	2	1	1528	120	76	2724	179	20

Thus at the beginning of the Ottoman period Jerusalem had a population of about 4,000 inhabitants, which tripled during Sulaymān's reign. (Lewis points out that the later lists might have been more complete than the first one). The slower increase of the Jewish population, which until the end of the thirties was more numerous than the Christians, was due to the fact that Ṣafad and not Jerusalem, was the main Jewish centre around the mid-century. By far the most important revenue collected in Jerusalem was the toll levied from the visitors of the Holy Sepulchre, which also tripled during this period (from 40,000 *akčas* in 1525 to 120,000 in 1553). It was given by the Sultan to the readers of the Ḳur'ān in the Aḳṣā mosque. The second largest item was the poll tax paid by Christians and Jews (one gold piece per person, the total being about one half of the income derived from the Holy Sepulchre). All taxes derived from economic activities, such as licenses (*iḥtisāb*), sales taxes and tolls on export of soap to Egypt, brought far smaller amounts.

Sulaymān's wall, though a lasting monument to his munificence, also revealed that the Ottoman government was not able, nor willing, to guarantee the safety of Jerusalem by administrative and military means. During almost the entire Turkish period, well into the second half of the 19th century, Jerusalem's development was impeded by this lack of security. The safety of the travellers between Ramla and Jerusalem, that is, the bulk of visitors from abroad, was entrusted already under Sulaymān to the Abu Ghosh, a rural clan after which the picturesque village Ḳaryat al-'Anab west of Jerusalem was renamed. Complaints that bedouins murdered Muslim inhabitants, burnt copies of the Ḳur'ān and taxed Muslim pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem are officially noted already in 991/1583 (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, no. 43). An imperial order of 1023/1614 exempts the fiefholders in the *sandjaḳ* of Jerusalem from participation in military expeditions outside the *sandjaḳ*, because this was "the border of 'Arabistān, where rebellious bedouins disturb the peace" (Heyd, *ibid.*, no. 28). By the end of the 18th century Giovanni Mariti, *Voyage*, Neuwied 1791, ii, 301-3, reports that the Pasha of Jerusalem accompanied the Christian pilgrims under heavy guard to the Jordan, but only after having paid the usual tribute to the bedouins. Shortly afterwards another traveller, W. G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, etc.*, London 1806, writes with regard to 1797 that the whole environment of Jerusalem was dominated by the bedouins (see Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1973).

The root of this misery was the fact that Jerusalem was not so much administered by Istanbul as given as a source of income, albeit a very modest one, to the *wālī* of Damascus, or sometimes to that of Sidon, or, early in the period, to that of Egypt. The *wālī* was represented in the town by a *mutasallim*, but once a year he himself would appear, accompanied by a detachment of troops and collect taxes (described by 'Ārif al-'Ārif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 309-10, for as late a date as 1808). By the 18th century the revenue from economic activities had dwindled to next to nothing (one list notes as income from the *iḥtisāb* only 500 *ḳurush*, one-twelfth of that of Sidon, Cohen, *ibid.*) and consisted mainly in taxes and tolls on Christians and Jews. A *firmān* by Selīm III (1205/1791) reducing the toll usually imposed on a Jewish pilgrim entering Jerusalem from between 3 and 4 to the legal 1½ *ḳurush* and freeing him from any payment while leaving the city, shows that arbitrary extortions were common in those matters (M. Ma'oz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period, documents from archives and collections in Israel*, Jerusalem 1970, 38).

An important source for the socio-economic history of Jerusalem under the Ottomans is contained in the *sidjills* of the *maḥkama shar'iyya* of the city. 'Ārif al-'Ārif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 241 ff., provides a number of specimens: a detailed list of prices by the *ḳāḍī* "in the presence of the two *muḥtasibs*" in 970/1563, the inventory of the estate of a Christian veterinary surgeon from the same year, and prices of building lots, houses, rents, salaries and *mahrs* through three centuries. Other matters, like three letters concerning the revolt of the *naḳīb al-ashrāf* in 1117/1705 and the demolition of his mansion, or notes about Jewish communal affairs, are also included. Only a systematic study of the entire material will provide historically valid results.

The governor of Jerusalem was a military man (a tentative list of Ottoman governors 1517-1917 in 'Ārif al-'Ārif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 317-28). The governor, the holders of fiefs in the *sandjaḳ* and the garrison in the town were not normally recruited locally. The *ḳāḍī* was sent from Istanbul and invariably belonged to the Ḥanafī rite. This preponderance of a foreign ruling class with no roots in the city and often connected with it only for short periods naturally precluded healthy developments. But it had also its advantages. Since few Turks settled permanently in Jerusalem, its Arab character was preserved and germs of local autonomy developed. Popular risings, sometimes deteriorating into riots, occasionally chased a particularly oppressive (or weak) governor from the city. A more constant factor was the rise of families becoming powerful by the holding of well-paid religious offices, tax-farming, the administration of *waḳfs* and by acting as protectors of villages (in which capacity they also mostly succeeded in acquiring large holdings of land). The well-known families of the Khaṭīb, Khālidī (see sec. 12, above) 'Alamī, Anṣārī, Dadjānī, Ḥusaynī, Nashāshībī, Nusayba and others, were formed or gained prominence in this period. The very considerable percentage of fair, blue-eyed, round-headed persons found in these families indicates that the local upper class, during the long centuries of Otto-

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man domination, became thoroughly mixed with the many non-Arab elements passing through the city.

An interesting picture of folk life in Jerusalem is preserved in a pamphlet by Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Dadjānī (d. 1660), entitled *Djawāhir al-ḳalā'id fī faḍl al-masādjid*. It shows the *ḥaram al-sharif* as the scene of popular feasts and other mundane activities (see M. Perlmann, *A seventeenth century exhortation concerning al-Aḳṣā*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, iii [1973], 261-92, reproducing the Arabic original of the *Djawāhir*).

The 19th century opened for Jerusalem ominously. In 1808 a fire destroyed most of the western part of the Holy Sepulchre. Sultan Maḥmūd II granted the Greeks the right to restore the building, but the Janissaries in the town, who were angry that the citadel was garrisoned by other troops, incited the Muslim population to obstruct the repairs. A general revolt ensued. Finally, the *wālī* of Damascus, alerted by the beleaguered *mutasallim* of Jerusalem, sent a detachment of Maghribī horsemen on a clandestine route, which succeeded in penetrating into the city and to overpower the insurgents. Thirty-eight of the leaders were hanged (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *Mufaṣṣal*, 356-8, quoting Mikhā'īl Burayk al-Dimashḳī). At the time of the Greek revolt of 1821, the Christians of Jerusalem were charged of conniving with them and were in great danger. But thanks to the quick action of the *wālī* of Damascus and the firm attitude of the *ḳāḍī* of Jerusalem, no harm was done to the Christians. Another *wālī* of Damascus was the cause of a revolt of large dimensions and long duration. Townsmen and *fellāḥīn* alike refused to pay the heavy taxes imposed by him. He came to Jerusalem with a large army in 1825 and raised a fine of 100,000 *ḳurush* from the rebellious city. But hardly had he turned his back, when the population rose again; the *mutasallim*, who had been on a punitive expedition to Bethlehem, was unable to re-enter Jerusalem; the few soldiers who had remained in the citadel were easily overpowered, and the city and the countryside alike were in full revolt. Even when the Sultan sent a special detachment which laid siege on the city, the inhabitants would not budge. Only when the balls from the canons deployed on the Mount of Olives fell into the city and set some houses of notables on fire was the resistance broken (Neophytos of Cyprus, *Annals of Palestine*, 1821-1841, ed. S. N. Spyridon, Jerusalem 1938, 3-4). This time the revolt was terminated without bloodshed. But it showed that the spirit of resistance to tyranny, fully ablaze in Hellas, was not entirely absent from the Holy City.

III. Modern times

14. *1831-1917*. A time of radical changes. Before one half of this short period was over, Jerusalem had become preponderantly Christian and Jewish, while the Muslim population, too, had made visible progress. The unprecedented expansion of the Christians was caused by the increasing dependence of Ottoman Turkey on developments in Europe, with its rivalling states and churches, and by the upsurge of political, religious, humanitarian and scientific interest in the Holy Land manifest in many Christian countries. The steep increase in the number of Jews, who formed the majority of the population by the end of the seventies, was a corollary of the general improvement; they formed a modest community of devout and mostly poor people.

This development was put into motion by the conquest of Palestine by Ibrāhīm Pasha, the stepson of Muḥammad ʿAlī, in 1831. His actions, of particular significance for Jerusalem, were inspired by his endeavour to create a strong government and to win the friendship of the European powers. He started to disarm the civil population, to break the despotism of urban families and rural factions, to raise a standing army by enforced recruitment and also to enlist the co-operation of the local people by appointments to administrative posts and the formation of consultative bodies. The Christians (and Jews) of Jerusalem were freed from the many special contributions they had to pay to local notables, permitted to repair and erect religious buildings and to work in the government. All this hurt many vested interests and aroused the ire of the Muslim population in general. The *fellāḥīn*, supported by the leading urban families, rose in arms and drove the Egyptian garrison from the town (1834-5). But Ibrāhīm Pasha quelled the revolt and vigorously pursued his aims. The establishment of the British consulate in Jerusalem in 1838 was a sign of the time.

When European intervention forced Ibrāhīm Pasha to give up his conquests, the Sultan, who had just promised equality to all his subjects (1839), could not turn the clock back. The trend of western penetration was strengthened by the Crimean war, in which Turkey was saved by England and France from Russian aggression. France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, Spain and the United States opened consulates in Jerusalem. The flags of Christian powers were now raised in the Holy City on Sundays and Holidays, the birthdays of their sovereigns were honoured by 21-canon salvoes (an honour, formerly reserved in Jerusalem for Muslim holidays and the birthday of the Prophet), and bells began to chime from the churches. At first, the Muslims in Jerusalem tried to stop these innovations by force. But such attempts were quickly suppressed and soon the immense material and spiritual advantages derived by the local population from the foreign activities became evident. Naturally, the local Christians were the first to benefit; it was in this period that certain Christian families of Jerusalem became rich and influential.

The Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem, which had been abolished in 1291 as a result of the Crusades (being represented by merely titular patriarchs who lived in Rome), was revived in 1847 and became a powerful factor in the city. The Greek Patriarch moved from Istanbul to Jerusalem. An Anglican bishopric was established in 1841 (functioning for some decades in co-operation with Prussia). In the same year the Jewish community of Jerusalem received by imperial *firmān* a *ḥākhām bashī*, or chief rabbi, who was sent from Istanbul and had access to the central government. The gift by ʿAbd al-Medjīd of the Ṣalāḥiyya *madrasa* (see § 10, above), the ancient convent of St. Anne, to the French emperor Napoleon III in 1856 (resulting in its restitution to its original use) and the presentation of a part of the Mūristān area (see § 10, above) to Prussia, which used it for the erection of a Protestant church, palpably illustrate the new situation.

Slowly the central government was able to assert its authority over the unruly city and the anarchic countryside. At mid-century, the bedouins still plundered travellers under the very walls of Jerusalem and inside the town Christians and Jews were still exposed to arbitrary extortions by notables and officials. But administrative and military reforms, the interventions by the consulates and improved means of communications brought relief. By 1865 Jerusalem was connected with the outer

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world by telegraph, and in 1868 the first road between Jerusalem and Jaffa usable by wheeled vehicles was completed. The railway followed only in 1892, and the French company building it had to insure its safety and that of its station-buildings (even that of Jerusalem) by arrangements with the heads of the villages adjacent to it. Postal services were provided by Austrian, French and other foreign agencies. There were many changes in the administration of the Jerusalem district (details in ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿIwāḍ, *Mutaṣarrifiyyat al-Ḳuds awāḵḵir al-ʿahd al-ʿUṯmānī*, in *Palestine Affairs*, iv [Beirut 1971], 126-41). In a letter to the German consul, dated 2 January 1872, the Pasha of Jerusalem calls himself "gouverneur de la Palestine" (M. Maʿoz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period*, 25), but the Jerusalem administrative unit never comprised more than the southern part of the country. As from 1874 (as several times before) Jerusalem was an independent *mutaṣarrīflīḵ* directly responsible to Istanbul and was headed by a rather ramified administration, having besides departments for general administration, finance, *ṭābū* (land register), *waḵf*, security, agriculture, commerce and education, one for foreign affairs, a speciality necessitated by the many consulates and foreign nationals in the town. In the consultative bodies, both of the district and the city, Christians and Jews were represented, albeit less than warranted by their numbers.

The area of Jerusalem, its physical appearance and the size and composition of its population totally changed during this period. Cathedrals and churches, some new mosques, synagogues and yeshivas (rabbinical colleges), palaces of patriarchs, convents, hospices, schools (first schools for girls, Jewish 1864; Arab, a German foundation, 1868), scientific institutions, hospitals, clinics, orphanages and other charitable foundations were erected in and outside the Old City, see section B. As from 1860, the inhabitants of the Old City began to establish new quarters outside, with the Jews, who were particularly closely crammed, taking the lead. For a further twenty years, the gates remained closed during the nights, which was not conducive to the security of the suburbs. The Muslims preferred to settle in the south (Abū Tōr) and in particular north of the city, in Wādī Djōz and the hills west of it; the Greek Orthodox centred mostly in the vicinity of St. Simon, the summer residence of their patriarch (the Katamon quarter), and the Jews founded about sixty suburbs mostly in the west. The "German colony" of the Templars in the south-west, and the "American colony" in the north, largely inhabited by Swedes, were renowned as particularly roomy. Selma Lagerlöf's famous novel *Jerusalem* (1901-2) depicts, besides the religious and personal plights of Swedish pilgrims, also local representatives of Islamic mysticism, inspired probably by the *imām* of the Shaykh Djarrāh mosque near the American colony, who was a leading Ṣūfī.

The events of the Young Turkish revolution of 1908, the disappointment following it and of World War I, with its terrible sufferings by an oppressive military dictatorship, famine and epidemics and the subsequent shrinking of the population—all these belong to the general history of the country. An often-reproduced photograph shows the British general Allenby entering the Holy City on 11 December 1917 on foot, displaying Christian humility.

15. *After 1917*. The military government of the British occupation army was replaced by civil administration on 1 July 1920. Jerusalem, as the seat of the Mandatory government, of the executives of the Jewish world organisations for Palestine, of the national council of the Jews of Palestine, of the Muslim Supreme Council (created in 1921), the various Christian church authorities and other local and foreign bodies, recovered, albeit slowly, from the effects of World War I. According to the census of 1931, the population comprised 90,503 souls, of whom 51,222 were Jews, 19,894 Muslims, 19,335 Christians and 52 others. It increased to about 150,000 at the beginning of World War II.

During the Mandatory period, important public buildings were erected, such as Government House (later the headquarters of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation), the Hebrew University campus and the Hadassah Hospital compound on Mount Scopus, the Pontifical Biblical Institute and the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, the YMCA and several new churches, and a great number of schools. New suburbs were founded, some of which quickly developed into populous centres.

The composition of the municipal corporation council experienced many changes, but always a Muslim mayor was appointed, although the vast majority of the population, and especially of the taxpayers, was Jewish. When, after the death of a Muslim mayor in 1944, the Jewish acting mayor demanded to be appointed officially, the council was dissolved and replaced by a commission composed exclusively of British officials.

The Pro-Jerusalem Society, whose committee comprised leading religious dignitaries, prominent scholars and other outstanding Jerusalem personalities, was indicative of the hopes for co-operation prevailing in the years immediately following the arrival of the British; its subsequent dissolution manifested the change of hearts and conditions. An interconfessional meeting place of longer duration was the Palestine Oriental Society, which had its seat in Jerusalem and in which local, British, American, French and other scholars joined efforts. The newly founded Hebrew University (opened 1925), the British, French, American and Pontifical institutes for archaeological and biblical studies and the ever-increasing number of writers (e.g. S. Y. Agnon, Nobel Prize winner) and artists of all descriptions created a lively intellectual atmosphere. The Government Arab College, led by the jovial savant Aḥmad Sāmiḥ al-Khālidī, laid the foundations for the rise of a new generation of Arab intellectuals in the country. Younger writers connected with the Government Department of Education, such as Isḥāḳ Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī and A. L. Ṭibāwī, published the first fruits of their pens. Jerusalem authors, such as Isʿāf al-Nashāshībī, Khalīl al-Sakākīnī and Khalīl Baydas, enjoyed good standing in the world of Arabic letters. Alongside with all these developments much of the traditional life of the various communities and their subsections continued almost unchanged.

The clash of the national aspirations of Arabs and Jews affected the destinies of Jerusalem more than that of any other city in Palestine. The first bloody events occurred in Jerusalem in April 1920 with several Jews and Arabs killed and many wounded. Al-Ḥādjdj Amīn al-Ḥusaynī, who had been condemned to death by a military court as main instigator of the disturbances and exempted from the amnesty granted by the new High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel when he took office, was appointed by him soon afterwards as *muftī* of Jerusalem and then elected head of the Supreme Muslim Council

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created by the government (1921). For the next seventeen years al-Ḥādjdj Amīn strove for unrestricted leadership of the Palestine Arabs, which brought him into conflict with other leaders, especially the mayor of Jerusalem, Rāghib al-Nashāshībī and the *amīr* (since 1946 king) ʿAbd Allāh of Transjordan. The Western Wall - Burāḳ [*q.v.*] affair, which led to the shocking events of August 1929 (when, however, Jerusalem suffered less than Ṣafad and Hebron) greatly enhanced al-Ḥādjdj Amīn's prestige, and so did his collections in India and elsewhere for repairs on the Ḥaram and the organisation of the Muslim Conference convened in Jerusalem in 1931. The burial in the same year of the Indian leader Muḥammad ʿAlī in the western portico of the Ḥaram was another significant step in arousing the interest of the Muslim world.

The mass immigration of Jewish refugees in 1933 and after led to a general uprising of the Arab population and ferocious fighting. Internecine warfare between the followers of al-Ḥādjdj Amīn and his adversaries acerbated the situation. Among the many victims were the British archaeologist J. L. Starkey, famous as discoverer of the Lachish ostraca, and two fine Arabists, Levi Billig of the Hebrew University and Avinoam Yellin of the Government Department of Education, known to many students of Arabic as authors of a useful classical Arabic reader.

The Peel Royal Commission, sent out in 1936 to investigate the situation, for the first time recommended the creation of an Arab and a Jewish state and the conversion of Jerusalem, together with Bethlehem, into a separate unit remaining under British mandate. But neither this nor any other of the subsequent attempts of the mandatory government to find a solution led to results. On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolution 189 (II) calling for the division of Palestine into two states, but united by economic union. Jerusalem was to be "internationalised".

Immediately after this decision the country was in flames. Jerusalem in particular suffered great losses in lives and property even before 15 May 1948, the official end of the British mandate. An Egyptian detachment took position in the Bethlehem area, while the Transjordanian Arab Legion attacked the Jewish quarter in the Old City. It was left by its Jewish population on 27 May and subsequently demolished, including its old Sefaradi synagogues and the two large Ashkenazi synagogues, the Ḥurva (dedicated 1865) and Nisan Bak (1872), whose cupolas had been landmarks of Jerusalem.

The ceasefire divided Jerusalem by a line slightly west of the western wall of the Old City. This left a number of predominantly non-Jewish quarters within the Israeli sector, while Mount Scopus with its University and Hadassah Hospital compounds formed an Israeli enclave, which soon became useless, since the free access to it, envisaged in the armistice agreement with Transjordan of 3 April 1949, was never granted. East Jerusalem was cut off from its electricity and water supply and from its direct routes to the West and the South. Both parties had to work hard before a semblance of normality was restored.

On 13 December 1948 the Transjordanian parliament resolved the annexation of the areas of Palestine occupied by the Arab Legion. Israel followed suit by transferring its parliament from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in February 1949 and proclaiming Jerusalem its capital on 13 December 1949. Both actions were in contradiction of the U.N. resolution of November 1947, which had foreseen Jerusalem as a *corpus separatum*. The matter came up repeatedly in the U.N. until 1952, when it was left dormant, until the war of 1967 created an entirely new situation.

The history of the Israeli sector of Jerusalem during the years 1948-1967 lies outside the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that during this period it received most of the administrative and cultural edifices a modern society needs. The eastern sector had lost its status as part of a capital, but still was the main city of the West Bank and developed also as a centre of tourism. It expanded greatly towards the north, engulfing Shaʿfāṭ and other villages. Important public buildings, founded by both local and foreign authorities, were erected and stately new hotels were built to cope with the developing tourist trade. ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, a former senior official of the Mandatory regime and meritorious author of books on Jerusalem and on the Beersheba district and its tribes, became mayor of Jerusalem. The last Jordanian mayor was Rūḥī al-Khaṭīb (Rouhi el Khatib) of a Hebron family, thus personifying the considerable influx of Hebronites into Jerusalem during its Jordanian period. The ups and downs of inner-Arab politics with regard to the legal status of Jerusalem and Jordan's rights on it belong to history. Jordan's rule left a permanent imprint by the restoration work carried out in the *ḥaram al-sharīf*, in particular, the golden dome and the ceramic inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock. The murder of King ʿAbd Allāh while proceeding from the Aḳṣā mosque on 21 July 1951 did not have the far-reaching consequences expected by his assassins. Fires broke out during this period both in the Holy Sepulchre and the Aḳṣā mosque, but did not give rise to any demonstrations or diplomatic moves. The visit of Pope Paul VI in January 1964 to both sectors of Jerusalem showed his deep concern for the Holy City.

The war of 1967, which lasted in Jerusalem only three days (Monday-Wednesday 5-7 June) caused loss of precious lives, but comparatively little damage. The Jordanians had occupied the U.N. headquarters and tried to encircle the new city from the south, but this attempt failed. The main fighting was in the north. After having taken the positions on the north-eastern hills, the Israeli forces entered the Old City from the St. Stephen's (Lions) Gate, *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*, finding but little resistance. The barriers between the two sectors of the city were removed, the eastern sector was immediately connected with the Israeli water system and received other municipal services and on 28 June 1967 the inhabitants of the two sectors were permitted to move freely throughout the town.

Naturally, this sudden turn of events at first had a stunning effect on the population of East Jerusalem. There were also great socio-economic difficulties. The middle class, especially the circles connected with the Jordanian administration and courts, was particularly affected. But the enormous expansion of the city in the subsequent years, which provided work and income for almost everyone, greatly alleviated the economic situation and brought about many contacts between the two parts of Jerusalem. But this did by no means solve the political problem. Strikes and acts of terror were not uncommon, but under the leadership of Teddy Kollek, mayor of the united city, the policy devised and implemented was one of non-intervention in the daily life and communal institutions of the Muslim population. The

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most conspicuous expression of this policy was to be found in the exclusive control which the Muslim religious institutions retained on the mosques of the Temple Mount and in the continued independent activities of the Muslim *Waḳf* and religious courts.

The declarations and actions of the Israeli authorities aiming at the "reunification" of Jerusalem were immediately followed by resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the U.N. calling for a return to the *status quo* prior to the war, as well as by protests on the side of Muslim bodies all over the world. The creation of a huge square in front of the Western Wall and of secure approaches to the inner city involved the demolition of a considerable number of Arab dwellings. Although such measures had been envisaged already in Ottoman times and although the inhabitants were indemnified, these were, of course, grave actions. Relevant complaints were submitted by Jordan to U.N., as from June 1967 but were described by Israel as grossly exaggerated. The fire damage caused to the Aḳṣā mosque on 21 August 1969 by a deranged Christian tourist from Australia made great stirrings in the Muslim world and it took some time until the truth penetrated.

About a year after the fire, the Muslim Council began repairing the damage caused by the fire. The repairs took several years and are practically completed. During the process of the work many parts of the mosque were built anew, including areas which were not damaged during the fire. With the funds of the Muslim *Waḳf* several ancient drinking fountains and the market of the cotton merchants were restored, existing mosques were repaired, and two new mosques were built.

Besides the monuments described in part B. and the vibrant folklife in the Old City, Jerusalem offers much of interest to the Islamist. The Palestine ("Rockefeller") Museum contains unique exhibits from Ḫirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*] and other treasures of Islamic art and archaeology. The Ḫālidiyya library in the Old City possesses valuable manuscripts, including some not listed in the *Barnāmadj al-maktaba al-Ḫālidiyya*, Jerusalem 1318, and so does the library of the Hebrew University. The Oriental reading room of the University library is an exceptionally good working library for Islamic studies. The Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Hebrew University harbours, among other collections, a Concordance of Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry, comprising at present over a million-and-half index cards, while the newly created L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute of Islamic Art (officially opened on 9 October 1974) can boast of exquisite examples of Islamic art and workmanship.

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(S. D. Goitein)

B. Monuments

The Islamic monuments of Jerusalem reflect at the same time the unique character of the Holy City itself with its complex memories translated into major works of architecture or into mystical and liturgical associations and the pecularities of the Muslim rule of the city as it has been outlined in the historical section A of this article. With the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem possesses the first consciously-created masterpiece of Islamic art, while the city remains unique among almost all Muslim cities in the manner in which its Muslim monuments are almost entirely concentrated in one part of the city, on or near the Ḥaram al-Sharīf [*q.v.*]. The first feature reflects the singular position of Jerusalem in early Umayyad times, while the second one is a direct result of the city's unique character. Any understanding of Jerusalem's monumental history requires, therefore, both an awareness of the city's archaeology, i.e. of its own peculiar relationship between a complicated topography and remains from former civilisations, and a knowledge of the types of official, religious, emotional, and financial investments which Muslim culture put into it at various times. As has been shown in the historical part, the latter changed considerably over the centuries and the changes affected the growth and the meaning of monuments in a way which is totally unique in Islamic history. While the presentation which follows is primarily historical, it should be borne in mind that eventually a similar survey could and should be made quarter by quarter, or else from the point of view of the type of political or pietistic associations which have surrounded the Muslim monuments of Jerusalem.

There is no complete study of Jerusalem's Islamic monuments as a whole. The most thorough investigation is that of Max van Berchem, which utilises simultaneously inscriptions, architectural remains, and written sources, especially the invaluable guidebook of Mudjīr al-Dīn. Since his time a number of monographs have modified our understanding of the two main buildings on the Ḥaram (we will use the term for convenience's sake, even though it did not become common until the Ottomans, see AL-ḤARAM AL-SHARĪF), the Dome of the Rock and the Aḳṣā mosque, while recent and still unfinished excavations to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram have introduced a large number of new elements in any understanding of the city in early Islamic times. A survey of Jerusalem's Ayyūbid and Mamlūk remains has only recently been initiated and very little has been published so far. The bibliography which follows this essay gives an idea of the considerable amount of information we possess about Jerusalem, but this very abundance identifies the main problem faced by the investigator of the city's monuments, which is to determine what in them is typical of Islamic culture as a whole and what is unique to a unique city. We shall return to this question at the end of our survey. In the meantime, it has seemed preferable to describe the city's growth chronologically and to identify in it four major periods of development: (1) early Islamic up to the middle of the 4th/10th century; (2) from the middle of the 4th/10th century to the Crusades (492/1099); (3) Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, from the time of the reconquest at the end of the 6th/12th century to *ca.* 1500; (4) Ottoman period. No mention is made of the city's development after its awakening to the modern world in the 19th century, for by then we are no longer dealing with an Islamic city in the traditional sense but with a modern town searching for ways to accommodate its own unique spiritual and emotional values with the pressures of contemporary life. Much thought has been given to these problems in Jerusalem since the first reports sponsored by British mandatory authorities and by various ecclesiastical groups. Their investigation and discussion belongs, however, to modern urbanism rather than to the understanding of a Muslim city.

1. *Early Islamic, until the middle of the 4th/10th century.*

All later developments in the monumental history of Jerusalem were affected by the manner of the

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city's conquest and by the circumstances surrounding its first Muslim settlements. However uncertainly known the actual events of the conquest may have been, one key archaeological point is clear: the huge Herodian setting for the Jewish Temple on the eastern side of the city was standing in ruins; many courses of its magnificent masonry, most of its gates, possible fragments of its towers could still be recognised, and its surface as well as the surrounding areas were littered with easily-accessible stones from its constructions. For scriptural reasons, the Christians had left the Herodian space unused except for a small and comparatively late memorial church to St. James in the south-western corner. South of the Temple area there were Christian hostels and monasteries, but apparently no major living areas, for the Christian city was concentrated in the western side of the town, around the hills of Zion and Golgotha, with the Holy Sepulchre and its attendant constructions as focal points. Whether or not there was a Byzantine wall enclosing the whole of Zion hill and the spur of Mount Moriah which overlooks Siloam from the north (the so-called wall of Eudocia) is still a moot question, but seems likely.

Almost as soon as the formal take-over had been completed, the Muslims appropriated for themselves the Herodian Temple area for their own administrative and religious purposes. The reasons for this act were many. It was a large empty space in a city in which by treaty the conquerors were not allowed to expropriate Christian buildings; the early Muslims were under the influence of Jewish converts with presumed knowledge of the area's holy significance; the Muslims may have wanted to show their opposition to the Christian belief that the area must stay empty; and, finally, the Muslims themselves may have had a spiritual attachment to Jerusalem before conquering it, though the possibility is difficult to demonstrate. But regardless of the reasons, the key point is that a huge space became available to the new culture in a striking location overlooking most of the city. It can furthermore be deduced from a variety of later developments that the earliest settlements by Muslims took place in the sparsely populated area south and south-west of the Temple.

There began then a monumental and ideological Islamisation of an ancient site, for which we possess a rather remarkable series of documents, even though all of its concrete modalities are still far from being clear. What occurred in effect is that the Muslims provided new and highly individual meanings to an existing space with different meanings. The following chronological scheme can be provided for this unusual development, although, as will be seen, much in it is still hypothetical.

First a small "rudely built . . . quadrangular place of prayer" (as described by the western pilgrim Arculfus *ca.* 680) was erected. It was mostly in wood and set somewhere in the midst of the Herodian ruins. Nothing is known of its internal arrangements, but it was probably a typically early Islamic hypostyle mosque. Its exact location is also unknown, although it is likely but by no means certain that it was not far from the place of the present Aḳṣā mosque. This building probably remained until the first decade of the 8th century, but, as will be seen below, there is a possibility that already under ʿAbd al-Malik a new building was begun. There is no textual or archaeological information as to whether any of the newly found buildings south and south-west of the Ḥaram belong to this very first period, but the possibility cannot be excluded.

The second step in the development of the Herodian site coincided with the rule of ʿAbd al-Malik. Its most remarkable monument is the Dome of the Rock completed in 71/691. Often described and often studied, it consists of two octagonal ambulatories around a dome-covered cylinder, 30.30 m. high and 20.30 m. in diameter. The dome is set over a huge rocky outcrop with an underground chamber. The building is provided with four axial gates preceded by often redone porches. The building is a remarkably thought-out composition whose every detail in plan and in evaluation has been most accurately measured so as to create the most impressive effect. Its conception, and almost every architectural detail in its interior arrangement (piers, columns, capitals, arches, etc.), belong to the architectural repertory of Byzantine art and more specifically to the *martyrium* tradition of Jerusalem buildings like the Holy Sepulchre or the church of the Ascension. It is from the same tradition that derives its internal decoration of marble panelling and especially of mosaics covering almost all wall surfaces above the capitals and cornices of piers and columns. There is both literary and archaeological evidence that the early building was also covered with mosaics on the outside. The subject matter of these mosaics is also derived from earlier artistic traditions, mostly Mediterranean, but also with a few themes of Iranian origin. These mosaics are often considered as typical examples of a pre-Islamic way of decorating the interior of major buildings. This is true to the extent that a rich variety of vegetal and occasionally geometric motifs, superbly adapted to the shapes provided by the architecture, have any number of models in earlier buildings, even though rarely preserved in such spectacular fashion. But there is quite a bit of originality in these mosaics as well. In subject matter two points are of importance. One is the presence of an imperial jewelry of Byzantine and Iranian origin on all wall faces directed toward the centre of the building. The other one is the absence of any representation of living beings several decades before we become aware of a partial Muslim prohibition of images. A long inscription, however, comprising primarily Ḳurʾānic quotations, has been shown to fulfill an iconographic purpose by its choice of passages, as will be discussed below. Stylistically, the mosaics are perhaps less unique, although their effect as a sort of sheath over the architecture rather than as a series of independent panels emphasising each part of the building may be understood as prefiguring the later use in Islamic art of decoration overwhelming the architectonic values of a monument.

The Dome of the Rock, as it appears today, is not entirely in its original shape. Beyond numerous repairs and restorations carried out over the centuries on basically original elements (particularly under the Fāṭimids and after the Crusades), there are two areas where later changes have completely obliterated earlier features. Inside, all the ceilings, including the dome, appear in Mamlūk or Ottoman garb and the whole exterior has been redone with superb coloured tiles in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. In the 1950s and 1960s the building was virtually taken apart by a team of Egyptian architects and engineers supported with contributions from the whole Muslim world and then put back together and restored in a particularly successful manner. Every part of the building was put back in the manner which reflects the earliest information we possess about it.

The most frequently-raised question about the

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Dome of the Rock is that of its original purpose. Three explanations are available. One is that it is a building commemorating the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension (*isrāʾ* and *miʿrādj*); the second one is that it sought to replace the Meccan Kaʿba for Muslim pilgrimage; the third one is that it was a monument celebrating the new faith's presence in the city of Judaism and Christianity and its belonging to the same monotheistic tradition. Too many arguments (see above, section A and articles by Goitein and Grabar) exist against the second explanation to maintain its possibility. The first one has the advantage of corresponding to the eventual association which was and still is made by Muslim piety, but there is much doubt about the likelihood of its existence at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. The third explanation agrees with the political and psychological circumstances of the times and with the internal evidence of the decoration (with its royal symbols strung like trophies around the centre of the building) and especially of the inscriptions (which contain the whole Christology of the Ḳurʾān). For the history of art, the Dome of the Rock would then appear as an extraordinary monument which succeeded in providing new meanings to traditional forms.

But the construction of the Dome of the Rock raises a number of additional problems which pertain to the archaeological history of the city of Jerusalem. It is on an artificial platform situated excentrically to any other part of the former Temple area. The platform was reached through a series of stairs, some of which must have been there at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik. Since we know otherwise that at the time of the Muslim conquest the Temple area was in ruins, we must conclude that by 71/691 a considerable amount of work had already been accomplished on the walls and pavements of the area as well as on its gates. The nature and extent of this work cannot be determined but, if it is true, as H. Stern believes (*contra* Creswell and Hamilton) that the earliest Aḳṣā mosque may have been begun at the time of ʿAbd al-Malik, then we must also assume that much of the south walls of the Ḥaram and the Double and Triple gates had been rebuilt, for, as Corbett and Monneret de Villard have suggested, their plans and location may be Herodian but their construction and completion are early Islamic.

Be this as it may, the third step in the transformation of the Temple area by the Muslims can be dated to the time of al-Walīd (86-96/705-15). It is to him that we owe the first clearly documented Aḳṣā mosque (see, however, the controversies between Stern, Hamilton and Creswell). It was a building consisting of an uncertain number of naves perpendicular to the *ḳibla* wall with a central nave provided with a dome (following here Stern *contra* Creswell). The plan was an unusual one for its time, and should probably be explained by the fact that the substructures of the Ḥaram platform which had to be restored by this time consisted of north-south arcades serving as supports for the building above. The Aḳṣā mosque was decorated with mosaics and with marble and was also provided with remarkable carved and painted woodwork, now kept in the Palestine Archaeological Museum and in the Aḳṣā Museum. One last point should be made about the Aḳṣā mosque. Although its internal organisation was but a modification of the hypostyle tradition prevalent at the time, it was quite consciously located on the same axis as the earlier Dome of the Rock and thus was part of an architecturally thought-out ensemble comprising a congregational and a commemorative building, just as in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre in the western part of Jerusalem. Although their exact chronology is still difficult to establish with any sort of precision, we may also assume that the group of large buildings with courts and with long rooms recently excavated to the south and to the south-west of the Ḥaram had been completed by the time of al-Walīd. Whether they were the palaces and administrative buildings (*dār al-imāra*) mentioned in papyri, whether they were commercial establishments or more simply the residence of whatever Arab families and clans moved into the city in early Islamic times, they form a striking monumental ensemble of large constructions along streets and stairs (partly Herodian) leading up to the Double Gate, at the time the main entrance into the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, or, as we probably must call it, the *masdjid bayt al-makdis*, the mosque of Jerusalem. It is at this time that we begin to have the first indications of specifically Muslim associations with the Ḥaram, whether strictly new ones pertaining to the life of the Prophet or Muslim versions of the lives of earlier prophets. These developments are, however, very difficult to date properly. What can be ascertained is that by the middle Umayyad period a uniquely original architectural composition had been created: two major buildings on a partly refurbished enormous space inherited from earlier times which, unlike the Roman temple in Damascus, was too large to be transformed into a single building for new Muslim functions, but which therefore ended up by acquiring particularly original ones.

The following two centuries are the least documented in the monumental history of Jerusalem. Yet their importance is considerable, not so much by their contribution to the architecture of the city (consisting mostly of repairs and restorations, including major reconstructions of the Aḳṣā mosque under al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī) as by the indications they provide of the continuing concern of the Muslim community at large for its sanctuary in Jerusalem. Part of this concern is purely practical; walls are built up or repaired after earthquakes; the area of the Ḥaram is officially measured and apparently surveyed, as appears from inscriptions which are our main source for this aspect of Muslim activities on the Ḥaram. Each gate was provided with a wooden porch ordered by the mother of al-Muḳtadir, who also paid for the repairs of the Dome of the Rock's cupola. A portico was built on the western and northern sides of the Ḥaram, thus providing a formal frame to the sanctuary; some of the minarets may be of that time.

But another concern is far more interesting. It consists in the growth of pious associations. The latter were certainly translated into buildings, although none of the latter are known to have survived and our information is entirely through the testimony of geographers like Ibn al-Fakīh or al-Muḳaddasī or through littérateurs like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih. Three themes appear in these associations which will remain constantly in the religious and architectural history of the Ḥaram: the Night Journey of the Prophet commemorated through a score of *maḳāms* and of *ḳubbas*, ancient prophets commemorated either through gates or through *miḥrābs*, and eschatology commemorated by the new interpretations given to the strange *Ḳubba al-Silsila* (Dome of the Chain, probably the Treasury of Umayyad times, see van Berchem) as the place of Judgement, by a *ḳubba* of

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the Trumpet, or by the appearance of a new name to the Golden Gate, the Gate of Mercy. The theme of eschatology should probably be related to the development of the Muslim cemetery to the east of the Ḥaram into something more than just a local cemetery, for even the rulers of Ikhshīdid Egypt wanted to be buried there. But it is also true that funerary cults grew at that time in many parts of the Muslim world, although Jerusalem, as the town of the Prophets and of Resurrection, played a unique part in this growth.

Altogether, then, if one takes the time of al-Muḳaddasī (*ca.* 385/985) as the terminal point of the first period in the monumental history of Jerusalem, one can clearly see that its most remarkable achievement was the transformation of Herod's ruined Temple into a unique Muslim sanctuary, by then already accepted as the third most important sanctuary of the faith. Dominated by the Dome of the Rock, high above the whole city, comprising a large mosque with a cupola, full of new commemorative buildings of varying sizes, partly surrounded by a portico, with almost all of its gates underground leading to the Muslim quarters to the south and possibly also to the west, the Ḥaram must have been a very impressive sight, a fitting tribute to the Umayyad princes who initiated the transformation of an empty space full of memories into a Muslim holy place. But beyond such conclusions as can be drawn from the buildings of Jerusalem in early Islamic times for religious and cultural history, they also lead to a number of important conclusions for the historian of art. For, on the one hand, they illustrate the ways in which pre-Islamic themes have been transformed into Islamic ones and, on the other, they are our best examples of what may be called an imperial Islamic style initiated by the Umayyad dynasty.

Little is known about Islamic constructions outside the Ḥaram area. From an inscription analysed by van Berchem and from a passage in the Christian chronicler Eutychius (*Matériaux, Ville*, no. 24), it appears that in the early 4th/10th century a mosque was built within the compound of the Holy Sepulchre in contradiction to the early treaties between Muslims and Christians. Nothing is known of its shape.

2. *From ca. 338/950 to the Crusaders.*

In many ways, the second period is nothing but a continuation of the first one. Repairs and restorations are recorded in texts and in inscriptions as buildings deteriorated or as they were damaged by man or by nature. But two phenomena identified primarily with the Fāṭimid dynasty appear to indicate more significant changes.

The first of these affected the whole city of Jerusalem. It is that under the caliph al-Ẓāhir, probably around 421-4/1030-3, the walls of the city were rebuilt and, more importantly, shortened on the south side of the city to approximately their present position. What this meant is that the traditional Muslim quarter to the south of the Ḥaram was abandoned and that the underground gates found there were blocked. The main entrances into the sanctuary were shifted to the west and possibly to the north. This involved certain changes in the names of gates (cf. Ḥaram), but it also involved a major building-up of the western gate, the present Bāb al-Silsila, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was there in 438/1047, describes the brilliance of its mosaics, apparently similar to those of the Aḳṣā mosque which are Fāṭimid (cf. below). It is also from the Persian traveller that we can infer that the commercial centre of the city had by then shifted to the area west of the sanctuaries, probably to where it is now.

The second phenomenon is the rebuilding of the Aḳṣā mosque also under al-Ẓāhir. Probably as a reflection of a depopulation in the city, the mosque diminished in size to approximately its present dimensions, but the most remarkable feature of the Fāṭimid mosque consists in its mosaic decoration, studied by Henri Stern who showed, among other things, that the Fāṭimids used Umayyad models in their decoration. If one considers that a number of additional buildings were built on the Ḥaram—for instance a mosque near the Golden Gate—and that the imperial mosaic inscription on the triumphal arch of the Aḳṣā is the first one in Jerusalem to begin with Ḳur'ān, xvii, 1, the *isrā'* verse, one may propose the hypothesis that there had been a formal attempt by the dynasty to build up the holiness of Jerusalem's sanctuaries. This development, which was cut short in the second half of the 5th/11th century by political difficulties, must probably be connected with other Fāṭimid activities in Palestine, as exemplified for instance in the celebrated *minbar* now in Hebron (G. Wiet, *Notes d'épigraphie arabe*, in *Syria*, v [1924], 217 ff.) and even with the earlier destruction of the Holy Sepulchre under al-Ḥākim. All these matters still require fuller investigation. What is important at this stage is that, even though the city had diminished in size, the Fāṭimids, probably for religious and political reasons of their own, sought to increase both the splendour and the meaning of the main sanctuaries of Jerusalem.

It should also be pointed out that it is under the Fāṭimids that we have our first evidence for the use of the citadel on the western side of the city. The evidence is primarily archaeological.

3. *The Ayyūbids and Mamlūks.*

As is well known, the Crusaders took over the Ḥaram area and transformed it into a palace and eventually into the military and religious centre of the Knights Templar. Since the earlier underground gates had been blocked, the Crusaders made a new gate, the so-called Single Gate leading directly into the Stables of Solomon in the north-eastern part of the sanctuary. In addition, the Crusaders modified the Holy Sepulchre and built many new churches, some of which, like the Church of St. Anne, still survive, even though in a slightly romanticised 19th century garb. Much in the city's topography during the time of the Latin Kingdom is not clear, but it does seem that they initiated many buildings in the valley immediately east of the Ḥaram and thus began the process of partial levelling of the Ḥaram's platform with its western surroundings which has continued from that moment onwards. Finally, it should be noted that the Crusaders were very active builders and, even though much of their work was destroyed, it provided an enormous supply of already-carved stones with the result that, in addition to remaining completed units such as the transept of the Aḳṣā mosque, a large number of subsequent Muslim buildings, especially in the area of the Bāb al-Silsila or in adjoining streets, contain decorative units taken from Latin constructions.

It is possible to discuss as one entity the monuments built in Jerusalem between 1200 and 1500 for two main reasons. One is that the nearly ninety original monuments which remain (not to speak of those mentioned in Mudjīr al-Dīn's chronicle) have

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not been studied with as much attention as the earlier ones, and stylistic or functional differentiations which doubtlessly occurred cannot therefore be identified as precisely. The second reason is that, partly because of their number and partly because they are functionally and even stylistically relatable to monuments found in Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo, these monuments lend themselves more readily than the earlier ones to typological rather than to chronological definition.

One kind of architectural activity which followed the Crusades does, however, escape this general rule. It consisted in the task of re-Islamising the city. Churches were destroyed or transformed into mosques and the two main sanctuaries on the Ḥaram were systematically cleansed of as many traces of Christian occupation as possible. This activity was particularly notable in the Aḳṣā mosque, where Saladin put up a new *miḥrāb* with a rare mosaic decoration and to which he transported Nūr al-Dīn's celebrated *minbar* made especially for Jerusalem and which was tragically destroyed in 1969 (cf. the historical section, § 15, above). In addition, Saladin and his immediate followers sought to repair, rebuild, and resanctify all the holy places which had existed on the Ḥaram. As van Berchem showed on several occasions, this task was carried out in some confusion and led to any number of misunderstandings. On the whole, however, it seems that the old sanctuary was returned quite rapidly to its former shape but not necessarily splendour, for, as will be shown presently, a totally new taste affected its western and northern sides.

One can put into the same category of refurbishing the city of Jerusalem the rebuilding of its walls. Inscriptions, texts, and masonries are for the time being quite confusing for the establishment of a coherent chronology of the fortifications from the 7th/13th century until the Ottomans. It is not even certain whether the present walls coincide with those rebuilt under the Ayyūbids, although what differences may have existed were probably minimal. The citadel on the western side of the city, whose use by the Muslims before the Crusades is still uncertainly documented either archaeologically or through literary sources, was entirely redone and remained in use as a typical late mediaeval *ḳalʿa* until very recent times.

Within a walled city with its restored ancient sanctuary and with a diminished Christian population, an enormous building activity took place over three centuries. Its first characteristic is that it was almost entirely concentrated on the Ḥaram proper and on its western and northern sides, either alongside the sanctuary itself or along the streets leading to it. Only two Muslim buildings are known with certainty in the whole western half of the city. Its second characteristic is that it was a continuous activity. It is true of course that one can recognise and identify certain particularly active moments, such as the twenties and thirties of the 8th/14th century, during the times of the remarkable governor Tenkiz or else the times of Ḳāʾitbāy in the 9th/15th century. But these clusters of activity, which deserve individual monographs, should not hide the fact that buildings were erected all the time and by an extraordinary broad social spectrum of sponsors.

The functions of the buildings are typical of any place in the Mamlūk period: schools, orphanages, libraries, *madrasa*s, baths, *ḵẖānaḳāh*s, *ribāṭ*s, hospitals, commercial establishments, caravanserais, public latrines, fountains. The only apparent peculiarity of Jerusalem when compared to Cairo or to Aleppo is the preponderance of purely charitable institutions over private mosques, *madrasa*s, and mausoleums, the latter being quite scarce. This latter point obviously reflects the practicality of Muslim piety as well as the fact that, as a politically provincial city, Jerusalem did not lend itself to the conspicuous consumption inherent in the construction of mausoleums.

Few plans and elevations are available for these buildings but, when they do exist, the plans appear to be variations of the ubiquitous central plan (often covered, either because of the small size of the buildings or because of the impact of another tradition of construction than Cairo's) with one to four *īwān*s. The most visible feature of each building was always its façade, and Jerusalem is provided with an unusually wide range of Mamlūk portals. There are few variations in their plans, but many in their elevation, especially in the types of vaults used. Superb *muḳarnas* series coexist with simple barrel vaults and the zone of transition of the Bāb al-Silsila's domes exhibit the remarkable range of models available to local masons and architects. Of all the buildings the most remarkable ones are the Tenkiziyya, the Arghūniyya, and the Sūḳ al-Kattānīn for the 8th/14th century and the Ashrafiyya or the jewel-like fountain of Ḳāʾitbāy on the Ḥaram for the 9th/15th one. The construction is throughout of stone and all monuments exhibit the superb technique of Palestinian masonry: closely jointed courses often of stone of alternating colour, joggled voussoirs, sobriety of decoration consisting usually of mouldings around openings or of inscriptions. While it will eventually be possible to determine a number of stylistic details which will identify a Jerusalem style of architecture, the main impression given by most of these monuments is that they exemplify the consistently high standards of Mamlūk architecture all over Syria and Egypt.

The more important aspect of all these constructions lies in the manner in which they have transformed the Ḥaram. For instead of being simply an area surrounded by a portico and reached through a number of more or less monumental gates, the northern and western sides of the Ḥaram became a show place of façades to buildings whose function was no longer connected to the Ḥaram but received a certain value or grace from it. Thus the most magnificent gateway on the Ḥaram is not an entrance to it but to the bazaar of cloth merchants. The older, traditional gates with their consecrated names lost their importance. The Ḥaram itself became cluttered with all sorts of new buildings which detract by their very multiplicity from the main sanctuaries, inasmuch as many of them were for private or restricted use as places of prayer or for public charity rather than for the formal expression of the faith's beliefs. What seems to be involved is at the same time a different, far more practical and more pluralistic piety, and also a different taste, no longer the imperial taste of the Umayyads nor probably that of the Fāṭimids, but the taste of a wider social order which sought individual salvation through works rather than through the monumental glorification of the faith.

4. *The Ottomans.*

During the first years of Ottoman rule, earlier practices continued and a *madrasa* like the Risāsiyya (947/1540) still follows Mamlūk practice and Mamlūk ideals. A large number of fountains are even later.

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But the main effort of the Ottoman dynasty in its heyday was once again an imperial one, and it is therefore not an accident that its two most spectacular achievements are still among the most impressive monuments of the city. One is the tile revetment of the Dome of the Rock and the other one is in the walls and gates of Jerusalem. Both are essentially 10th/16th century achievements attributed to Sulaymān the Magnificent, and it is important to note that neither one sought to be functionally or spiritually original. For regardless of their effectiveness, which is striking indeed, their main point is that they have managed to capture two consistent themes in the monumental history of Jerusalem: the creation of a new Muslim holy place and the symbolic as well as physical separation of the Holy City from the rest of the world.

After this century, the main activity of the Ottomans consisted in constant repairs of the main sanctuaries of the Ḥaram. The quality of these repairs decreased with the centuries as Ottoman wealth decreased and as Jerusalem declined in population and importance, until the second half of the 19th century brought a new, European-centred, significance and architecture into the city.

In the most recent years, two different types of investigations have been carried out in Islamic Jerusalem. The first one is the continuation and partial publication of excavations to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram. These have by now fully demonstrated that the Umayyads utilised and probably rebuilt the staircases of Herodian origin leading to the sanctuary. See N. Avigad, *Archaeological discoveries in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, Second Temple period*, Jerusalem 1976, and Mayer Ben-Dov, *Hashiridim min hatikufa hamuslamit hakaduma beʿazor har habayit*, in *Qadmoniot* (Jerusalem 1972).

The second group of investigations are the studies of Mamlūk monuments by A. Walls and M. Burgoyne, published in vols. iii (1971) onwards of *Levant*, *Jnal. of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, and with a checklist by Burgoyne, *The architecture of Islamic Jerusalem*, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1976. In addition to providing accurate plans and elevations of buildings to the west of the Ḥaram, these studies have at times dealt with broader issues and a particularly original note by A. Walls in *Levant*, viii (1976), 159-61, suggests that the construction of the minarets of Afḍal ʿAlī (1465-6) and of the Ṣalāḥiyya (1417) in the western and primarily Christian part of the city served to frame symbolically the domes of the Holy Sepulchre with prototypical Muslim monuments.

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Several general books have provided valuable introductions to Islamic Jerusalem, even though many of them still tend to deal primarily with pre-Islamic times. The most accurate ones are Y. Yadin, *Jerusalem revealed*, New Haven 1975 and Israel Pocket Library, *Jerusalem*, Jerusalem 1973. An exception with good photographs is A. Duncan, *The Noble Sanctuary*, London 1972. An interesting but controversial book about the future is A. Kutcher, *The new Jerusalem*, Cambridge 1973. (O. GRABAR)

ḲUDSĪ, MUḤAMMAD DJĀN, poet at the Mughal court in India. He was born and raised in Mashhad, from where he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and was then engaged in the grocery trade before he went to India. In 1041/1632 he joined the ranks of the Emperor Shāh Djahān's poets. Dāghistānī, the author of the *Riyāḍ al-shuʿarā'*, states that Ḳudsī preceded Kalīm as poet-laureate to Shāh Djahān, but this is not confirmed by contemporary sources. He died in Lahore in 1056/1646-7 and, according to Ādhar's *Ātash-kada*, his remains were removed to Khurāsān.

Ḳudsī's poems are distinguished by a felicity of style. Like Kalīm, he was also engaged to compose a poetic history of Shāh Djahān's reign. Though less talented than his more famous contemporary, he seems to have been held in high esteem, and was regarded as a leading poet of his day.

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KUDUMMUL, a small volcanic island in the Red Sea in 17° 52′ N lat., called Kotumble on the English Admiralty charts and Qotanbul in *Admiralty handbook, Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 133. The island has a rich flora, which has been studied by the botanist Ehrenberg, and is noteworthy for its iron deposits, which are mentioned as early as the geographer Ibn al-Mudjāwir (d. 630/1233). Kudummul, which lies near Ḥamida on the Arabian coast off ʿAsīr [*q.v.*], once marked the boundary between the land of the Kināna and Yemen.

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(A. GROHMANN)

AL-ḲUDŪRĪ, ABU ʾL-ḤUSAYN/AL-ḤASAN AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. DJAʿFAR B. ḤAMDĀN AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, Ḥanafī *faḳīh* who was born and who died at Baghdād (362-5 Radjab 428/972-24 April 1037). He was head of the Ḥanafī school in ʿIrāḳ, and had occasion to lead several public discussions, in which he defended his own viewpoint, with his contemporary, the Shāfiʿī Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāʾīnī, whom he however especially revered. A number of pupils gathered around him, the most famous of whom was al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [*q.v.*].

As well as various works like his *K. al-Nikāḥ* on marriage and his *K. al-Tadjrīd* on the differences between the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs, al-Ḳudūrī wrote a *Mukhtaṣar*, which had a great scholarly renown and enjoyed a sanctity comparable to the *Risāla* of al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*] amongst the Mālikīs. It is a concise legal manual, but is clearer than the one of the same name by Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]; it deals with ritual, contracts, personal status, criminal law and the law of succession, without particular care for logical order. This *Mukhtaṣar* inspired many commentaries, including e.g. *al-Djawhara al-nayyira* of Abū Bakr b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbbādī (Istanbul 1301, 1314, 1323, Delhi 1327) and *al-Lubāb fī sharḥ al-Kitāb* of ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maydānī (in the margins of the previous work, and Cairo 1344/1927). Numerous mss. of the *Mukhtaṣar* exist, which has been published many times, notably at Delhi in 1847, at Bombay in 1303 with trs. in Persian and Pashto, at Istanbul in 1281 with a Turkish paraphrase, and in 1309 also. The chapter on the holy war was edited and translated into Latin by Rosenmüller, in *Analecta arabica*, Leipzig 1825-6, and in French by Ch. Solve, Paris 1829; that on marriage was edited and translated by G. Helmsdörfer, Frankfurt 1832; and more recently, G.-H. Bousquet and L. Bercher edited and translated extensive passages in *Le statut personel en droit musulman hanéfite*, Tunis n.d.

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AL-**KŪFA**, one of the two cities (*miṣr* [*q.v.*]), along with Baṣra [*q.v.*], founded in ʿIrāḳ by early Islam. A permanent military establishment of the Arabs in Mesopotamia, Kūfa retained the whole of the ʿIrāḳī *Sawād* [*q.v.*] under its control. It participated actively in the Islamic expansion into Iranian territory, and, throughout the 1st/7th century, was a hotbed of intense political ferment. It was there also, as at Baṣra, that there took place for three centuries the gestation of Arabo-Islamic civilisation and culture. Then Kūfa experienced decline and ruin; today only a few traces remain, mostly of late date or restored.

Kūfa was founded in 17/638 by Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], the victor of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], after the whole of ʿIrāḳ had been wrested from the hands of the Sāsānids and notably after the capture of Madāʾin-Ctesiphon (16/637), whose climate the Arabs could not endure. But other no less important reasons must be added to this: given the existence of a willingness to settle and immigrate, ʿUmar preferred to keep the Arabs grouped together and segregated from the peoples and territory conquered, in a relationship of spatial continuity with Arabia. This presupposes that, very swiftly, these main ideas were issued which set out to dictate the relationship of conquering people-conquered peoples: no dispersal in the *Sawād* or agricultural settlement, maintenance of the military striking force, the setting-up of a newly-originated fiscal system which would tap the revenues of the ʿIrāḳī territory without direct exploitation on the part of the Arabs, all this resting upon the co-existence of Arab clans very dissimilar in their origin. The role of the new state and the new religion as tutelary power and unifying principle was also implicitly taken into consideration. There is no doubt that ʿUmar wished to make of it the experimental melting-pot of his system, given concrete form by the establishment of the *dīwān* between 20 and 23/640-3.

I. The city of Kūfa.

Kūfa, a creation *ex nihilo*, was placed at the edge of the Arabian steppe, but on the bank of the principal branch of the middle Euphrates, guarding the passage to Bābil and, from there, Ctesiphon, a few miles to the north-east of al-Ḥīra; an excellent position of contact, astride two worlds, somewhat familiar to the Arab army due to its being situated in the region of al-Ḳādisiyya. Kūfa, placed on the right bank of the Euphrates, on a tongue (*lisān*) of dry, grey sand mixed with gravel, was slightly above the water level. It escaped floods, was well-supplied with water, and enjoyed a salubrious climate.

We do not know with exactitude the origin of the word Kūfa. The Arab historians and geographers, as they were accustomed, made of it a common noun designating any surface of rounded sand, but obviously, this appears to be a reconstruction a *posteriori*. Massignon derives it from the Syriac ʾAkōla

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basing it in particular on Chinese testimony; a text of al-Ṭabarī situates the place ʿAḳūl between the Euphrates and the houses of Kūfa, probably to the north of the *miṣr*. Perhaps it is nearer the truth to see its origin in the Persianised form Kūba (Sarkis, in *Sumer* [1954]). Only a text of Sayf b. ʿUmar (al-Ṭabarī, ed. Cairo, iv, 40 ff.) gives some detailed information on the first settlement, on the *takhṭīṭ* of the mosque and the palace, and the apportioning of land to the tribes, clans and fragments of tribes, who constituted the army of Madāʾin. This has to be rectified and completed in the light of other historical and geographical texts. A public area was at first delimited; this was to include essentially the mosque and the governor's palace, and to become the focal point from which the whole encampment branched out. Fifteen *manāhidj* or avenues separating the tribal lots, each forty cubits wide, radiated from this central area. Along the five *manāhidj* of the north were settled the tribes Sulaym, Thaḳīf, Hamdān, Badjīla, Taghlib and Taym al-Lāt; to the south, the Asad, Nakhaʿ, Kinda and Azd; to the east, the Anṣār, Muzayna, Tamīm and Muḥārib, Asad and ʿĀmir; finally, to the west, Badjāla, Badjla, Djadīla and Djuhayna. This picture, it may be seen, contradicts a tradition of al-Shaʿbī cited by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 276) according to which all the Yemenīs were placed to the east, between the mosque and the Euphrates, and the Nizārīs to the west, a tradition which study of the topography of Kūfa as it appears from the narratives on the great revolts of the 1st/7th century does not corroborate. But it is beyond doubt that some alterations were effected by historical evolution in this picture of tribal geography: the Tamīm, in particular, migrated from the east to the west with the ʿAbs. The problem of the great tribes of Rabīʿa, Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays still remains. For the most part, the Bakr migrated to Baṣra, but a certain number of them settled at Kūfa—including the ancient family of Dhu 'l-Djaddayn. As for ʿAbd al-Ḳays, initially established at Baṣra, they were possibly moved on a large scale to Kūfa at the time of the caliphate of ʿAlī, to leave it again in 40/660 for Baṣra. In any event, a certain number of characteristic features of the tribal establishment at Kūfa are to be noted: settlement of the main part—but not the whole—of the Arab *muḳātila* who had to confront the Sāsānid armies; heterogeneity of the tribal structure, in contrast to Baṣra; presence of a majority of Muḍarī and Ḳaysī elements formed either from large Bedouin clans (Tamīm, Asad), or from clans of the Ḥidjāz (Thaḳīf, Sulaym, Djuhayna, Muzayna), but nevertheless a concentration of a strong Yemenī minority, completely uncustomary elsewhere. It may even be asked if early Kūfa did not contain a majority of Yemenīs, who later became a weaker and weaker minority; certain modern authors have gone as far as to assert that the *takhṭīṭ* of Kūfa was conceived to shelter these distant migrants, together with those of the Ḥidjāz, rather than the others (M. Hinds, in *IJMES*, ii [1971], 346-67). The pure Yemenī elements are here massively present (Ḥimyar, Hamdān, Ḥaḍramawt, Madhḥidj) alongside tribes newly Yemenised (Kinda and Badjīla in particular, Azd Sarāt and Ṭayyiʾ), but the tribe which became the most numerous of the Yemenīs and without doubt of all the tribes, that of Hamdān, was not settled at Kūfa as early as the Madhḥidj, Badjīla and Kinda, and it was made up for the most part of recent immigrants (*rawādif*), who had come under ʿUthmān, ʿAlī and perhaps Muʿāwiya. It remains a fact that the Yemenī phenomenon was to determine the political destiny of Kūfa as well as the colour of its civilisation. According to Massignon, it is through the influence of the old Yemenī element, city dwellers for a long period, that the sedentarisation of the Arab tribes at Kūfa was effected; hence a civilising and urbanising role of the first order may be attributed to it from very early on.

Figures for the total population vary according to the sources and periods. It may be admitted that during the very first phase, there were between 20,000 and 30,000 inhabitants (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 276), although Yāḳūt gives the figure of 40,000 (*Buldān*, iv, 491). A text of Abū Mikhnaf (al-Ṭabarī, v, 79) speaks of the mobilisation by ʿAlī of all the 57,000 *muḳātila*, of whom 40,000 were adults and 17,000 adolescents. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, having enlarged the mosque, foresaw it as accommodating 60,000 people, a figure corroborated by a reliable piece of information given by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 345) concerning the people registered in the *dīwān*. So there would have been, around the year 50/670, 60,000 men and 80,000 women and children, that is, 140,000 Arabs of whom a census had been made, to which it is reasonable to add the clandestine residents and the non-Arabs, slaves or *mawālī*. Certainly at the same period the figure for the population of Baṣra (200,000 registered) rather outnumbered that of Kūfa, but the demographic inflation in the space of a generation was nevertheless considerable. This may explain the transplantation by Ziyād to Khurāsān of 50,000 people, of whom 40,000 were from Baṣra and 10,000 from Kūfa. It is probable that after Ziyād and throughout the Umayyad régime, the number of Arabs drawing stipends and registered remained stable or even had a tendency to diminish from al-Ḥadjdjādj (75-95/694-713) onwards, but the number of non-Arabs, uprooted from the land, new *mawālī* flocking to the *miṣr*, cannot be known for certain. The fact that this last governor took drastic measures to repulse them is clear proof of the existence of this disordered influx, dangerous for the equilibrium of the city. The history of the population of Kūfa, in the earliest and Umayyad period, is that of a very swift and essentially Arab expansion in a first phase (17-53/638-73), followed by a stabilisation, at times disrupted by the rural non-Arab immigration.

The topographic framework of Kūfa during the 1st/7th century evolved while remaining faithful to the original plan. The first Kūfa, that of ʿUmar (17-23/638-43) was a military camp, geometrical, airy and open, where tents quickly raised for an expedition were drawn up in lines. Soon, without doubt after the pacification of the Iranian territories, the need arose for a more permanent settlement, where tents were replaced by huts of reeds, which were abundant in the region. A third stage saw the substitution of houses (*dūr*) for huts, in *labin* or clay dried and cut up in large rectangular blocks, a stage inaugurated under the first governorship of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba (22-4/642-4). In fact, all this is information given by Yāḳūt and reproduced by Massignon. Nevertheless, it is contradicted by Sayf, who compresses the stages, stating that the building of Kūfa in *labin* was decided very rapidly, before the *takhṭīṭ* itself, in 17/638. Finally, it is with Ziyād (50-3/670-3) that the *ādjur* or Mesopotamian fired brick was introduced, at first to construct the cathedral mosque and the governor's palace which adjoined it on the south, later no doubt for the houses of the aristocracy or *dūr*. Considerable ex-

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penses were incurred to give to the mosque an architectural form: materials brought from al-Ahwāz for the columns, and the calling in of Aramaean or Persian masons. Kūfa was changed into a well-built city and began to take on, with this governor, the features of its topography which would only really change with the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period.

Umayyad Kūfa was not surrounded by ramparts; it may be supposed that its diameter did not exceed two kilometres. The monumental centre was composed of the *djāmiʿ*, of the fortified *ḳaṣr*, of the *raḥba* or *maydān* where various ceremonies took place, and of markets or *aswāḳ*, constructed under the governorship of Khālid al-Ḳasrī (105-20/723-37) but given a specialised use much earlier. Massignon sees here the prototype of the future *aswāḳ* of Baghdād, but it is permissible to consider them as the model for the markets of all the Islamic towns of the Middle Ages by virtue of their vaulted form as well as the structure of their activities, where a special place had to be accorded to the *ṣayārifa* or moneychangers, at the time bankers of the governors and moneylenders of the Shīʿi conspiracies.

From the monumental centre there radiated out the *khiṭaṭ* or tribal lots which constituted the main part of the dwellings of Kūfa. Nevertheless, *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* or individual lots were assigned from the earliest period as exceptional favours to the Companions and to certain great figures who had their aristocratic houses built there, always situated in the centre. Al-Yaʿḳūbī gives a list of 25 *dār*, in which are to be noted the names of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Saʿd and his son ʿUmar, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and his descendants who played an important role in Kūfa before emigrating to Ḳumm, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, Khālid b. ʿUrfuṭa, one of the principal leaders of the army of conquest, ʿAdī b. Ḥātim, Djarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badjalī, al-Ashʿath al-Kindī and Umm Hānī sister of ʿAlī. Other sources speak of the private houses of al-Walīd b. ʿUḳba, al-Mukhtār al-Thaḳafī and ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth.

In addition to the monumental centre, to the collective *khiṭaṭ* and the private *dār*, let us cite as essential elements of the topography of Kūfa the *manāhidj* or avenues, the *sikak* or streets, the *ṣaḥārī* (waste pieces of ground? e.g. *ṣaḥrāʾ al-Bardakhī*), the *ḥammāmāt*, the *masādjid*, small mosques of a clan or quarter, and especially the *djabbānāt* of Kūfa. The *djabbānāt*, numbering a dozen, riddling the city everywhere almost certainly from the time of ʿAlī, played the role of tribal cemeteries, but they owed their importance to the fact that they served as places of assembly, mobilisation and taking-up arms. Their name was linked with some major historical episodes, such as the revolt of al-Mukhtār. It may be that we have there a privileged example of the influence of old Yemen on the urban structure of Kūfa. Among the principal *djabbānāt* may be cited that of Sabīʿ devolved to the Hamdān, dj. Mikhnaf (Azd), Murād (Madhḥidj), Kinda (Kinda and Rabīʿa), Ṣāʾidiyyīn (Asad), Uthayr (ʿAbs), etc. Other topographical features, whether in Kūfa itself or in its immediate environs, are often mentioned in the sources and assume a certain importance: the *Kunāsa*, at first a dumping-ground situated to the west of the camp-town, having become later, from the Umayyad period, a place of unloading for caravans from Arabia, a market for animals, on occasion a place of execution, and above all a fair for the poets similar to the *Mirbad* of Baṣra; the *dār ar-rizḳ*, the *sikkat al-barīd*, the *bāb al-fīl*, the *ḳinṭara*, all this within the city; *ḥammām* Aʿyan, *sūḳ* Asad, *dayr* Hind, *dayr* Kaʿb, *dayr* al-Djamādjim and *ḳaṣr* Muḳātil, situated immediately outside but all places intimately involved in the city's existence.

Umayyad Kūfa, marked by the attempt at urbanism of Ziyād and Khālid al-Ḳasrī, evolved, while remaining faithful to the earliest plan, from a Bedouin-style camp to a well-built, articulated, functional city, an evolution which was to be completed in the ʿAbbāsid period by the mere fact of the maturing of the Arabo-Muslim civilisation of which Kūfa was precisely one of the two primordial melting pots. Throughout the 1st/7th century, Kūfa no doubt remained airy, not yet surrounded by ramparts and open to the Arab steppe, as is witnessed by the traffic of men and poetry and the obstinate presence of the Bedouin model. Sedentarisation, a rapid and undeniable success, would have been inexplicable without the maintenance of the umbilical cord with Arabia, but the Arabs of Kūfa were well and truly settled people, almost totally cut off from the nomadic way of life. For it was the first time in their history that the Arabs united to form such a great urban concentration, a melting-pot where specimens of the whole of Arabia came to live and dwell together. If we continue to consider the urban sphere, we have to notice that Kūfa was to undergo profound changes during the high ʿAbbāsid period. The early ʿAbbāsids considered making it their capital and established themselves there for some time, but the ʿAlid presence and sympathies were so strong that they wavered for some time between Kūfa, Anbār and the new city of Hāshimiyya which was coupled with Ḳaṣr Ibn Hubayra, before al-Manṣūr founded Baghdād (145-6/762-3) and moved the *bayt al-māl* and *dawāwīn* there from Kūfa (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 293), which indicates clearly that Kūfa had assumed the role of administrative capital of the empire, even if the caliphs did not always reside there.

During this short period of thirty years (132-46/750-63), there took place an Iranisation of a part of the Kūfan toponymy, following the influx of Khurāsānian soldiers: for example, the streets of Laḥḥām Djarīr and Ḥadjdjām ʿAntara and the naming of crossroads by the Iranian form of *čahārsūdj*, such as the *čahārsūdj* of Badjīla (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 280). On the other hand, the early ʿAbbāsids undertook the building at Kūfa of al-Ruṣāfa and the castle of Abu 'l-Khaṣīb; above all, al-Manṣūr, after the move to Baghdād, had the city surrounded by ramparts and a moat, making the inhabitants bear the costs of it. It is probable that the enclosure did not surround the *Kunāsa* and some *djabbānāt* outside the centre, thus creating a differentiation between a *madīna* and suburbs. The term *madīna* in the sense of a historical urban nucleus, elaborated, closely-packed and protected by walls with gates, makes its appearance for the first time in the account given by al-Ṭabarī with regard to the revolt of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (199/814). The same author remarks that the *Kunāsa* contained dwelling houses, just as there appears in his writing the idea of a suburb or *rabaḍ* (viii, 561). Thus we are in the presence of the "process of civilisation" of Kūfa in every sense of the term: it became a classical Muslim town after having been an Arab camp-town, and it became a civil centre after having been a military camp. Finally, during the 3rd/9th century, and although it always remained clearly Arab, its population was mixed and the city began to live in osmosis with the Sawādiyyūn or people from the Sawād who started to become Muslim. Nevertheless, there is a problem of knowing

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whether, at its apogee as a city, in the 3rd/9th century, Kūfa entirely lost its character of a spacious town and came to resemble those Islamic cities of a latter age where the *madīna* became an assemblage extremely crowded with houses and almost stifling. It does not seem so, because the geographers of a later period, such as al-Muḳaddasī and much later Ibn Djubayr (though the latter was writing in a period of the city's complete decadence), allow one to catch a glimpse of the existence of green or garden spaces in the heart of the town. But these same geographers, as the archaeological remains stretching as far as Nadjaf also indicate, testify to the expansion of Kūfa towards the west, far beyond the early boundaries. But then, Kūfa was no longer one of the centres from which early Islam, i.e. conquering Arab Islam, radiated, but an important city of ʿIrāḳ, the simple capital of an administrative area.

The provincialisation of Kūfa, and even its decadence, became an established fact in the 4th/10th century. The old structures (the military *arbāʿ*, the tribal spirit, the financial system) began to break down, because the whole edifice of the conquest, inherited from the Arab empire, and of which Kūfa was merely the concrete form, became obsolete, and it is known that at its height the caliphate submitted to the tutelage of the Būyids at the same time as the unity of the Muslim world broke up. Because of this, the decadence of Kūfa was only one of the manifestations of this profound change which intercontinental commercial activity was unable to sustain and prolong, as at Baṣra for one or two centuries. One may speak of a crisis of the Islamic city (Massignon), but in reality we are concerned with a general crisis of early Islam as a state and society, indeed as a civilisation; even more, one might say, with a historical mutation for which a town like Kūfa should certainly pay the price. On the concrete level, there was the great Ismāʿīlī outbreak at the end of the 3rd/9th century, of which Kūfa was the primordial crucible and of which the Ḳarmaṭian violence was one of the destructive elements. In 293/905, 312/924 and 315/927, Kūfa underwent the assaults and pillage of the Ḳarmaṭians. It was never to recover from these. It is this which explains the emergence in 334/945, not far from it, thanks to the protection of the Būyids, of Nadjaf or Mashhad ʿAlī as a centre of Shīʿi devotion which, since the 3rd/9th century, had become the specifically distinguishing dimension of Kūfa. Shīʿi religious symbolism was concentrated there, but as it happened, the old Arab Kūfa which was far from being identified with the Shīʿi phenomenon vanished. The urbanised tribal structure also collapsed at the same time as there arose a "re-bedouinisation" or, at any rate, a growing threat from a new nomad world of the Arabo-ʿIrāḳī steppe. Thus it was in 386/996 that Bahāʾ al-Dawla ceded Kūfa as an *iḳṭāʿ* to the chief of the ʿUḳaylids [*q.v.*]. The Banū Asad, the Ṭayyiʾ, of whom a large fringe remained outside the city limits, because undoubtedly living in symbiosis with it, and also the Shammār, newly-come on the scene, dominated Kūfa and ruined it. Thus these same Asad (to differentiate them from the settled Asad), from whom the grammarians of Kūfa derive, by means of a real ethnological effort, all the flavour of their citations, preserving themselves with their very strong identity, came to present themselves as taking part in the ruin of Kūfa, the new incarnation of Lagash, Ur and Babylon, and which was soon dead like them. In 495/1101, with the emergence of al-Ḥilla, Kūfa lost definitively its importance and the major part of its inhabitants. Ibn Djubayr (539-614/1144-1217), who visited it a little later (578-81/1182-5), speaks of it as a deserted and ruined city but one where some inhabitants still survived, subjected to the regular pillages of the tribe of Khafādja (*Riḥla*, Beirut 1959, 187, 188). The whole built-up area between the mosque and the Euphrates had been destroyed and was covered now with orchards. He speaks at some length of the cathedral mosque, still standing, with its high ceilings, its columns leaded on the inside, a prayer hall with five bays, its sacred vestiges where the Shīʿi myths were neighbours to the recurring myths of old Babylonia taken over by Islam: the *muṣallā* of Ibrāhīm, the *miḥrāb* of ʿAlī, the *tinnawr* of Noah and the supposed tomb of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl. After the Mongols had conquered ʿIrāḳ, Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī wrote for the Mongol prince a treatise describing the resources of the country (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 30, 166, 210), where he speaks of Kūfa as having ramparts with a circumference of 18,000 paces and of its important agricultural role. Finally, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (8th/14th century) who, on the subject of Kūfa, reproduces in part Ibn Djubayr but adds some personal elements, sees it, in a similar way to Mustawfī, as a town ruined for the most part, but not yet dead. According to him, of the *ḳaṣr al-ʿimāra*, nothing more than the foundations remained, but the markets, still beautiful, survived. He speaks of the *djabbāna* of Kūfa as if there were no more than one, where the tomb of al-Mukhtār had been repaired and over which a cupola had been erected (*Riḥla*, Beirut 1960, 219). In the Ottoman period, Kūfa fell to the rank of a *nāḥiya* dependent on the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Nadjaf, which was dependent in its turn on the *sandjaḳ* of Karbalāʾ. Niebuhr visited it and compiled a plan of it. Massignon went there for a first time in 1908 and for a second time in 1934. He spoke of the "now deserted site of the great city which was the most Arab of the Muslim metropolises", of which just a few traces of buildings were marked out: the Djāmiʿ, the tombs of Hāniʾ b. ʿUrwa and Muslim b. ʿAḳīl, the Bayt ʿAlī, two guard houses, one of which was built by the English, the small oratory Ḥannāna and the *masdjid* al-Sahla. He noted that a new quarter had appeared between the mosque and the Euphrates. It still exists, and has even been extended; however, it is less important than the recent western quarter, towards Nadjaf, which is mainly residential. Some other European archaeological missions went to al-Ḥīra (Talbot Rice in 1931, in particular). Since 1938, the site of Kūfa, declared an archaeological site, has become an object of interest to the ʿIrāḳī academic authorities and a first season of excavations was made there at that date. The great mosque, completely and sometimes awkwardly restored, remains the central building; it seems to be raised in comparison with its earlier level and only the ramparts remain. The *ḳaṣr*, much larger, has just been mapped out. It is a building now in ruins, though more instructive than the mosque. Let us also note the presence of the mosque of al-Sahla to the west of the site. Various objects in glass and ceramic and some coins of the Umayyad period have been found. Nevertheless, the archaeological exploration of Kūfa may be considered as only in its early stage and, if well handled, as being capable of adding much to our knowledge of the city, still essentially one derived from books.

II. Politics, ideology and culture in Kūfa.

While in the 1st/7th century Kūfa played a political

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role of the first order, as the matrix of a large number of matters of future significance for Islam, in the 2nd/8th, after the foundation of Baghdād and with the opening-up of the Islamic empire, politics and the struggle for power left Kūfa aside; but, on the other hand, cultural activities developed there and achieved a high level (between 150 to 250/approx. 760 to 860). From then there is evidence of a triple Kūfa: a political Kūfa (up to 150); a cultural Kūfa (150-250) and then a purely ideological Kūfa (250-350) which had become a focal point of doctrinal Shīʿism.

The principal episodes which punctuated the political activity of early Kūfa were: the participation in the revolt against ʿUthmān (34-5/654-5); the support given to ʿAlī for the two great internecine battles of al-Djamal (36/656) and Ṣiffīn (37/657); the emergence in its heart of the Khāridjī movement; the beginnings of political Shīʿism with the action, which was suppressed, of Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī al-Kindī (51/671). After that, the pro-Shīʿī revolts succeeded one another, and were just as regularly quelled: the episode of Muslim b. ʿAḳīl and the massacre at Karbalāʾ (60-1/679-80), the march of the *Tawwābūn* (65/684), the uprising of al-Mukhtār (66-7/685-6), the preaching of al-Mughīra and of Bayān, the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī (122/739) and that of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya (127/744). Finally, it was Kūfa which was the directing brain behind the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*, and it was at the great mosque of Kūfa that the first caliph of the new dynasty was solemnly invested (132/749). But Kūfa equally underwent numerous rounds of Khāridjī assaults, particularly in 76/695, when it was threatened by Shabīb, and more seriously in 127-8/744-5 by al-Ḍaḥḥāk. It participated, in 82-3/701-2, alongside Baṣra, in the great revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath which brought the Umayyad régime close to its collapse and which was a revolt of the *amṣār* without ideological content.

This abundance of insurrections, of seditious actions and political events, earned Kūfa the reputation of a turbulent, agitated, ambitious city, and, for the later Shīʿī consciousness, of a martyr city. Thus on the majority Sunnī side, there were some solid prejudices, on the other side, a whole apocalyptic elaboration in which "accursed Baghdād will be destroyed and Kūfa will be queen of the world, after having been a dwelling of exile and waiting for true believers." According to the *ḥadīth* of Salmān, "Kūfa is the *ḳubba* (= royal tent) of Islam; a time will come for the world when there will be no true believer except the one who lives there or whose heart sighs for it" (Massignon, *Explication du plan de Kūfa*, repr. in *Opera Minora*, iii, 54).

In reality, this constant political effervescence of the 1st/7th century resulted from the structure of Kūfa itself as well as in historical evolution. As a fundamental component of the system of the *amṣār* at least until 30/650, the date at which Baṣra outstripped it in the conquest of the Iranian East, Kūfa sheltered the conquerors of ʿIrāḳ from the time of the first wave onwards, that of the *Ahl al-Ayyām* until the *Ahl al-Ḳādisiyya*. The first presumed upon the antiquity of their conversion and their faithfulness to Islam, the second had participated in the *Ridda*, but they were of no less high Arab lineage. Kūfa, on the other hand, drained the major part of the resources of the *Sawād* and the leaders of the army managed the ancient royal domains, this becoming later a real apple of discord, while the immigration to Baṣra, except for that of the Bakr, was that of latecomers, of tribes from the Arabian south-east, newly come to the scene of conquest and arriving in complete, homogenous tribal groups. Within the tribal structure of Kūfa, in the conditions which surrounded its genesis, by the attraction exercised over the new immigrants or *rawādif*, and the lack of any immigration control, from the very fact of its supremacy in the high period, some germs of tension took root which were ready to develop. Under the caliphate of ʿUmar, the equilibrum was maintained, and the armies of Kūfa were occupied in conquering Persia. It is in the caliphate of ʿUthmān that the internal conflicts began to appear; the former Islamic élite, raised up by ʿUmar, yielded ground to the traditional chiefs who shared in the *aʿmāl* and saw their position reinforced by the waves of *rawādif* of their own tribes (a typical case of opposition is between an Ashtar Nakhaʿī and an Ashʿath b. Ḳays). The activism of the Ahl al-Ayyām, disappointed by the new politics, resulted in the murder of ʿUthmān in which a number among them were involved, and this ranged them necessarily on the side of ʿAlī. ʿAlī's coming to Kūfa highlighted the new phenomenon of the supremacy of the *amṣār* over Arabia for the definition of the political destiny of the Arabs; for four years, Kūfa was to be if not the capital of the empire, seeing that the empire was divided, at least a centre of major decision and the seat of the caliphate. From this privileged episode of its existence, Kūfa was to derive its future pretensions, but also a persistent faithfulness to ʿAlī and his family. Nevertheless, from its origin, this faithfulness was far from making for unanimity. The Ashrāf or traditional chiefs of the tribes, having in general participated at al-Ḳādisiyya, and being enrolled in the *sharaf al-ʿaṭā*ʾ, were lukewarm towards the cause of ʿAlī and consequently also the mass of the inhabitants who, in general, followed them. The activists remained (who may be named as the *ḳurrā*ʾ [*q.v.*]), of whom a majority cast in its lot with ʿAlī and on whom he showered benefits, but of whom a minority, harder and more intransigent, showed itself reticent and soon hostile with regard to him. After the arbitration, it appeared that ʿAlī could no longer be certain of anyone except his partisans, his *shīʿa* in the political sense of the term, while the intransigent members of the *ḳurrā*ʾ fell into Khāridjism and the conservative group of the Ashrāf abandoned him; whence the dislocation of the coalition which he had constituted, whence also the minority character and powerlessness of the Shīʿa for a century. The Umayyads governed indeed with the support of the Ashrāf, who did not like them, but found in them a principle of order. They were satisfied with their growing social influence, guaranteed by the Umayyad régime. It is this which explains why the Ashrāf ranged themselves on the side of the established power every time that a Shīʿī insurrection broke out, and why that power gained their collaboration in disarming the Shīʿī troops. In 61/680, they even took part in the murder of Ḥusayn; they mobilised actively against al-Mukhtār, who threatened their privileges; and they regrouped themselves around the governor in order to bring about the failure of Zayd b. ʿAlī's action. Only the great revolt of 82-3/701-2 was a specifically ʿIrāḳī revolt against the preponderance of the Ahl al-Shām, the tyranny of the governor al-Ḥadjdjādj and, because of this, it was led by the Ashrāf as well as by the *ḳurrā*ʾ. But there followed a large-scale demilitarisation of the *miṣr*, and the foundation of Wāsiṭ, the settlement of the Syrian army in ʿIrāḳ as if in occupied territory.

If, throughout the 1st/7th century, the majority of the Ashrāf showed themselves hostile to the

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Shīʿī movement. certain of the Ashrāf nevertheless participated actively in it, such as al-Mukhtār himself, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ al-Shibāmī, But after al-Mukhtār, it was above all popular elements which supported Shīʿī activism, whether from among the Arabs, Yemenīs in particular and, more precisely, Yemenīs from certain clans of Hamdān (Khārif, Shakir, etc.), or else recruited from among the plebeians of the new immigrant *mawālī*, a mass operation utilised by al-Mukhtār. It is probable that the rallying of the Yemenīs to the Shīʿī cause was due to their marginal position in the Arab city, socially as well as culturally, for there is no doubt that a number of poor were recruited from the clans of Hamdān (clans of *rawādif*?) and that the call for the rights of the *Ahl al-Bayt* found some echoes in the old Yemenī consciousness. It is this which explains the populist character of the revolt of al-Mukhtār (66-7/685-6), perhaps the most important Shīʿī revolt of the 1st/7th century. It succeeded in assuming power at Kūfa for some time; above all, it fashioned the Shīʿī consciousness by giving it a mystique, a language, slogans and some elements of a doctrine. Also, the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*], who derived from it, would be, via Abū Hāshim, at the root of the *daʿwa* for the Family.

With the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, there took place an intellectualisation and a deepening of Shīʿism, the political action becoming intermittent. Hence one must wait until the year 195/814 to see a resurgence of an insurrection of the old style, that of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, and the year 250/864 for that of Yaḥyā b. ʿUmar, far less dangerous, to break out. But Shīʿism as a faith did not cease to gain ground, so that it veritably became the quasi-unique ideology of the town at the end of the 3rd/9th century and constituted a cultural and religious tradition in the 4th/10th century. Certainly, it was at this moment that the Shīʿī imagination, re-reading the history of the town, reclassified its sites according to its own standards, dividing quarters and mosques into blessed and cursed ones.

Kūfa was able to export its Shīʿī consciousness to the Iranian world, and to Ḳumm especially. Ḳumm was indeed a projection of Shīʿī Kūfa, as Balkh, Marw and Nīsābūr were a projection of Baṣra. Because of this, as a colonising centre, Kūfa showed itself less active than Baṣra. Each of the two *miṣr*s is known to have had its *thughūr* and its *māh* [*q.vv.*]. The central Iranian territory was practically partitioned: Rayy was the *thaghr* of Kūfa, and Iṣbahān depended on it, but the *māh* of Kūfa, sc. Nihāwand, showed itself less active than the *māh* of Baṣra, sc. Dīnawar, although several sources speak of Dīnawar as the *māh* of Kūfa. But it is especially in the race to the peripheral Iranian territories, from 29/649 onwards, that Baṣra gained the upper hand, with the conquest of Khurāsān, while Kūfa had to be content with Ādharbāydjān, a province of little account, with Ḳazwīn as an extreme *thaghr*. Nevertheless, over the centuries, the specifically Shīʿī nature of Kūfa imposed itself by a process of slow penetration into the whole Shīʿī consciousness of Islam by way of Baghdād and, by that of Ḳumm and Mashhad, to the whole modern Iranian lands, while Baṣra was not alone in defining the structures of later Sunnī Islam, although it had been a primordial centre bringing the idea of *djamāʿa* into action. However, the religious and cultural legacy of Kūfa should not be limited to the transmission of the Shīʿī tradition. Far more important can be shown by analysis to be the participation of Kūfa in the elaboration of the universal Arabo-Islamic culture which became rooted in the great *miṣr* of the first two centuries. Baghdād was to be the heir of Kūfa and Baṣra. these two fundamental matrices which defined the general lines of the culture of Islam, each with its own genius: Kūfa excelled in the recovery of the Arab poetic patrimony, in the exegesis of the Ḳurʾān, in law and genealogy, whereas Baṣra, more rationalist and critical, invented Arabic grammar and was the great centre of Muʿtazilī speculation.

There are two great cultural moments in the history of Kūfa: the one oral, of obscure gestation, where the culture, still undifferentiated, was seeking to establish its foundations (17-150/638-767); the other, brilliant, which developed a true classicism and bequeathed to us some great works (150-250/767-864). In both cases, the two fundamental poles around which the new culture expressed itself were Bedouin Arabism and the Islamic message, the influence of the conquered peoples proving negligible. Arabic writing was perfected at Kūfa, undoubtedly with the participation of the Arabs of al-Ḥīra, and Kūfic, having become a monumental writing, may be considered the most ancient specimen of post-Islamic Arabic writing, although the type of writing was used on Sāsānid *dirhams*. It is also in very early Kūfa that Ibn Masʿūd lived and taught, later becoming the eponym whose name crystallised the traditionist current and to whom some disciples were attached: ʿAlḳama b. Ḳays, al-Aswad b. Yazīd, Masrūḳ b. al-Adjdaʿ, ʿUbayda, al-Hamdānī and Shurayḥ. Schacht thought that the founding role of Ibn Masʿūd was fictitious and that some forged traditions were projected on to him between 100 and 130/719-48, establishing the chain Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān-Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī-Ibn Masʿūd, but that nevertheless *fiḳh*, which preceded *ḥadīth*, was created by the single centre of Kūfa. In fact, it seems clear that three key-personalities, living in the 1st/7th century, played a main role in the first glimmerings of law, *ḥadīth* and exegesis: Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī, Saʿīd b. Djubayr and ʿAmr b. Sharaḥbīl al-Shaʿbī. In the domain of spirituality, there was no personality here comparable to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but the currents of asceticism and mysticism found their masters in Uways al-Ḳaranī and Rabīʿ b. Khuthaym. Let us cite in the sphere of *tafsīr* and *akhbār* the names of two precursors: Mudjālid b. Saʿīd and Muḥammad al-Kalbī; for the collection of poetry that of Ḥammād; and for poetic creation, the names of Aʿshā Hamdān and al-Kumayt.

The second phase of the cultural history of Kūfa, whose beginnings coincide with those of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, saw the differentiation of the disciplines and the emergence of the great founders and synthesisers: Abū Ḥanīfa, master of the school of *raʾy* in canon law (d. 156/772); Abū Mikhnaf, one of the first great Arab historians (*akhbāriyyūn*) (d. 157/773); al-Ruʾāsī, to whom the first work of grammar is attributed, ʿĀṣim b. Bahdala (d. 131/748), and Ḥamza, who, together with al-Kisāʾī, established three of the seven canonical readings of the Ḳurʾān. Later, the generation of those who died in the years between 180 and 200/796-816 assumed the burden of recording, codifying and totalising the knowledge founded in the preceding period, so that the works which survive today belong to this generation of active disciples and totalisers: Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804) in law; Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 206/821), highly erudite, a genealogist and *akhbārī*, well-versed in

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knowledge of the Arab patrimony which he worked increasingly at collecting and establishing; and finally al-Kisāʾī (d. 179/795), who was the supreme master of the grammatical school of Kūfa. This school collective opinion still claims to set up as a rival of that of Baṣra. It is regarded as more deeply rooted in the Arab environment, with a passion for anomalies (*shawādhdh*) and a more acute sense of poetry. Nevertheless, on examination, it is revealed as being a particularisation of the fundamental contribution of Baṣra, i.e. that of al-Khalīl, master of everyone, although the role of al-Ruʾāsī deserves to be clarified. This being granted, al-Kisāʾī, like Sībawayh at Baṣra, engendered a line of grammarians marked out by al-Farrāʾ, who is comparable to al-Akhfash, and by Thaʿlab, who may be compared with al-Mubarrad, the height of activity of these two last occurring around 250/864; the two of them achieved the totalisation of the earlier knowledge of the two schools. But already Baghdād, after having gathered to itself the greatest names of Kūfa and Baṣra for two generations, begins to give forth an eclectic tradition in all fields, digesting, surpassing and delivering to the Islamic world the admirable work of two centuries which had been produced in the two *miṣr*s.

In the intellectual consciousness of contemporary Islam, that which is willingly remembered of the historical evolution of Kūfa, that by which it is largely known, is its school of grammar and its role as cradle of Shīʿism, perhaps because this is what particularises it the most in the last instance, and laid the foundations for its survival in the other. But the renewal of interest in the political and cultural history of ancient Islam will allow for the growth of a further consciousness of the role it assumed as a place of Arab settlement and immigration, as a centre of great political struggles and as a specifically Arab city which, along with Baṣra, established the basis and true style of the cultural scheme of Islam.

Bibliography: The most ancient sources on the history of Kūfa, consisting of monographs written by the *akhbāriyyūn* of the 2nd/8th century, have entirely disappeared as such, but some more or less important fragments of them are to be found in the great well-known standard works which have derived from them the main part of their information. Let us cite first al-Haytham b. ʿAdī, *Kitāb Khiṭaṭ al-Kūfa, K. Wulāt al-Kūfa, K. Ḳuḍāt al-Kūfa wa ʾl-Baṣra, K. Fakhr ahl al-Kūfa ʿala ʾl-Baṣra*; ʿUmar b. Shabba al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Kūfa, K. Umarāʾ al-Kūfa*; the well-known monographs of Abū Mikhnaf, resumed by al-Ṭabarī in particular, inform us of the main events but also indirectly of the topography. A manuscript attributed to Abū Mikhnaf exists at Berlin under the classification Spr. 160 and bears the number 9039 in Ahlwardt's catalogue, with the title *Kitāb Khabar al-Mukhtār wa-bni Ziyād*; the present author has examined it and it appears to him apocryphal. Moreover, the later monographs have themselves also disappeared: that of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Nadjashī al-Asadī (*Kitāb al-Kūfa*) and that of Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar b. al-Nadjdjār (*Taʾrīkh al-Kūfa*).

Great classical works: (a) Principal sources: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān* and *Ansāb al-ashrāf*; Ṭabarī; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, devoted to Kūfa; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh* and especially *Buldān*; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Buldān*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*.—(b) additional sources: these comprise the greater part of the works of history, geography, *adab*, law etc. The most useful are, apart from those which have been indicated in the body of the article: Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*; anonymous, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿAbbās wa-waladih*, ed. Dūrī, and anonymous, *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ*, ed. Griyaznevitch; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab*; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh* and *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*; Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī* and *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*; Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*; Djāhiẓ, *Bayān*; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*; al-Khāṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*; all the classical works of geography and *adab*; amongst works of *fiḳh*, in particular Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, but also Abū ʿUbayd Ibn Sallām, *Kitāb al-Amwāl* and Kudāma b. Djaʿfar; the works of *Ṭabaḳāt* and heresiography are equally useful;—Shīʿī sources: Ibn Abī Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*; Kulaynī, *Kitāb al-Kāfī*; al-Kashshī, *Akhbār al-ridjāl*, Bombay 1317; anonymous, *Mukhtār-nāma*, lith. Tehran 1351; Ṭabarsī Nūrī, *Nafas al-Raḥmān*, lith. 1868, *al-Iḥtidjādj*, Nadjaf 1966; al-Barāḳī, *Taʾrīkh al-Kūfa*, Nadjaf 1960;—Studies: Nearly all that has been written by modern scholars on early Islam, the Umayyads, the development of Islamic culture, Shīʿism, is relevant to Kūfa. We refer the reader only to the studies relating specifically to Kūfa: Le Strange; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, i, *IFAO*, Cairo 1910; idem, *Explication du plan de Kūfa*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, 337-60 (fundamental); idem, *Explication du plan de Baṣra*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, Wiesbaden 1954, 154-74; P. Pelliot, *Des artisans chinois à la capitale abbasside*, in *T'oung Pao* (1928-9); R. Guest, *A tablet in Kufic from Kūfa*, in *JRAS* (1933); F. Kmietowicz, *Un trésor de monnaies coufiques trouvé en Pologne*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i/2 (1959), 209-30; W. M. Watt, *Shīʿism under the Umayyads*, in *JRAS* (1960), 158-72; Muḥammad ʿAlī Muṣṭafā, *Taḥrīr awwalī ʿan al-tanḳīb fi ʾl-Kūfa*, in *Sumer*, x, xii, xiii (1954, 1956, 1957), with Eng. tr. in *Sumer*, xix (1963); Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī, *Dirāsa Tubughrāfiyya li-nāḥiyat al-Kūfa*, in *Sumer*, xxi (1965); Mahdī al-Makhzūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa wa-manhadjuha fī dirāsat al-lugha wa ʾl-naḥw*, Baghdād 1955; Kāẓim al-Diannābī, *Takhṭīṭ madīnat al-Kūfa*, Baghdād 1967; Yūsuf Khulayf, *Ḥayāt al-shiʿr fi ʾl-Kūfa*, Cairo 1968; Ḥusayn al-Zubaydī, *al-Ḥayāt al-idjtimāʿiyya wa ʾl-iḳtiṣādiyya fi ʾl-Kūfa fi ʾl-ḳarn al-awwal al-hidjrī*, Baghdād 1970; M. Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments and their background in the mid-seventh century A.D.*, in *IJMES*, ii (1971), 346-67; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132), a new interpretation*, Cambridge 1971; ʿAbd Allāh al-Kayyāḍ, *Taʾrīkh al-Imāmiyya wa-aslāfihim min al-Shīʿa*, Beirut 1975; Hichem Djaït, *Les Yamanites à Kūfa au Ier siècle de l'Hégire*, in *JESHO*, xix/2 (1976), 148-81. (HICHEM DJAÏT)

KUFRA, a group of oases in the Eastern Sahara in the Libyan Desert half-way between Cyrenaica and Wadai. For a long time it was known only from Rohlfs' account, who managed to reach it in 1879. Subsequently, Kufra has been visited by two other Europeans, Maréchal des Logis Lapierre (1918) and Mrs. Rosita Forbes (1920-1). Their descriptions have completed and corrected that of Rohlfs.

The name Kufra applies to a number of oases

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which stretch from the south-east to the north-west in a line about 300 km. long, between 24° and 26° N, 18° 40′ and 21° 40′ E. The most southerly oasis lies about 1,350 km. south-east of Tripoli and 900 km. south of Benghāzī. There are five in all, and they are separated from each other by *sarīr*, or plains of compressed gravel. The total area of the group amounts to about 17,842 km². It occupies the bottom of a depression which rises in altitude from 250 m. in the north to 460 m. in the south. The soil is generally formed from overlapping strata of marly sand in the northern area of the dunes which join those of the Libyan desert. In the central and southern parts, the depression is crossed by calcareous mountains which rise above a base of Numidian sandstone; their summits are table-shaped and similar to that of the *gūr* of the South Algerian Sahara.

There are neither springs or running water at Kufra, but everywhere the water-table rises to between one and three metres from the surface. At various points of the landscape the water forms brackish lagoons or even permanent lakes, of which the most imposing is 10 km. long. They can be regarded as the remains of an earlier situation when the lacustrian nature of the oasis was much more marked than it is to-day. The subterranean water is sufficient to support plentiful and varied vegetation. In the dried-out basins *hād* (*cornucala monacantha*) and *dīs* grow, which provide excellent food for camels. Although the green belt around the lakes and marsh depressions is often very narrow, cereal crops are grown in it—wheat, *dhura* (*sorghum vulgare*), vegetables, plantations of fruit trees (olives, figs, oranges and lemons). The main source of wealth is the date palm. Among the fauna are gazelles, many species of bird (crow, falcon and stork) and reptiles such as lizards and non-poisonous snakes.

Almost the entire population belongs to the Zāwiya tribes, Arabised Berbers who took the place of the Tūbu, the previous masters of the oases. Most of them are semi-nomadic and occupy only temporary encampments. The geographical position of Kufra gives it a certain commercial importance. It was a stopping place on the caravan route leading from Cyrenaica to Wadai and has been in use as such since the beginning of the 19th century. According to Muḥammad al-Ḥashā'ishī, there was a market at Djōf, where business was conducted by barter. As in all Saharan markets, the chief item of trade was slaves.

There is very little information on the history of Kufra. According to Rohlfs, it could have been inhabited by the Garamantes. Buildings there are comparable with some at Fazzān [*q.v.*] which Duveyrier pointed out and which seem to go back a considerable period in time. When its history began, the country was occupied by the Tūbu, who left many traces of their stay from this period—cemeteries, houses and fortified villages built on the summits of mountains. The population of these places was pagan, and this may explain the origin of the name Kufra (*kafara*, pl. of *kāfir*, "infidel"), given to the region when they settled there. In about 1730 they were ousted by the Zāwiya and the Ḥassūna, tribes from Tripolitania, who took over their position. The last of the Tūbu seem to have disappeared at the beginning of the 19th century. In the middle of that century the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*] appeared and built the *zāwiya* of al-Istāt not far from the village of Djōf. They appropriated the best ground and the richest gardens. At the time of Rohlfs' journey, they already owned a quarter of the palm trees in the oasis and had begun new plantations. The *zāwiya* of al-Istāt was already very important at this time, and it became the residence of the Grand Master of the brotherhood from the moment in 1895 when Sīdī al-Mahdī, son and successor of Sīdī Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, the founder of the order, left Djaghbūb [*q.v.*] to go and take up residence there.

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(G. Yver)

ḴUFṢ, Arabised form of Persian Kūfičīs, a people inhabiting south eastern Persia, more exactly the Kirmān-western Balūčistān region, in early mediaeval Islamic times.

The name, literally "mountain dwellers", probably stems ultimately from O. Pers. *ākaufačiya*—(< O. Pers. *kaufa-* "mountain"), the name of a people in the Daiva inscription of Xerxes, who are mentioned together with the *mačiya* "men of Maka" (= Makrān, the coastal region of Balūčistān?), via N. Pers. *kūfiǰ/kūfič* (cf. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian grammar, texts, lexicon*², New Haven 1953, 151, 165). In early Islamic sources, the Kūfičīs are frequently linked with the Balūčīs in the alliterative phrase *Kūč u Balūč*, although it is clear that we are dealing here with two separate peoples [for the latter, see BALŪČISTĀN].

The Arabic and Persian geographical writers of the 4th/10th century (Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, etc.) mention the region of the Kūfičīs as a mountainous one, lying to the south of the Djabal Bāriz in eastern Kirmān, where dwelt the Balūč. *Grosso modo*, this region corresponded with the little-known one of Bashākard/Bashkardia [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in modern Persia, sc. the mountainous area lying to the east of Mīnāb and between the Djāz Mūryān depression on the north and the coastal plain of Makrān on the south. Whether the present-day Bashkardīs are descendants of the mediaeval Kūfičīs is unclear and probably impossible to prove or disprove, in view of the dearth of historical, demographic and linguistic information on this remote corner of Persia; one can only remark that the two groups of dialects making up Bashkardī form a distinct Iranian language of its own, to be separated from New Persian on the one hand and Balūčī on the other.

The Islamic sources agree on stigmatising the Kūfičīs on the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries as a predatory people, nominally Muslim, but behaving with inhuman cruelty to the travellers and others whom they intercepted within the Dasht-i Lūṭ, into which they raided from their hill fastnesses; there is a classic description of their characteristic savagery in al-Muḳaddasī (wrote *ca.* 375/985), 488-90, cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 263-5. The Būyid *amīrs* Mu'izz al-Dawla and his nephew 'Aḍud al-Dawla took draconian measures against the Kūfičīs as they extended their rule eastwards from Fārs to Kirmān and put an end to the independent power in Kirmān of Muḥammad b. Ilyās [see ILYĀSIDS]. In 324/936 Mu'izz al-Dawla defeated the "chief of the Ḳufṣ and Balūṣ", 'Alī b. al-Zandjī, at Dilfārid in the *sardsīr* or mountainous zone of Kirmān, but had to leave him in control of the Kūfičīs' mountain haunts.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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After the death of Muḥammad b. Ilyās in 356/967, ʿAḍud al-Dawla invaded Kirmān and wrested the province from the former's sons and their allies the Kūfičīs. During 360-1/970-2, two campaigns were launched against the Kūfičīs, as a result of which Būyid authority was extended as far eastwards as Tīz and Makrān, the Kūfičī and Balūč lands laid waste, and large numbers of them deported or taken as hostages (for details, see C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 111-18).

The Kūfičīs did not, of course, disappear after this. They continued to prey on travellers through the Great Desert, although the establishment in the 5th/11th century of the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate and the autonomous Saldjūḳ amīrate in Kirmān seems to have reduced their activities to manageable proportions. The *amīr* of Kirmān Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*] is said to massacred the Kūfičī chiefs in their strongholds in the Djabal Bāriz, and after this, mention of the Kūfičīs as a distinct ethnic element drops out of mention in the histories; presumably they now mingled with the general ethnic stock of south-eastern Persia.

Bibliography: The information of the mediaeval geographers is given in Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 316-17, 323-4, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 261-6, cf. also *Ḥudud al-ʿālam*, 65, 124, 201, 374-5. The Būyid campaigns are described by Miskawayh in his *Taḏjārib al-umam*, later repeated in Ibn al-Aṯīr; see Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirmān*, *loc. cit.* All these sources are utilised in the detailed study by idem, *The Kūfichīs or Qufṣ in Persian history*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xiv (1976), 9-17. (C. E. Bosworth)

KŪH-I BĀBĀ, the mountain massif of central Afghānistān, being the westwards and southwards extension of the Pamirs "knot" and the Hindū Kush [*q.v.*] of north-eastern Afghānistān. The name Kūh-i Bābā is properly given to the east-west chaîne magistrale running westwards from Kābul and lying to the south of the upper Herī Rūd, with outliers running southwards and westwards through the regions of the Ghōrāt and Hazāraḏjāt [see GHŪR and HAZĀRAḎJĀT in Suppl.] between such river valleys as those of the Helmand, Arghandāb and Tarnak. On the northern side of the Herī Rūd stretch the Paropamisus Mountains, rising to 3,600 m./11,200 ft., and northwestwards to the Murghāb valley and the Russian border, the Kūh-i Ḥiṣār (4,230 m./13,150 ft.) and its continuation the Band-i Turkistān (3,500 m./10,900 ft.). To the east of Kābul, the Safīd Kūh stretches to the south of Djalālābād towards the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR PASS] and the Pakistan frontier, attaining a height of 4,760 m./14,800 ft. The central Kūh-i Bābā has as its highest point Shāh Fūlādī, 5,140 m./16,000 ft. high and covered in perpetual snow. The whole region is thus a ganglion of mountain chains and upland plateaux, across which communication has always been arduous: thus the Unai Pass between the headwaters of the Kābul River and the Helmand lies at 3,300 m./10,300 ft., the Shibar Pass between the Kābul valley and northern Afghānistān via the Ghōrband lies at 3,000 m./9,400 ft., the Hadjigak Pass from the Unai district northwards to Bāmiyān lies at 3,700 m./11,550 ft., and the Kirmu Pass connecting the valleys of the upper Herī Rūd and the Helmand lies at 3,100 m./9,730 ft.

Because of the difficult communications, the historic routes linking the principal towns of Afghānistān, sc. Kābul, Ḳandahār and Herāt, have often gone round this central massif southwards or northwards, and today, it remains one of the most thinly-populated and least-known regions of the country. Much field work, archaeological, ethnological and topographical, needs to be done here, and this will certainly throw important light on Afghānistān's past history. Because of the configuration and the harsh climate, much of the region is totally unpopulated, but on the plateaux and in the villages there is pastoralist transhumance and nomadism and some agriculture. The population of the Ghōrāt and Hazāraḏjāt regions is predominantly Tādjīk, with vestigal ethnic elements like the Mongols, and with increased penetration on the southern fringes by Pashtūns. The towns of the region, like Pandjāb or Pandjāō, Ghizāō, Uruzgān and Dawlatyār, are small and have only local importance.

Bibliography: J. Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 16-37, 85-8; L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 3 ff., 57 ff. (C. E. Bosworth)

KŪH-I NŪR (KOH-I NOOR) a diamond, now weighing 106 1/16 carats, but originally much larger; the early history of it is obscure, and authorities are not agreed as to whether it may be identified with the diamond mentioned by Bābur in his Memoirs (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 477, 702); but *ca.* 1656 it was presented by Mīr Djumla [see MUḤAMMAD SAʿĪD] to the Mughal emperor, Shāh Djahān, and was seen in 1665 by Tavernier in the treasury of Awrangzēb; in 1739 it was carried off to Persia by Nādir Shāh, who gave it the name it now bears. Nādir Shāh's grandson, Shāh Rukh, gave it in 1751 to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, whose grandson, Shāh Shudjāʿ, when in exile in Lahore in 1813, had to surrender it to the Sikh Mahārādjā Randjīt Singh. On his death-bed in 1839, Randjīt Singh is said to have expressed a wish that the diamond should be sent to the temple of Djagannāth, in Orissa, but it remained in Lahore until the annexation of the Pandjāb in 1849 by the East India Company, who presented it to Queen Victoria. It was subsequently incorporated in the state crown used by Queen Elizabeth, consort of King George VI, at their coronation in 1937.

Bibliography: E. W. Streeter, *The great diamonds of the world*, ch. xi, London 1882; J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, Appendix i, London 1889; N. S. Maskelyne, *The Koh-i-Nur*, in *Nature*, xliv (1891), 555 f.; H. Beveridge, *Bābur's diamond: was it the Koh-i nūr?*, in *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* (April 1899); Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. W. Crooke, London 1903, 491, s.v. *Kohinor*. (T. W. Arnold)

AL-KŪHĪ [see Suppl.]

AL-KŪHIN, name of a certain number of Moroccan families, of Jewish origin but converts to Islam. One of the best-known of them is the family to which belonged ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. AḤMAD, who towards the end of the 12th/18th century pursued religious studies under the direction of such famous scholars as Ibn al-Ḥādjdj [*q.v.*], Ḥamdūn, Ibn Sūda [*q.v.*], Aḥmad and Ibn Kīrān [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Being an immediate disciple of Mawlāy al-ʿArbī al-Darḳāwī [see DARḲĀWA], he joined the religious order which the latter had recently founded. He made his first pilgrimage, and wrote about this in a *Riḥla* apparently lost, then finally settled in Medina where he died in Ṣafar 1254/April-May 1838.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Al-Kūhin left behind a *Fahrasa* [*q.v.*] called *Imdād dhawī 'l-isti'dād ilā ma'ālim al-riwāya wa 'l-isnād* (Ms. Rabat, 514, ff. 1-20), two commentaries on al-Bukhārī, *Minaḥ ilāhiyya wa-mawāhib ikhtiṣāṣiyya 'alā 'l-Djāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Ms. Rabat, 34) and *Nawāfiḥ al-ward wa 'l-'anbar wa 'l-misk al-wārī li-sharḥ ākhir tardjamat Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Ms. Rabat, 892 D), and finally, a *Munyat al-faḳīr al-mutadjarrid wa-samīr al-munīr al-munfarid*, a selective gloss on the *Sharḥ al-Ādjurrūmiyya* of Ibn 'Adjība [*q.v.*], printed at Istanbul in 1315: "purely grammatical explanations are set aside, and only the allusive character is kept, in which the grammar is used to illustrate the process of the manifestation of divine light" (J.-L. Michon, 282, cf. 115-19, where two passages from this work are translated).

One of this mystic's descendants, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ḳādir (b. 1915 in Cairo) is the author of the *Kitāb Ṭabakāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, published at Cairo in 1347/1938-8).

Bibliography: Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316, ii, 169-70; 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Fās 1346-7/1937-8, i, 368-71; R. Basset, in *Recueil de Mémoires et de Textes publiés en l'honneur du XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905, 20; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*; Brockelmann, S II, 881; J.-L. Michon, *Ibn 'Ajība et son Mi'rāj*, Paris 1973, index. (Ed.)

ḴŪHISTĀN (P.) or **ḴUHISTĀN** is the arabicised form of the Persian name Kūhistān meaning a mountainous country (derived from *kūh*, "mountain" with the sufix *-istān*) and corresponds to the Arabic designation al-Djibāl. As the Iranian plateau is very mountainous, we find many more or less extensive areas in it to which the name Ḳūhistān has been given, as Yāḳūt has already remarked (iv, 204). Many of these names have disappeared in course of time. Thus Kazwīnī (ed. Wüstenfeld, 228) says that the term Ḳūhistān is used for Media, which other geographers always call al-Djibāl. In the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī we even find Ḳūhistān used as the old name of Mā warā' al-Nahr (ed. Vullers, 531) but this is probably a case of erroneous identification made by Firdawsī himself (cf. also Vullers, *Lexicon*, s.v. *Kūh*).

The principal districts that are or have been called Ḳūhistān are as follows:

1. Ḳūhistān-i Khurāsān. This is the mountainous and partially arable region which stretches south of Nīshāpūr as far as Sīstān in the south-east. It is surrounded on all sides by the great salt desert of the Central Iranian plateau and consists of scattered groups of oases; one feature of its geographical unity is the fact that no part of it belongs to one of the great centres of civilisation that surround it. These are in the north Nīshāpūr, in the north-east Herāt, in the south-east Sīstān, in the south-west Kirmān with Yazd, and in the west Media. Although Ḳūhistān has always been connected with these by caravan routes and is therefore not absolutely cut off, its isolated position, combined with the relatively low productivity of the soil, has caused it to be little-known and neglected and its inhabitants have usually been ruled by a member of independent lords. If it has been reckoned a district of Khurāsān, this is only because Nīshāpūr and Herāt are relatively the nearest places to it. Ḳūhistān has therefore never been a very clear-cut geographical term; a modern traveller like Curzon, although he describes the different districts, does not even mention its name.

The orography of Ḳūhistān is still little known. The mountain chains which in the north run more east to west, assume the direction N.W.-S.E. as one moves southwards. These chains, which have passes rising to over 3,000 feet, enclose cultivated areas of which the principal are, beginning in the north: Turshīz and Turbat-i Ḥaydarī [*q.v.*], now called Turbat-i Shaykh Isḥāḳ, and to the east Djām; next comes the district of Djunābād (formerly Yunābid) and more to the east, that of Khwāf [*q.v.*] with the old town of Zawzan; then comes Tūn, with the district of Ṭabas on the west of it, which later extends so far to the west that in the Middle Ages it was not included in Ḳūhistān; next come to the south of these, Ḳā'in and Bīrdjand, to the south of which there are no more oases of any importance until we reach Sīstān by the Nih route. The rivers of the region are of little importance; irrigation is done by canals and *ḳanāts*; Muḳaddasī, (322, reading of the Istanbul ms.) says that the only running stream he knows in Ḳūhistān is near Ṭabas; the latter is also the only town which he includes, with the neighbouring district of Kurī, in the *djurūm* or warm regions.

It is probable that various places in Ḳūhistān have a history going back to pre-Islamic times, but so far we have no information on this period. To realise this, it is sufficient to glance at the second map given by Herfeld in his article *Khorasan: Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 107-74. The journey of this writer in 1925 confirmed his first impression. Moses of Chorene does not mention this region in his *Geography*. In the period of the early Arab conquests, we find Ḳūhistān under the rule of the Hephthalites. Historians say that it was first conquered in the caliphate of 'Umar by 'Abd Allāh b. Budayl al-Khuzā'ī; the latter setting out for Kirmān took al-Ṭabasayn—it is by this dual (for Ṭabas and Kurīn, according to al-Balādhurī) that the Arabs always refer to the district of Ṭabas—later called the "two gates of Khurāsān" (Ṭabarī, i, 2704); a deputation of the inhabitants is said to have concluded a treaty with 'Umar (Balādhurī, 403). In 31/653, when Ibn 'Āmir undertook the conquest of Khurāsān, his advance guard under al-Aḥnaf passed through Ḳūhistān and defeated the Hephthalites there (Ṭabarī, i, 2885, and Balādhurī, 403, who give other traditions also). In the years following, Ḳūhistān was the centre of a great national revolt under a chief called Kārin (a village in Ḳūhistān still bears this name), a rising which was put down by Ibn Khāzim (Ṭabarī, i, 2905; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 135). In 51/671 it was again necessary to reconquer it; this was done by al-Rabī' b. Ziyād from "the Turks" or rather Hephthalites (Ṭabarī, ii, 156). Henceforth Ḳūhistān formed from the administrative point of view a part of Khurāsān, and more particularly of the provinces which the Arab geographers still call by the old name of Abarshahr with its capital Nīshāpūr (cf. particularly Ya'ḳūbī, *Buldān*, 278, tr. Wiet, 84, who gives a rather limited definition to Ḳūhistān, for he mentions al-Ṭabasayn, Djām and Zawzan separately). These remote districts became in the early centuries of Islam the principal refuge of Zoroastrians driven from their homes by the new religion (cf. particularly, Inostrantsev's work quoted in the Bibliography). In the 3rd/9th century the province was under the rule of the Ṭāhirids (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 35) and later of the Ṣaffārids. The Arab geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries know it very well. In this period Ḳā'in was the capital and the commercial centre of

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Ḳūhistān, especially for through trade between Kirmān and Khurāsān. The province was further noted for a very fine linen woven there, which Abū Nuwās mentions under the name *Ḳūhiyya* (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo 1332, i, 79, and R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 95-6); this industry flourished at Tūn in particular. Prayer-carpets also were made there. In the year 444/1052, Nāṣir-i Khusrāw passed through Ḳūhistān, going from Iṣfahān. He went by Ṭabas, Tūn, Ḳā'in and Sarakhs and describes them as large flourishing towns. In the time of the Saldjūḳs, Ḳūhistān, the old asylum of the Zoroastrians, became a refuge for the Ismā'īlī heretics, who for this reason were often called *al-malāḥida al-ḳūhiyya*. They built here strongholds on the model of the famous citadel of Alamut; there are still many ruins of these castles which have not yet been fully examined (Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, 273; M. G. S. Hodgson, *The order of Assasins*, The Hague 1955, index; B. Lewis, *The Assasins, a radical sect in Islam*, London 1967, 44-5; P. R. E. Willey, *The Assassins in Quhistan*, in *Jnal. Royal Central Asiatic Soc.*, lv [1968], 180-3). The Khwārizmshāhs had on several occasions to send military expeditions to punish the *malāḥida* (cf. e.g. Djuwaynī, *Ta'rīkh-i Djihān-Gushā*, ii, 47, 49). The coming of the Mongols, who exterminated the Ismā'īlīs, at the same time brought about the ruin of Ḳūhistān. The region lost all importance and the geographers—like Abu 'l-Fidā'—only quote their predecessors of several centuries before. It is improbable that this is the district referred to by Marco Polo under the name of Tunocain, which Le Strange, *Lands*, 352 proposes to identify as Tūn-u Ḳā'in. During the following centuries the region must have very often been in a state of anarchy (cf. Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, i, 430) when power was in the hands of chiefs of Arab origin. The Ṣafawids exercised some authority there, but after them, power lay in the hands of the *amīrs* of Ṭabas and of Ḳā'in. At this time, Ḳūhistān inclined towards Afghānistān rather than Persia, until the Ḳādjārs succeeded in bringing it under their sway towards the middle of the 19th century. The chiefs of the ruling families kept their positions as governors for the Shāh and received pompous titles from the Persian court. About 1900 the *amīrs* of Ḳā'in no longer lived in this town but in Bīrdjand; they claim descent from the Arab tribe of Khuzayma. Some members of this family also ruled Sīstān. The rulers of Ṭabas also governed at this time the district of Djunābād (chief town Djunayn).

The settled population of Ḳūhistān is of a very ancient stock; their houses are also of a very archaic type. Their dialect seems to offer few peculiarities. Ivanov distinguishes in Ḳūhistān the dialect groups of Turshīz and Djunābād and that of Ḳā'in, Tūn and Bīrdjand. Many villages around Ḳā'in and Bīrdjand are inhabited exclusively by *sayyids*. In some places we also find descendants of the Ismā'īlīs, who recognise the authority of the Agha Khān, e.g. at Ḳā'in and Bīrdjand. There are also small colonies of Bahā'īs, while the Sunnī Afghān element is relatively strong. The nomads are for the most part Arab Sunnīs, still speaking Arabic; they live along the main routes, and include the Khuzayma, from whom came the *amīrs* of Ḳā'in. A few Turkish tribes are found only in the north as far as Turbat-i Ḥaydarī. Finally, in the south there are Balūčīs, who move in summer towards Sīstān.

Ḳūhistān has never in its history contained any major urban centres comparable to those of northern and eastern Khurāsān; when Sykes was there in 1900, Ḳā'in had only *ca.* 4,000 inhabitants. This may be one reason why the region (with the exception of the more northerly part, around Zawzan, see KHWĀF) did not in earlier times produce such an abundance of *'ulamā'* and scholars as the other cities of Khurāsān. However, Storey, *Persian literature*, i, 923, mentions a modern *Tadhkira-yi shu'arā'-i Ḳā'ināt* by one Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ḳā'inātī on some poets of Ḳā'ināt and Bīrdjand, and in mediaeval times we find Tha'ālībī mentioning poets with the *nisba* of "al-Ḳā'inī", e.g. the Abū Manṣūr Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḳā'inī in *Tatimmat al-yatīma*, ed. Eghbal, ii, 45. Bīrdhand has in recent times been the most important town, even though it lies in a less fertile situation than the smaller Ḳā'in. Administratively, much of Ḳūhistān falls today within the *shahrastān* of Bīrdjand, in the 9th *ustān* or province of Khurāsān, and within this *shahrastān* or district there is *bakhsh* or sub-district of the same name (pop. in 1950, 43,4009) and a further *bakhsh* of Ḳā'in (pop. in 1950, 65,000). The products of the region include some cereals, such as wheat and barley, opium, silk and saffron, and there is carpet-weaving and camel-raising.

Bibliography: All the Arab authors in the *BGA*; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, comm. 326-7; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 95; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 79; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, Paris 1840, 444; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 466; G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 352-63; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 260 ff.; Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia*, i, 341; Curzon, *Persia*, London 1892, i, 199-203; Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh and London 1900; Sykes, *Twenty thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 28 ff., 394; E. Herzfeld, *Reisebericht*, in *ZDMG*, lxxx (1926), 272 ff.; von Hammer, *Geschichte der Assassinen*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1818, 99 and *passim*; Inostrantsev, *The emigration of the Parsis to India and the Musulman world in the middle of the 8th century*, tr. L. Bogdanow in *Journal of the K. R. Cama Institute*, No. 1 (Bombay 1922), 33, 71 (quoted by Herzfeld); W. Ivanov, *Notes on the ethnology of Khurasan*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, lxvii (1926), 143-57; idem, *On the language of the gypsies of Qainat (in Eastern Persia)*, in *JASB*, N.S. x (1914), 439-55; *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, 1945, 108-9, 388-9, and index *s.vv.* Birjand, Qain, etc.; W. B. Fisher, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, Cambridge 1968, 73-6. For the European travellers through the region, see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1950; N. N. Ambraseys and C. P. Melville, *The seismicity of Kuhistan, Iran*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, cxliii/2 (1977), 179-99. See also KHWĀF, ṬABAS and TURSHĪZ.

2. The Arab geographers appear to have known two towns of the name Ḳūhistān in the province of Kirmān. One of them was called Ḳūhistān Abī Ghānim and was in the district of Djīruft, between this town and the Djabal al-Ḳufs (Muḳaddasī, 52, 461, 467; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, tr. 65, 124, comm. 374-5; Yāḳūt, iv, 206; Le Strange, 318). The other Ḳūhistān was situated on the road from Sīrdjān to Bām, 6 *farsakhs* from the former town (Ibn Khurādādhbih, 66; Ḳudāma, 196; Muḳaddasī, 473; Le Strange, 311).

3. Ḳūhistān of Kābul in Afghānistān is a district to the north-east of the town of Kābul and includes the districts of Pandjshīr, Nidjzan, Tagan, etc. The population is composed of an element called Tādjiks,

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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who speak Persian and Pashtō, and other elements called Ḳūhistānī who speak Pasha'i (a Dardic dialect, see DARDIC and KĀFIR LANGUAGES) and Parāčī (Iranian) (cf. *Imperial gazetteer of India*, xiv, 241).

4. The northern part of the native state of Swāt in the north-west of India is also called Ḳūhistān. It is the mountainous region around the upper course of the river Swāt; it stretches eastwards as far as the Indus and westwards as far as Pandjkora so that a distinction is sometimes made between Ḳūhistān of Swāt and Ḳūhistān of Pandjora. The people of the valleys (estimated to number 20,000) have suffered since the 9th/15th century from Afghān invasions. Under the rule of the Afghāns they became very zealous Sunnī Muslims; the religious chiefs (*ākhund*) have had an enormous influence in the country. Another consequence of the Afghān invasions has been the expansion of Pashtō all over the country. This language has gained ground at the expense of the old local dialects. The latter—to which the general name of Ḳūhistānī is given—are very numerous and belong to the Dardic group which, according to the researchs of Morgenstierne, seems to belong to the Indian group of dialects. The principal dialects are: Gārwī (Swāt Kūh.), Tōrwālī (Swāt and Pandjkora Kūḥ.) and Mayyā (Indus Kūh.).

Bibliography: Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo koosh*, Calcutta 1880; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xxiii, 183 ff. On the languages, see Grierson, *Linguistic survey of India*, viii/2, 507; G. Morgenstierne. *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, Oslo 1926, *Institutet for sammenligneude Kulturforskning*, series C, 1-2; idem, in DARDIC and KĀFIR LANGUAGES.

5. Lastly, Ḳūhistān is the name of a barren and mountainous region in the eastern part of the district of Karāčī. The population in 1901 was estimated at 12,877 (*Imperial gazetteer of India*, xv, 353). (J. H. KRAMERS*)

AL-**KUḤL**, traditionally translated as antimony sulphide (stibnite), is synonymous in the Arabic and Persian geographical sources with *iṯmid* and *surma*. Its primary source was Iran, where the following places were noted for its production: in Khurāsān, Ṭūs (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, ed. M. Sutūda, tr. and comm. V. Minorsky, § 23.11—*surma*), and Gūzgān (*Ḥudūd a-ʿālam*, § 23.51—*sang-i surma*); in Māzandarān, Sāmār near Sārī (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 32.23—*surma*) and Ṭabaristān (Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīḵh-i Ṭabaristān*, tr. E. G. Browne, 33—*surma*); and in Djibāl province, Mt. Damāvand (Abū Dulaf, *al-Risāla al-ṯānīyya*, ed. V. Minorsky, § 51—*kuḥl*) and Iṣfahān (Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa*, 156—*iṯmid*; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Masālik al-mamālik*, 203; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, 372; al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 397; al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, ed. de Jong 110, tr. Bosworth, *The Book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 128; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, in *RAAD*, xii (1932), 345—*kuḥl*; al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 210—*iṯmid*). Modern geological surveys record only three sources of antimony in Iran—at Patyār (7 miles east of Anārak), at Turkmanī (25 miles south-east of Anārak), and at Shūrāb (100 miles north-west of Birdjand) (G. Ladame, *Les ressources métallifères de l'Iran*, in *Schweizerische mineralogische und petrographische Mitteilungen*, xxv [1945], 189-91; J. V. Harrison, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, i, Cambridge 1968, 512-13, fig. 119). None of these, it should be noted, are near the sites listed above.

A study of the words *al-kuḥl*, *surma* and *iṯmid* indicates that the substance was in fact only rarely antimony sulphide. *Al-kuḥl* was used in two different ways in mediaeval Arabic and Persian texts. First of all, it was used as a general term for any eye cosmetic. Such eye cosmetics were prepared from numerous different substances and would have had quite different colorations, as is made clear for example in the *Lapidary* of Pseudo-Aristotle (ed. J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, §§ 11, 12, 52) where turquoise, lapis lazuli and *tūtīyā* (zinc oxide) are mentioned as ingredients of *akḥāl*, and al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Dimashḳī also note a variety of stones and other substances which could be included (e.g. al-Ḳazwīnī, ii, 229-34). The word *kuḥl* was still used in this way in the last century—for example, Sanguinetti (*Quelques chapitres de médicine et de la thérapeutique arabe*, in *JA* [1866], 320-1) gives the constituents of three types of *kuḥl—kuḥl aghbar*, *kuḥl asfar* and *kuḥl ʿazīz*, the latter being composed of eleven different substances.

Al-kuḥl was also used, however, to indicate a particular substance, as for example when al-Iṣṭakhrī records a mine of *al-kuḥl* at Iṣfahān, and an interesting story in this connection is related by al-Thaʿālibī (*loc. cit.*). He writes that al-Ḥadjdjādj is reported to have given one of his special followers the provincial governorship of Iṣfahān with the words, "I make you governor of the area of which the stone is *al-kuḥl*", and adds that Iṣfahān was talked of in these terms because the *kuḥl* stone there was of such excellent quality. *Al-kuḥl* in these instances was something more specific than eye cosmetics in general, i.e. it was a particular substance, mineral or metal.

The equating of *al-kuḥl* in this latter sense with *iṯmid* and *surma* is evident from such passages as al-Ḳazwīnī, i, 210, and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī, *ʿArāʾis al-djawāhir wa-nafāʾis al-aṭāyib*, Tehran 1345/1966, 189, and the sources are unanimous in associating the substance with lead. This is the evidence of Pseudo-Aristotle, § 51 and al-Hamdānī, *Kitāb al-Djawharatayn al-ʿatīḳatayn*, ed. C. Toll, fols. 21a, 23a, the latter identifying *iṯmid* with the ore from which silver came i.e. lead ore. Al-Hamdānī, it should be noted, had a great deal of first-hand experience of metallurgy. Equally confirmatory is the evidence of al-Khʷārazmī, ed. E. Wiedemann, *Beiträge*, xxiv, in *SPMSE* (1911), 93, and Kāshānī, 190, 344. It therefore seems reasonable to assert that the *kuḥl* mined at Iṣfahān was a lead mineral (Ibn Rusta, 157, says that Iṣfahān produced lead as well as *iṯmid*), and to suggest that where *kuḥl* in the literary sources indicates a naturally-occurring substance as opposed to an artificially-made compound, it almost certainly refers to a lead mineral too. In this connection it should be noted that while it had generally been assumed that eye-paint in ancient Egypt had an antimony base, A. Lucas (*Ancient Egyptian materials and industries*, revised by J. R. Harris, 1962, 195-9) showed by analysis that it in fact consisted of galena, pyrolusite, brown ochre or malachite, and only in one instance, of antimony sulphide.

As a cosmetic, *al-kuḥl* was ground as fine as possible and then used by women to dye their eyebrows and eyelashes or the edges of the lids. The cosmetic was applied by means of a small probe or stick with a rounded end called a *mirwad*, and was kept in a small vessel called a *mukḥula* (E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, 1954, 37-8); in mediaeval times, the sticks were commonly

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of bronze and the vessels of glass, and a special object known in Khurāsān as *wasma-dj̲ūsh* was used for grinding the substance and pouring it into the narrow-necked vessels (for such an object, see G. Fehérvári, *Islamic metalwork in the Keir collection*, London 1976, no. 18, and numerous similar pieces elsewhere).

Al-kuḥl also had a specifically medical function as an eye unguent, particulars of which are to be found in Ibn al-Bayṭār and other such writers. From this function comes the idea of *al-kaḥḥāl*, ophthalmist [see ʿAYN].

Al-kuḥl is also the origin of our word alcohol. From a fine powder used to stain the eyelids, it came by extension to mean any fine impalpable powder produced by trituration or sublimation, and hence was applied to fluids of the idea of sublimation—an essence, quintessence or "spirit" obtained by distillation or rectification. Sublimation and the distillation of drugs was known to Khalaf b. ʿAbbās al-Zahrawī (Abulcasis) in the late 4th/10th century, but the more complicated process needed for the production of alcohol was probably introduced into the Islamic world from Europe, where it was first discovered in the 12th century. (For a description of the preparation of arak in 10th/16th century Mughal India, see Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllamī, *ʿĀʾin-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann and H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1893, i, 69).

Bibliography: the continued publication of previously unknown scientific or semi-scientific texts such as those of al-Hamdānī and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī means that the works cited in the article on *al-kuḥl* in *EI*¹ have become outdated, but no detailed work on *al-kuḥl* has since been published. The reader is referred to E. O. Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, Berlin 1919, and to the works of Wiedemann, *Beiträge* xxiv, 93, 99; xxv, 218-9; xl, 176, 186, in *SPMSE*, 1911, 1914, and H. E. Stapleton, *Chemistry in ʿIrāq and Persia in the tenth century*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society in Bengal*, viii, no. 6, 352, 372; but is advisable to read them in conjunction with all the information now available in the Arabic or Persian texts cited above. Additional information is to be found in other geographical texts, in works on pharmacology, and in semi-scientific texts such as Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Tansūkh-nāmā-yi Ilkhānī*, Tehran 1348/1969. Much material is also to be found in *WKAS*, i, 73 f.

(E. WIEDEMANN - [J. W. ALLAN])

ḲUHRŪD, Arabic form of Persian Kōh-rūd "mountain river", a village in western Persia on the summer caravan route between Ḳāshān and Iṣfahān [*q.vv.*]. In mediaeval times it fell within the province of Dj̲ibāl, and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. 184, places it some 8 *farsakh*s from Ḳāshān, sc. 27 miles/45 km. from the latter town; cf. also Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, 929 n. 16. Today, Ḳuhrūd falls administratively in the *bakhsh* of Ḳamṣar, in the *shahrastān* of Ḳāshān, in the second *ustān* or central province of Iran, see *Farhang-i djughrāfiyāʾ-yi Īrān*, iii, 218-19. It lies in the mountains on the slopes of a cultivated valley, and the agreableness of its climate in summer has been commented upon by numerous European travellers, from Chardin onwards, who have passed through it. E. G. Browne was there in 1888 and collected specimens of the distinctive dialect of the Ḳuhrūd-Naṭanz district, see his *A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1926, 203-8.

Ḳuhrūd is apparently unmentioned by the earlier Arab and Persian geographers, until Mustawfī (8th/14th century) comments upon it and upon the fact that the river of Ḳuhrūd supplied Ḳāshān with some of its water (*op. cit.*, tr. 72); this river was dammed in Ṣafawid times by the Band-i Ḳuhrūd in order to assure a supply for Ḳāshān during the summer months, see Browne, *op. cit.*, 202-3. Its monuments comprise a Ṣafawid caravanserai and two 8th/14th century mosques, one apparently the Shīʿī mosque and the other possibly that of the Sunnī villagers; for these, see O. Watson, *The Masjid-i ʿAlī, Quhrūd: an architectural and epigraphic survey*, in *Iran. Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, xii (1975), 59-74. The mountains of the Ḳuhrūd district produce lead and cobalt, and the village may accordingly have had connections with the great ceramics centre of Ḳāshān; see Hans Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 163.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KŪKAWA, or **KŪKA**, capital of Bornū [*q.v.*] for much of the 19th century, situated at 12° 55′ N. and 13° 30′ E. It was founded about 1814 by al-Ḥād̲j̲dj̲i Muḥammad al-Amīn b. Muḥammad al-Kānimī [see AL-KĀNEMĪ], better known as Shaykh, or Shehu, al-Kānimī. He was a Kanembu *mallam* [*q.v.*], who had established himself at Ngala, south of Lake Chad. In 1808 or 1809 Fulani forces, linked with the *d̲j̲ihād* of Usuman dan Fodio [*q.v.*], occupied and ravaged Birni Gazargamu [*q.v.*], then the capital of Bornū. The Bornū ruler, or *mai* [*q.v.*], called upon al-Kānimī's help. The city changed hands several times but, although eventually the Fulani were conclusively expelled, Gazargamu never became the capital again. Mai Dunama wandered about, earning the derisive title "*mai* of the calabash" (a significant item of luggage) for his much travelling. Al-Kānimī received the fief of Ngornu, northwest of Ngala but still far from Gazargamu, for services rendered. Dunama was deposed by his uncle, Muḥammad Ngileruma, who established a new capital, Birni Kafela, very near Ngornu. About 1813 al-Kānimī's power had so much grown that he was able to depose Muḥammad, and to reinstate Dunama, keeping however Kafela as the *mai*'s official capital. With Gazargamu abandoned, Kafela very much in the shadow of al-Kānimī, and al-Kānimī himself somewhat at odds with local leaders in his own fief of Ngornu, there was no obvious centre of power in Bornū. About 1814 al-Kānimī decided to leave Ngornu, and built a new town, Kūka, again somewhat to the northwest, nine miles from Lake Chad. The name comes from the Kanūri [*q.v.*] word for baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) tree, one of which was growing on or near the site of al-Kānimī's own future dwelling.

For the next thirty years, an uneasy balance existed between the legitimate dynasty at Kafela, and the *shehu*'s one at Kūka. In 1817 (Barth) or 1820 (Brenner) a Bagirmi [*q.v.*] force invaded Bornū, intending to oust al-Kānimī and restore to the *mai* his traditional powers; the plan failed and the *mai* was killed. Schultze (p. 257) mentions a sack of Kūka by the invaders at this time, but this is not confirmed in other sources. Al-Kānimī struck his own seal, dated 1819-20, but still continued to preserve a figurehead *mai*. Al-Kānimī died in 1837; the hitherto generally accepted date, 1835, seems almost certainly disproved by manuscript evidence. He was succeeded by his son ʿUmar [*q.v.*], under whom Kūka continued to become increasingly the seat of all real power. In 1846 Wadai [*q.v.*] was invaded,

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with the intention of removing Shehu ʿUmar and re-establishing the *mai*. Kūka was partially destroyed, and for two months lay almost a desert; but again the plan miscarried. The *mai* was executed; after his son was killed in battle some months later, no new *mai* was appointed, ʿUmar openly asserting that sovereignty which he and his father had long enjoyed in fact. Kūka was now the official, as well as the actual, capital of Borno.

As, in the period after 1814, power came more and more to centre upon Kūka, the essential pattern of government—in essence, through fiefs ruled by courtiers—did not change, although there was greater centralisation than in the old days at Gazargamu. The Kūka court was characterised by relative informality, lack of splendour, and a certain religious simplicity, in contrast to the elaborate, and increasingly hollow, ceremonial at Kafela. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, son of a former imam at Gazargamu, was appointed *imām* of the Kūka mosque, and presided over all religious festivals. Minor legal matters, such as divorce and inheritance, were handled by *ḳāḍī*s appointed by al-Kānimī; serious crimes and capital cases were referred to al-Kānimī himself, and his six principal companions. After 1846, ceremonial tended to increase, and the number of courtiers and noblemen grew larger. With the challenge from Kafela removed, and with an ever-larger number of people competing for wealth and rewards which were no longer expanding sufficiently rapidly, divisive forces appeared within Kūka itself; ʿUmar, a pious and aimable man, was also irresolute and weak, unable to maintain his father's firm control of the city and the state.

After the Wadai sack in 1846, Kūka was rebuilt, but a new town was added to the east, and into this quarter the political leaders moved. The *shehu*'s main palace was in the east town, although that in the west town was refurbished, and the *shehu* visited it from time to time, particularly at religious festivals. The west town, i.e. the original Kūka, became the residential area of non-titled families, and foreign merchants; it had the larger population. Each town was walled separately. (Kūkawa is a plural form: there were in fact two Kūka towns). The wall of the eastern town, in 1870, was crenellated, about 20 feet high, made of clay and gravel, with terraces on the inner side; during the rains, the upper and thinner part of the wall began to disintegrate, and goats grazed on the terraces. The space between the two towns was almost as densely built up as the towns themselves, and there were in addition many huts, farms and hamlets round about. Nachtigal, who arrived on 6 July 1870, estimated the double town as about 2 1/4 miles long and 1 mile broad. A *dendal*, or promenade (Barth called it "this high road of ambition"), a standard feature of Kanūri towns but here on a much extended scale, started at the west gate of the west town, and ran straight on, across the intervening space, and two-thirds of the way through the east town, until it came to the *shehu*'s main palace, which was distinguished by an upper storey and some towerlike elevations. Before the palace, a little to the north, a low minaret overlooked the boundary wall of a complex of houses and huts, identifying them as a mosque. The usual dwelling consisted of a considerable area, in which were huts of thatch, and cubical earthen buildings usually of one room; as much as three-quarters of the total area might be of courtyards and unroofed enclosures, including gardens and stable yards. The general architectural appearance of the city was dispiriting; the outer walls, at a distance, could hardly be distinguished from the surrounding ground, whilst within, the roads and paths were generally lined by the windowless walls of adjoining compounds. Some trees, and an unusually abundant bird life, refreshed the eye of the visitor.

Daily markets were held in various parts of Kūkawa, but the main market took place on Mondays, outside the westernmost gate. Although this was often very crowded, and shopping there difficult because of the press of customers, the people were generally orderly. Among the goods offered for sale were livestock (camels, horses (both riding and draft), cattle, donkeys, goats, sheep and fowls), cloth and clothing of all kinds, foodstuffs (various grains and meats, honey, milk, butter, dried fish, vegetables, fruit, natron), cooking and eating utensils, leather goods, basketware, carpentry and metalwork, weapons, even boats, firewood, fodder, charcoal, building materials (mats, poles, etc.), rope, and other commodities. Slaves formed an important element in market transactions, with prices for a *sedasi* (a boy measuring six spans from the ankle to the top of the head, aged 12 to 15) indicating the general tone of the slave market. Special slaves, such as eunuchs, dwarfs, deaf-mutes and concubines, were generally sold privately, as were the best quality horses, and not on the open market. Major imports from Europe and North Africa about 1870 were coins (both cheap and of luxury quality), women's ornaments, rosaries, aromatics, tarbushes, paper, guns, swords and sabres (although weapons were also manufactured locally), chain mail, needles, scissors, knives and razors; principal exports northwards were slaves, ivory and ostrich feathers. Barth in 1851 was very critical of the lack of local industry in Kūkawa; there seems to have been a considerable improvement by the early 1870s, when also a greater variety of goods is reported on the market, and the use of currency (cowries, strips of cloth, Maria Theresa dollars) seems to have won a wider acceptance. Trade with North Africa was at this time being inconvenienced by the extreme unreliability, in any commercial contracts, of most of the Kūkawa nobility. Kūkawa did not profit much from modern trade patterns developing to the south. In 1891 Charles MacIntosh, of the Royal Niger Company, visited the city in search of a trade treaty, but the North African community there persuaded the Shehu, Hāshim b. ʿUmar, to refuse his presents and send him away.

The population of Kūkawa was probably about 60,000 during its heyday. There were a considerable number of Ḳurʾānic scholars and teachers, and many blind beggars; *shurafāʾ* came from Morocco and the *ḥaramayn*, pious men from Egypt and Tunis, Timbuktu and Senegal, pilgrims from the western Sahara and the Hausa and Fulani countries, all more or less attracted by the reputation for open-handed generosity which Shehu ʿUmar in particular enjoyed.

The downfall of Kūkawa was at the hand of Rābiḥ [*q.v.*], a man of eastern Sudanese origin. Probably early in 1893, although precise dating of these events is extremely difficult, Rābiḥ and his army, moving westwards, occupied Logone, a vassal state under Bornū. In two battles, at Amja and Legarwa, the Bornū forces vainly tried to defeat Rābiḥ; after the second defeat, organised Bornū resistance collapsed. Shehu Hāshim had been present at the second battle, though taking no active part; he fled to Kūkawa, and abandoned it within a few days, at Rābiḥ's approach. Rābiḥ occupied the town sometime in 1893, without a struggle. What hap-

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pened next is uncertain; some authorities report the ruthless pillaging of the capital, with several thousands of people killed or captured, while others argue that the violence was much more restrained. Certainly an immense booty was captured. Readings from the Ḳur'ān were among the festivities celebrating the victory. Shortly after the conquest, Rābiḥ decided to move the capital to Dikwa, an older town of strategic importance, where water supplies were better and grain more accessible. Kūkawa was partly demolished, and everything which could not be carried away was burnt. Only the tombs of the Shehus, where Rābiḥ himself had prayed, were respected.

In 1902, the British installed Bukar Garbai, a grandson of ʿUmar, as Shehu, first at Mongonu 17 miles south of Kūkawa, but with the explicit intention of reoccupying Kūkawa. Attempts to revitalise the desolate capital failed, and at the end of 1906 both the British administration and the traditional Bornū administration were definitively established at Maiduguri. In 1922 Kūkawa was reported to be no more than a mass of ruins, and a small hamlet. By 1975 it had so far recovered as to be a thriving little town, and an administrative District Headquarters. The graves of al-Kānimī, ʿUmar, and their two immediate successors are still revered, and a baobab tree, said to replace the one from which the town first took its name, is preserved as an historical monument.

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ḴUL, an old Turkish word which came, in Islamic times, to mean "slave boy, male slave", defined by Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bilge, i, 282, tr. Atalay, i, 336-7, as *ʿabd*. However, the original meaning of *ḳul* in Orkhon Turkish was rather "servant, vassal, dependent" (the masculine counterpart of *kün* "female servant, etc.", the two words being linked in the Kültegin inscription, text references in Talât Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkish*, Bloomington, Ind. 1968, 347), since slavery in the Islamic juridical sense did not exist among the ancient Turks.

The word spread through the northern tier of the Islamic world as the Turks became Islamised and entered the Iranian lands and beyond, passing into Persian, Kurdish, Caucasian languages, etc., and used both in a religious sense "slave [of God]" and above all in military contexts, since Turks became so omnipresent as military slaves. Under the Ottomans, *ḳullar* became the standard designation for the Janissaries [see YEÑI ČERI], and under the Ottomans and the Persian Ṣafawids alike, the latter with their Turkish, Georgian and other slave troops, we find the title *ḳullar aghasi* given to the commander-in-chief of the sovereign's slave forces [see GHULĀM, iv and ORDŪ]. An extension of the religious usage of the word may also be seen in such names, common in Ṣafawid Persia and in neighbouring states influenced by it, with *ḳul* as a component, e.g. ʿAlī-ḳulī, Shāh-ḳulī, Yazdān-ḳulī; see further LAḲAB v.

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ḴUL MUṢṬAFĀ, called **ḴAYİKDJİ**, 11th/17th century Turkish folk poet of Janissary origin. His nickname Ḳayıkdjı ("The Boatman") seems to have originated from his association in his youth with the corsair, later admiral, Turghud Reʾīs [*q.v.*] in Algeria. His narrative or epic poems on contemporary important events became very popular in the army and at court, and his fame lies more in these than in his less attractive lyrics. Among his famous narrative poems, the most notable concern the assasination of ʿOthmān II by the Janissaries; Shāh ʿAbbās's conquest of Baghdād; Murād IV's siege of Baghdād; the revolt of Abaza Ḥasan Pasha, the governor of Aleppo; and particularly, the epic of Gendj ʿOthmān, a young hero who is drowned in the Tigris during the siege of Baghdād. Ḳul Muṣṭafā's style and language are in the true tradition of folk poets, and are very little influenced by *dīwān* poetry.

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ḴŪLA, a town in western Anatolia, classical Opsicum. It lies on the margin of a fertile plain, a few miles south of the upper course of the Gediz river and to the north of the main Manisa-Uṣak road, in lat. 38°33′ north and long. 28°40′ east and at an altitude of 2,140 feet/652 m. it is in a volcanic area (classical Katakekaumene or Combusta), with the extinct volcano Karadevlit north-east of the town; hence many of the houses are built from dark basalt. There are numerous marble remains from classical times, but the citadel, apparently late mediaeval, is ruinous.

Ḳūla came within the lands of the Turkmen *beylik* of the Germiyān-oghullarī [*q.v.*], and was conquered by Meḥmed Germiyān (*ca.* 741-63/1340-61), and after his son Süleymān Shāh Čelebi (*ca.* 765-90/1363-98) had given Kütahya and several others of his towns to the Ottoman Bāyezīd I Yıldırım as dowry for his daughter Dewlet Khātūn, he himself went to Ḳūla to reside and died there. In the *Ṭaṣh wakfiyye* at Kütahya of Yaʿḳūb Čelebi b. Süleymān Shāh (814/1411), the name of Ḳūla is rendered as كولدى. In Ottoman times, Ḳūla fell within the *sandjak* of Ṣarukhān, whose capital was Manīsa [*q.v.*]; Ewliyā Čelebi mentions there 8 quarters, 2,100 households, 24 mosques, 3 baths, 6 caravanserais and 200 shops. In recent times, carpet-weaving has been a significant local craft, and it is now a centre for wine-making. Cuinet (*ca.* 1890) recorded 6,100 inhabitants, of whom 5,655 were Muslims and 345 Greeks, together with 30 mosques and two Greek Orthodox churches. In 1950, Ḳūla's population was 8,600, whilst the *kaza* of which it was the chef-lieu had one of 38,242 and

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was composed of 62 villages. It is now the chef-lieu of an *ilče* (formerly *kaza*) in the *il* (formerly *vilayet*) of Manisa. In 1975 the population was 10,807.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Dj̲ihān-numā*, 633; Sāmī Bey, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 3766; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, 565; *Admiralty handbook, Turkey*, London 1943, i, 139, ii, 207, 234-5, 565; *IA*, art. *Kula* (Besim Darkot).

(C. E. Bosworth)

KŪLAM, the name given in mediaeval Arabic geographical and travel literature to the port of Quilon at the southern extremity of the Malabar coast of southwestern peninsular South India, in ancient and modern Kerala (lat. 8° 53′ N. and long. 76°36′ E.).

Quilon early became a centre of the St. Thomas Christians of South India, and is mentioned in a letter of the Nestorian Patriarch Īsh̲ūʿyāb of Adiabene (d. 660) to Simon, Metropolitan of Fārs, under the name of Colon and as lacking at that time a settled ministry (Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis*, iii/2, Rome 1728, 437). The first mention of the place in the Islamic sources appears to be that of the *Aḵẖbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (237/851), which mentions "Kūlam of Malay" (this latter component being generally written in later Arabic sources, e.g. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, as "al-Malaybār", yielding the name "Malabar", possibly meaning in the local tongue "hilly coastland"). It describes Kūlam as a fortified point where Chinese junks plying towards Arabia had to pay a transit due of 1,000 *dirhams* per ship to the local ruler (J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, text § 14, comm. 42-3, 69). Zakariyyāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳazwīnī, in his *Āṯār al-bilād* (Beirut 1380/1960, 55, 106), quotes Abū Dulaf al-Kh̲azradjī [*q.v.*], sc. the latter's *First Risāla*, on Kūlam, and he and other sources mention such exports from it to the Islamic world as locally-produced porcelain (which was not, however, as fine and translucent as the genuine Chinese porcelain), pepper, cinnamon, ginger, teak, brazil-wood, indigo, etc. In regard to the important export of pepper, we sometimes find Arabic authors (e.g. Abu 'l-Fidā) referring to the whole Malabar coast as *Bilād al-fulful* "Land of pepper". See on the Arab trade to Kūlam and beyond in general, G. F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early mediaeval times*, Princeton 1951, 70-4.

The Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela visited Quilon, as did several western ecclesiastical envoys to the Far East in the Mongol period, such as Odoric or Pordenone (translated in Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*², London 1915-16, ii, 129-30) and John of Monte Corvino; the latter mentions that at that time, i.e. the end of the 13th century, the Chinese, Christian and Jewish traders there were being pushed out by the Muslims. Around this time also, Marco Polo visited what he calls Coilum, describing it as an independent city-state (Book iii, ch. 22 = *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. Yule and Cordier, London 1903, ii, 375-82; cf. P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 399-402).

To Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (*Riḥla*, iv, 99-104, cf. Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, iv, 79) we owe an especially valuable account of Kūlam in the first half of the 8th/14th century, with important information about its Muslim mercantile community. Whilst on his visit there, he stayed in the Ṣūfī *zāwiya* of Shaykh Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Kāzarūnī, whose father was *sh̲ayk̲h̲* of another *zāwiya* in nearby Calicut/Kalikat [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The whole body of Muslim merchants was called Ṣūliyyūn (sc. Cholia, a term used in South India to denote either Arab settlers or Muslim converts from the indigenous peoples, see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*², London 1903, 207, s.v. *Choolia*), and these seem to have been largely composed of traders of Persian Sh̲īʿī origin, the head merchant being ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Āwadjī (i.e. from Āwa [*q.v.*] in northwestern Persia), and the *ḳāḍī* a man from Ḳazwīn. The Muslim community was, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates, prosperous and highly-respected. He names the local ruler as Tīrwarī, sc. Tiruvati of the indigenous Venad dynasty, and praises his impartial justice and his tolerance of the Muslims.

From the opening of the 16th century onwards, the history of Quilon is bound up with European economic and political penetration of South India, a process which soon became unfavourable to the earlier Muslim commercial supremacy along the Malabar coast. In December 1500 Pedro Alvarez Cabral was at Cochin, and received friendly delegations from the ruler of Kannanūr [*q.v.*] and from the Queen of Quilon (Portuguese Coilom), both of these potentates being anxious to secure Portuguese help against the powerful Muslim ruler in Calicut, the Zamorin. In 1502 Vasco da Gama made a treaty with the Queen of Quilon, who promised to load two Portuguese ships per year with pepper, and in the next year Albuquerque secured permission to open a factory there. Muslim opposition was strenuous; Portuguese ships were prevented from loading, and 1504 the Portuguese factor at Quilon was killed by them. In 1505 Don Francisco de Almeida was appointed the first Viceroy of All the Indies, and received instructions to erect four fortresses along the Malabar coast, including one at Quilon. In 1516 and 1520, further treaties were made between the ruler of Quilon and the Portuguese aimed at providing the latter with a monopoly of the export of pepper from there.

In 1651 the Dutch captured the fortress of Quilon from the Portuguese, and in 1659 the Dutch East Indian Company made a treaty with the Queen. In December 1661 the Admiral Rijklof van Goens appeared with a fleet at Quilon, since regained by the Portuguese, and occupied the fortress without opposition; he then proceeded in 1662 to reduce the fortresses of Cranganor and Cochin (see, for the whole of this period of the rise and fall of Portuguese influence at Quilon, F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India, being a history of the rise and decline of their eastern empire*, London 1894, i, 88-9, 114, 118, 121, 336-7, ii, 325). But during the 17th century, the Dutch fortress at Quilon decayed from lack of cash and of profit in the trading operations there, and during the period of warfare between the British and the rulers of Mysore, Ḥaydar ʿAlī and Tīpū Sulṭān [*q.vv.*], in the later 18th century, these two rulers having in their expansionist phase extended Muslim political control into Malabar, the Dutch fortress of Cochin, together with its dependencies, including Quilon, surrendered to British troops (October 1795). During the middle years of the 18th century, the principality of Quilon had been absorbed by Travancore, and in British India, Quilon continued to fall within the native state of Travancore. It is now (since 1956) in the component state of Kerala in the Indian Union. According to the *Census of India 1961. vii. Kerala*, Quilon district had in 1961 a total population of 1,941,228 (Hindu 64 %, Christian 25 %, Muslim 11 %), and Quilon municipality alone 91,018 (1901 figure, 15,961).

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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in the article): W. Logan, *Malabar*, Madras 1887-91, i; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 751-3; C. A. Innes, *Madras District gazeteers. Malabar and Anjengo*, Madras 1908; *Imperial gazeteer of India*³, xxi, 21-2; Murray's *Handbook for India, Burma and Ceylon*⁷, London 1909, 435; A. S. Menon, *Kerala District gazeteers. Quilon*, Trivandrum 1964. For the indigenous Muslim communities of the region around Quilon, see LABBAIS and MĀPILLAS. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-ḴULAYʿA (A.), "little castle", the diminutive of *al-ḳalʿa* [*q.v.*], like this last used, in one way or another, as a place-name.

1. Muslim Spain

Students of the history and geography of Muslim Spain are familiar with *al-ḳulayʿa* as the name of a number of small or relatively small places whose importance seems to have lain only or primarily in the military purpose they served. In Spanish Umayyad history it occurs as the name of at least three different places mentioned in connection with raids and campaigns. One was situated in the Asturian kingdom, another in the neighbourhood of Guadalajara, and yet another to the north-east of Cordova (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, i, 204; ii, 40, 282, 309 (map), 310). The exact location of the first two remains uncertain, but the third, which still bears its old name in Spanish guise, viz. Alcolea, is situated 10 km. or so on the main eastward road of Cordova.

As regards the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada, two places called *al-Ḳulayʿa* are listed in their appropriate administrative divisions by Ibn al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*]. Both are located in what is today Almería province. One—Alcolea—lies north of Berja on the main road to Laujar. In other parts of the Peninsula, the same hispanised name can be found in such compounds as Alcolea de Calatrava (Ciudad Real province), A. del Pinar and A. de las Peñas (Guadalajara prov.), A. de Cinca (Huesca prov.), A. del Río (Sevilla prov.; (?) *Ḥiṣn al-Ḳulayʿa*, Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vii, 196), and A. del Tajo (Toledo prov.). Other Peninsular forms are Alcolecha (Alicante prov.) and Alcoletge (Lerida prov.). In Spanish and other European writings the name appears in various guises (Alcolaya, Alcolya, Alcoleia, Alculeiha, etc.). Finally, in Spain today there are a number of place-names which are most probably literal translations of *al-ḳulayʿa* (Castilian diminutive: "castillejo"), e.g. Castillejo (Cáceres and Granada provs.). C. de Iniesta (Cuenca prov.), C. de Robledo (Soria prov.), etc.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Lamḥa al-badriyya*, Cairo 1347, 19; F. J. Simonet, *Descripción del reino de Granada*, new ed., Granada 1872, 222 f., 286, 303, etc.; M. Asín Palacios, *Contrib. a la toponimia árabe de España*², Madrid-Granada 1944, 25, 54; H. Lautensach, *Maurische Züge im geographischen Bild der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Bonn 1960; *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada*, Barcelona, 1905-30.

2. North Africa

1. El-Goléa (the French spelling of al-Ḳulayʿa, reflecting the local pronunciation with the usual voiced *ḳāf* of nomadic vernaculars) is the name of an oasis town situated at the far eastern end of the great western Erg (*ʿirḳ*; see map above, i, 365) of Saharan Algeria and lying, by road, 906 km. almost due south of Algiers on the parallel 30° 31′, and 320 km. south of Ghardāya [*q.v.*]—air distances are noticeably shorter—at a height of 391 metres. Although the most isolated of Algeria's larger oases, it is one of the most beautiful. In 1973 the *dāʾira* of El-Goléa had a population of 16,670.

The place owes its name to an old stronghold (*ḳṣar*) built on the north side of a *gāra* (*ḳāra*, pl. *ḳūr*), i.e. a small, isolated flat-topped hill. This *gāra*, from which can be seen a vast expanse of desert, sandy to the west and stony to the east, is one of three forming something of a protective semi-circle into which the huge oasis nestles beneath. Below the *ḳṣar* lies a town that has risen on old and new foundations: the old town, home of an original sedentary population living in mud houses similar in shape and size to the *tatas* of Mali, and the new, modern town, which owes its foundation to the French, but its felicitously harmonious architecture to the inspiration supplied by local tradition. The latter's mosque and market-place are the focal point of social, religious and economic life. From the outset this new town has accommodated administrative buildings. In 1938 it also witnessed the consecration of the first church in the Sahara.

Today the *ḳṣar* is deserted and in ruins. With the establishment and eventual consolidation of French rule, the need for its use as a stronghold disappeared and gradually it came merely to supply the local nomads' needs for storage. Its last inhabitants dispersed throughout the oasis to form hamlet communities alongside various plantations. The remains of the stronghold's double walls still stand, and among the ruins a small, plain mosque can be seen where it has been the custom of local women to gather for Friday prayer. The remains of rock dwellings are also in evidence. Dotted around the foot of the *gāra* on which the *ḳṣar* stands, as well as about the oasis generally, are the *ḳubba*s of local holy men, amounting to between forty and fifty in all and of different shapes and sizes.

As a result of improvements in irrigation and drainage techniques first effected by the French, the oasis now covers more than 800 hectares and supports around 182,000 date-palms watered from artesian wells dug in the bed of the Wād Seggur. Fruit trees also abound, notably citrous and apricot varieties, and there are winter crops of cereals, beans and many other kinds of vegetable.

The inhabitants and frequenters of the oasis are, in the main, wholly or partly sedentarised nomads of the Shaʿanba sub-tribe Mawādhī; traders from the Mzab; negroes and *ḥarāṭīn* (sing. *ḥarṭānī* [*q.v.*]) from Twāt (Touat) and Grāra (Gourara). These last two groups account for about half the population and between them work the land in one capacity or another. Formerly there was also a Jewish element.

El-Goléa's early history is lost in legend. The old *ḳṣar* is said to have been founded as Taurirt (Berb. "little castle") by the Zenata in the Middle Ages and to have then been taken by the Touareg. Its mediaeval origin may be well founded: Ibn Khaldūn mentions the existence of a seemingly not too dissimilar desert advance post inhabited by Matghāra Berbers and frequented in intensely hot weather by veiled nomads. It too was a *ḳulayʿa*, viz. Kulayʿat Wāllan (on some European maps Gucléa). Be that as it may, the Shaʿanba in and around El Goléa are said, probably rightly, to have come from the region of the Matlīlī oasis, near Ghardāya, where there is still a branch of the Shaʿanba, and to have been in the carrying-trade there, to say nothing of brigandage, in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Drifting south as population pressures grew, they made El-Goléa their centre and doubtless profited from its position on the route from the Mzab to Twāt

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and Tidikelt. In the 17th century, according to al-ʿAyyashī, this evidently prosperous place was ruled, through a governor, by the sultan of Wārglā. Its first contact with Europe was with Duveyrier in 1859. General de Gallifet reached it in 1873, and in 1891 a permanent garrison was installed. The local Shaʿanba provided Laperrine with the first detachments of the famous *méharistes* with whose aid the central Sahara was brought under French control.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in *EI*¹ art. AL-GOLÉA, see J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*³, Paris 1964; *idem* and R. Raynal, *Géographie de l'Afrique du Nord-Ouest*, Paris 1967; Algerian Ministry of Information (*Wizārat al-akhbār*), *al-Fann al-miʿmārī al-Djazāʾirī*, Algiers-Madrid 1970; up-to-date information is always obtainable from the current edition of Hachette's *Guide bleu* on Algeria. On Kulayʿat Wāllan: Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 241; iv, 501.

2. Koléa, a small town of 35,000 inhabitants lying 46 km., by road, west of Algiers. Situated on the landward side of the Sāḥil hills at a height of 130 metres, it offers a commanding view of the Mitīdja plain. Dating from the Ottoman period, it is said to have been founded by Ḥasan Pasha, son of the corsair Khayr al-Dīn (Barbarossa) [*q.v.*], around 1550. What is certain is that it was peopled by Muslim refugees from Castile, Andalusia, and the kingdom of Valencia, for whom the excellent prospects offered by its fertile cultivable land were the main attraction. In the sources it is therefore referred to as "Col de Mudechares" (Mudechares being the Spanish *mudéjares* from Ar. *mudadjdjanūn*). In modern times Koléa's attraction has been the tomb and mosque of a holy man, Sīdī Mubārak, who lived in the 17th century. One of his descendants, Ibn ʿAllāl b. Mubārak (Ben Allal Ben Embarak), who fell in the cause of the Algerian rebel ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] in 1843, is also buried there.

Bibliography: Marmol, *Descr. de Affrica*, Granada 1573, ii, 214; O. Dapper, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, Amsterdam 1686; C. Trumelet, *Les saints de l'Islam . . .*, *Les saints du Tell*, Paris 1881.

(J. D. LATHAM)

KULAYB B. RABĪʿA, a chief of the Banu Taghlib of the Islamic period, whose murder by his brother-in-law Djassās b. Murra al-Shaybānī was the cause of a long and bloody war between the two sister-tribes Taghlib and Bakr [*q.vv.*] which was known as "the war of Basūs" [*q.v.*]. His genealogy was: Kulayb b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Zuhayr b. Djusham (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, c. 22; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 164, where Murra is not mentioned). Kulayb's real name is said to have been Wāʾil, and the name of Kulayb ("little dog") to have given to him because of his habit of taking a small dog with him and making it bark by beating it in all the places which he wished to reserve as his own private property; the people who heard the barking of the dog refrained from using the place. This story, the point of which, however, eludes us, is evidently a later invention: the name Kulayb is frequently met with in Arab nomenclature and does not look like a surname.

Kulayb is represented as having all the characteristic traits of the tyrant, of which the independent and critical spirit of the Bedouins has always had a profound horror; he is said to have been proclaimed "king" (on the use of this title cf. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Rome 1914, 210) after the brilliant victory won at Khazāzā over the united Yemenī tribes and to have ruled not only over Taghlib but also over the Banū Shayban, the most important section of Bakr. After a short time, he is said to have abused his power and to have usurped the rights of hunting and of pasturage at the expense of his subjects (the usurpation of the *ḥimā* is the regular grievance of the Bedouins against "tyrants"; the same reproach was made against the caliph ʿUthmān). Indeed, it was because the she-camel Sarāb, belonging to a Tamīmī woman al-Basūs or to one of her clients of the tribe of Banū Djarm, trespassed upon the private property of Kulayb, that the latter put her to death (or killed its young one and injured the mother), and this act of violence was the cause of his murder by Djassās, whose mother was the sister of al-Basūs.

The details of the story are given in our sources with some variations, most of which are found as early as the work of Abū ʿUbayda who is, as is well known, the source of almost all our information on the *ayyām al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*]. Certain features, especially in the *K. al-Aghānī*, have been borrowed from Ibn al-Kalbī, and the account of al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī has also been preserved. It is evident that we are no longer able to ascertain if the history of Kulayb (and in general that of the war against Taghlib and Bakr) contains a nucleus of historical truth along with a mass of features undoubtedly legendary. This is a problem which can only be solved in connection with the general question of the historical value of the whole of the traditions of the pre-Islamic period. Considered by itself, the episode of Kulayb has nothing improbable about it. We might be tempted to recognise in it a fairly clear memory of an attempt to form a political organisation among Taghlib and Bakr of a kind superior to the ordinary Bedouin tribes; the attempts, similar to that which gave the royal crown to the chiefs of the tribe of Kinda, must have been suggested by the example of the kingdom of the Lakhmids of al-Ḥīra, not far from which Taghlib and Bakr have their houses. The story of the tyranny and the death of Kulayb must have taken form at a very remote period; this is evident from the verses of ʿAbbās b. Mirdās and of al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī (both contemporary with the beginning of Islam) given in our sources; in that of al-Nābigha in particular, the history of the killing of the camel is already told in detail. An allusion to the power of Kulayb is found as early as the *muʿallaḳa* of the Taghlibī ʿAmr b. Kulthūm (v. 65). We have, moreover, contemporary documentary evidence of the accounts relating to the fate of Kulayb in the numerous allusions contained in the elegies on his death, which were attributed to his brother Muhalhil (one of the earliest Arab poets; cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, ed. De Goeje, 164-6; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Hell, 13 lines 11-16 etc.), but naturally their authenticity is more than doubtful.

The story of the murder of Kulayb is developed in a quite arbitrary fashion in the romance cycle of the Banū Hilāl (cf. Mittwoch, *Proelia arabum paganorum*, Berlin 1899, 11).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article AL-BASŪS, see *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 905-7; al-Mufaḍḍal b. Salama, *Fākhir*, ed. Storey, 76-8; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *Amthāl*, Istanbul 1300, 55-6; al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, 1310, i, 254-5; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 150-1.

(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA)

AL-KULAYNĪ (or AL-KULĪNĪ), **ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD** B. YAʿḲŪB B. ISḤĀḲ AL-RĀZĪ, Imāmī traditionist. He originated from a village located 38 km. southwest of Rayy in the district of

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Pashāpūya whose Persian name Kolēn, with *imāla*, was Arabicised as Kulayn and Kulīn. His *nisba* is thus variously given in the sources as al-Kulaynī, al-Kulīnī, or, erroneously, al-Kalīnī.

Few facts are known about his life. Since his chief transmitters of Imāmī traditions were several scholars of Ḳumm, it is certain that he studied in that town for a prolonged time, most likely during the last decade of the 3rd century A.H. (903-13). He also transmitted from several scholars of Rayy, among them his maternal uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Kulaynī al-Rāzī, known as ʿAlān, and al-Nadjāshī describes him as the *shaykh* of the Imāmiyya in Rayy in his time. It is uncertain if it was in Naysābūr or elsewhere that he heard Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Naysābūrī, his transmitter of the traditions and views of the prominent Imāmī scholar al-Faḍl b. Shādhān of Naysābūr, whom he evidently held in high esteem. At an unknown date, perhaps in the first decade of the 4th century A.H. (913-23), he moved to Baghdād where he lived and taught in the Darb al-Silsila near the Bāb al-Kūfa on the west bank of the Tigris. Here he completed his voluminous *Kitāb al-Kāfī*, on which he is said to have worked for twenty years. The book, though mostly a collection of traditions of the *Imāms*, was meant to be a guide to authoritative Imāmī doctrine in theology and *fiḳh*. Thus it is arranged according to subject matter and tends to contain only those traditions which the author considered as reflecting orthodox teaching. Only exceptionally are the views and elaborations of Imāmī scholars quoted, such as the elaborations of al-Faḍl b. Shādhān on the law of inheritance. The work is divided into the *uṣūl*, dealing mainly with theology, prophecy, the imāmate, and prayers; the *furūʿ*, dealing with *fiḳh*; and a final volume, entitled *K. al-Rawḍa*, containing miscellaneous traditions of mostly edifying or paraenetic character. His other works, all of which are lost, included a refutation of the Ḳarāmiṭa, a book on transmitters (*riḏjāl*), a collection of letters of the Imāms, an anthology of poems about them, and a book on the interpretation of dreams. The date of his death is given as 328/939-40 or 329/940-1. The latter date, mentioned by al-Nadjāshī, is more likely to be correct, since al-Ṭūsī, who in his earlier *K. al-Fihrist* gives the year 328, in his later *K. al-Riḏjāl* specifies Shaʿbān 329/May 941. The funeral prayer was led by the Imāmī Ḥasanid Abū Ḳīrāṭ Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar, and he was buried near the Bāb al-Kūfa.

The reputation of al-Kulaynī and his *K. al-Kāfī* appears to have been modest during his lifetime and for a century after his death. Ibn al-Nadīm (writing in 377/987-8) does not even mention him, and Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūn (d. 423/1030) observed that his tomb had become obliterated. The *K. al-Kāfī* was evidently not widely used in the Imāmī communities as an authoritative source of *fiḳh*. Though the Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) in Baghdād referred to it as one "of the most important and useful books of the Shīʿa", his student the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) included al-Kulaynī in his general censure of the Imāmī traditionist school of Ḳumm and accused him of including numerous forged and rationally absurd traditions in the *K. al-Kāfī*. It seems to have been largely due to the influence of the Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1068), who praised al-Kulaynī and relied extensively on the *K. al-Kāfī* in his *fiḳh* works, that the latter gained popularity. The favour in which the *K. al-Kāfī* was held by the pro-Muʿtazilī Imāmī school of Baghdād, in spite of the criticism of al-Murtaḍā, was partially based on al-Kulaynī's support of the theology of the anti-anthropomorphist wing within the school of Ḳumm which was later represented by Ibn Bābawayh al-Ṣadūḳ, the only scholar of Ḳumm whose works were preserved in large number, evidently because of their author's relative closeness to Muʿtazilī theological doctrines. The *K. al-Kāfī* soon came to be considered as one of the four canonical collections of traditions on which Imāmī *fiḳh* is to be based, and often as the most authoritative one among them. It reached the peak of its fame in the Ṣafawid and post-Ṣafawid age, when numerous commentaries, interpretations, glosses, studies of various aspects, Persian translations, and an abridgment of it were composed. A tomb of al-Kulaynī with a *ḳubba* was now shown on the east bank of the Tigris near the modern al-Maʾmūn bridge in Baghdād, and has continued to attract large numbers of visitors until the present.

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(W. MADELUNG)

ḲULDJA or GHULDJA, modern Ili or I-ning, a town in the fertile and mineral-rich upper valley of the Ili river [*q.v.*] in Central Asia. For the mediaeval history of the district in which modern Ḳuldja lay, see ALMALĪGH.

The town of Ḳuldja ("Old Ḳuldja") was probably a new foundation in 1762 by the Chinese after their victory over the Kalmucks [see KALMUK] in 1759, and they named it Ning-yüan-chen. Two years later the town of Hoi-yüan-chen was founded as the headquarters of the Chinese governor-general (*dsandsün*) of Chinese Turkestan; this was known as "Great" or "New" Ḳuldja. The Imperial government resettled in the largely depopulated region, amongst other peoples, 6,000 families of Muslim Turks from Kāshgharia, after the devastation of the latter province during the wars with the Kalmucks; these came to be called the Tarančis, "agriculturists". Also in the 18th century were settled there Chinese Muslims (probably, in fact, of mixed Chinese and Uyghur Turkish blood) called the Dungans or T'ung-kan. In 1851 a trade treaty was made at Ḳuldja between the advancing Russians and the Chinese, opening the upper Ili region to Russian traders, and in 1860 the Treaty of Peking between Russia and China gave both Russia and Britain the right to establish consulates in, amongst other places, Ḳuldja. In 1862 W. Radlov visited both Old and New Ḳuldja and described them fully in his *Aus Siberien*, Leipzig 1893, ii, 305 ff., 336 ff., see also his *Das Ili-Thal in Hoch Asien und seine Bewohner*, in *Petermann's Mittheilungen* (1866); a decade or so later, the American traveller E. Schuyler visited Old Ḳuldja and its hinterland, see his *Turkistan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Khuldja*, London 1876, ii, 156-201.

Following a Dungan rebellion in Shen-si, which spread to Kan-su [see KANSU] and other Muslim

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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areas of western China proper in 1862, revolt also broke out amongst the Muslim population of northern Chinese Turkestan, sc. in the province of Dzungaria, amongst both Tarančis and Dungans, and in 1863 it spread to the Ḳuldja area. After hard fighting between the Chinese authorities and the rebels, New Ḳuldja was captured in 1865 by the rebels and completely razed; Schuyler, *op. cit.*, ii, 162-4, found the site utterly deserted apart from the one or two houses of Dungan squatters. The Russian consulate in Ḳuldja and a Russian factory in the area were destroyed in this strife. The Dungans and Tarančis now began to fight amongst themselves, and after much internecine warfare, power passed in 1867 to a Taranči leader who styled himself Sulṭān Aʿlā Khān or Abu 'l-Aʿlā (in Russian sources, often Abil-Ogiya); after savage massacres perpetrated by the Tarančis, some 5,000 Dungans and others fled westwards into Russian territory for refuge. In 1867 also, Yaʿḳūb Beg [*q.v.*], a Khoḳandī by birth who had earlier fought against the Russians at the battle of Aḳ Masdjid [see KHOḲAND], established his power in Kāshgharia, sc. the southern part of Chinese Turkestan. Since Yaʿḳūb Beg was believed to be anti-Russian and received two diplomatic missions from British India, the appearance of an ostensibly hostile power in Central Asia disturbed Russia, and was a factor in the Russian decision to annex completely in 1875-6 the Khānate of Khoḳand [*q.v.*]. It further led to the Russian occupation in 1871 of Ḳuldja and the upper Ili basin, this being announced as a temporary measure, till China should re-establish her authority in Kāshgharia and Dzungaria. The local ruler Aʿlā Khān was deported to Russia, and lived out his life there as a state pensioner.

The Russians probably assumed that Yaʿḳūb Beg would never be dislodged from power and that the Ḳuldja district would eventually be permanently annexed. In fact, Yaʿḳūb Beg was defeated in 1876-7 by the Chinese forces and died in May 1877; his state collapsed totally and Chinese authority was restored in Eastern Turkestan. In 1879 negotiations began between the Chinese diplomat Ch'ung-hu and the imperial Russian government, but the Treaty of Lividia made in that year was abortive, and negotiations dragged on for a considerable time, the retrocession of Ḳuldja being used as a bargaining counter for extracting concessions elsewhere, till in 1881 the Treaty of St. Petersburg was made, and in 1883 Ḳuldja was finally evacuated by Russia. Russia nevertheless retained trading privileges in the upper Ili valley, received an indemnity of 9 million dollars for the expenses of the Russian occupation, and acquired consulates at Ḳuldja and Kāshghar which in the ensuing decades gave her important influence in Chinese Turkestan, e.g. during the period of the Chinese Revolution 1911-12, when Chinese settlers in the Ḳuldja region were massacred by the Muslims and the Russian consular defence forces of troops enlarged. Chinese Turkestan was from 1882 onwards organised as a formal province of China under the name of Sin-kiang "New dominion". The population of [Old] Ḳuldja was estimated at 7,700 in 1872, of whom 4,100 were Muslims; two or three years later, Schuyler estimated the population of the town at 10,000, over half of whom were Tarančis. These estimates were made at a time when the whole region was in a devastated and depopulated condition, and by *ca.* 1900, the estimated population of Ḳuldja had risen to 30,000.

When the authority of the Manchu Imperial government in the Sin-kiang capital of Urumchi crumbled in 1911, a revolutionary government proclaimed its independence in the Ili region, but in 1912 the new Chinese governor of the whole province, Yang Tseng-hsin (1911-28) managed to conciliate the separatists and secure unification of the Ili and Sin-kiang regions (see R. Yang, *Sinkiang under the administration of governor Yang Tseng-hsin, 1911-1928*, in *Central Asiatic Jnal.*, vi [1961], 270-7). Yang weathered a further potential crisis in 1916-17, when thousands of Kazakhs fled from Tsarist Russian oppression into the Ili and Kāshgharia regions (*ibid.*, 305-8), and under his long tenure of power, the whole of Chinese Turkestan enjoyed an unwonted period of prosperity and firm government. He kept up good relations with Soviet Russia, and even after the Kuomintang's diplomatic break with Russia in 1927, the Russian consulates at Ḳuldja and in other towns remained open. His successor Chen Shu-jen followed a similar policy, and in a secret treaty of 1931 conceded to the Russians rights to commercial offices in Ḳuldja or Ili, Urumchi, etc.

These governors in the far west of China had been virtually autonomous, but in 1941 Chiang Kai-shek managed to extend the direct control of Chunking over Sin-kiang, with disquieting effects on the non-Chinese population elements there. Hence in November 1944 there was a rebellion of the Kazakh Turks in the Ili region, soon joined by the Uyghurs. An Eastern Turkestan Republic was proclaimed in Ḳuldja, independent of the Sin-kiang Chinese provincial government in Urumchi. The Kuomintang government in distant Chunking was unable to do more than come to a compromise with Aḥmad Djān's régime in Ḳuldja, but by the end of 1948 its influence in Sin-kiang was in any case declining perceptibly. In September 1949 representatives both of the Ḳuldja régime and the Urumchi one started negotiating with the Communists in Peking, and in December of that year a Communist Provincial People's government was established in Sin-kiang. The Communists eventually accorded to the province a certain autonomy, and in 1954 the Ḳuldja region was made into the Ili Kazakh Autonomous District of what in 1955 became the Sin-kiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Now, under the Chinese name of I-ning, Ḳuldja is one of the chief towns of that Region.

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KULLIYYA (A. lit. "completeness"; Turkish: *fakülte*; Persian: *dānishkada*) acquired in the 19th century the technical meaning of faculty as a unit of teaching and learning, mostly at the university level, according to branches of learning.

Islamic education in *masdjid*, *madrasa* or *khānaḳāh* did not know of a division into *kulliyyāt*, which presupposes institutionalised specialisation. So it was only in 1930 that al-Azhar in Cairo was reorganised according to three *kulliyyāt* of higher studies: *uṣūl al-dīn*, *sharīʿa*, and *al-dirāsāt al-ʿarabiyya*. Nadjaf in Irāḳ, as a centre of Shīʿī *Ithnā*

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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ʿasharī learning, had in 1963, besides a number of independent *madāris*, a *kulliyyat al-fiḳh* which was connected with the University of Baghdād. When modern institutions of higher education were established beside the traditional Muslim ones in the 19th and 20th centuries, the latter underwent a number of innovations and reforms which were mostly imposed by the state authorities. In this way, the faculty system was introduced into the traditional Islamic teaching, either by a radical transformation of an existing old-established institution (e.g. at al-Azhar); or by integrating such an institution as a *kulliyyat al-sharīʿa* or a faculty of religious studies into a new modern state university (e.g. at al-Zaytūna in Tunis); or by establishing completely new religious institutions with a division into faculties, replacing older such institutions (e.g. the King Saʿūd Islamic University in Medina). By now, the faculty system has been introduced in nearly all Islamic institutions of higher education; sometimes such institutions have "modern" faculties side-by-side with those of the Islamic sciences. These institutions provide the education of religious leaders and they perform a function in the transmission and reformulation of Islamic thought. They may lead to a career in the judiciary, in institutional teaching or in less formal forms of instruction in Islam, both within and outside Muslim countries.

The non-religious modern (state) universities [see DJĀMIʿA] and other institutions of higher education (*al-taʿlīm al-ʿālī*) have been organised according to the faculty system, as taken over from the West, since their establishment in the 20th and sometimes the 19th century. They come under the Ministry of Education, or in some cases the Ministry of Higher Education. These universities expanded greatly in number and size after the independence of the different countries, and they serve the modernisation and development of the societies of these countries by providing them with professional intellects, besides the general role of such institutions in the acquisition and transmission of knowledge. There is a direct link between the modernisation of a society and the expansion of its educational system, including higher education. The educational institutions undergo during the process the influence of those ideological forces which constitute, or at least accompany, the dynamic of the modernisation process. The planning of higher education has started in most countries according to the needs of these countries, following western models and resulting in the growth of faculties (*kulliyyāt*).

In Arab universities the following *kulliyyāt* have developed: *ādāb* (arts), *ḥuḳūḳ* (law), *ʿulūm* (sciences) and *ṭibb* (medicine), the first two of which are called *naẓarī* (theoretical), the latter two *ʿamalī* (practical). Then there are those of *tarbiya* (education, i.e. for teacher-training at secondary schools), *tidjāra* (commerce), *idāra* (administration), *handasa* (engineering), *zirāʿa* (agriculture), *ṣaydaliyya* (pharmacy), *tibb al-aṣnān* (dentistry) and *bayṭara* (veterinary medicine). In some cases there is a *kulliyyāt al-ʿulūm al-idjtimāʿiyya* (social sciences), but mostly these disciplines are served by an institute instead of a faculty. Some universities, e.g. al-Azhar, have a *kulliyyat al-banāt* (women's faculty). In a number of cases, university faculties are the continuation of previously existing educational institutions which became part of the university once it had been founded.

The faculties have been organised in different countries according to French (especially for law faculties), British and American models, but they have developed on their own and adjusted to ministerial directives. The *kulliyyāt* constitute together a *djāmiʿa*. Within the university, the *kulliyyāt* enjoy a relative independence; their deans have great authority; they often have their own *dalīl* (guide) besides the *taḳwīm* or *taḳrīr* (calendar) of the university. They mostly have their own library and may issue their own periodical. Generally speaking, the decision-making process is slow and the bureaucratic apparatus allows for little efficiency, apart from ever-recurring financial problems. Most programmes of study show an early specialisation, and the *kulliyyāt* or faculties tend to function as professional schools. Certain courses on history, culture and society may be made compulsory for all students. The degrees awarded are those of bachelor, master, specialised diplomas and doctorate. The faculties (*kulliyyāt*) are each subdivided into sections (*ḳusūm*, sing. *ḳism*), and specialised institutes may be attached to them. Nearly all teaching is done in the national language, and English and French are not well known; most universities have insufficient funds to obtain books for their libraries in these languages.

Given the great number of students enrolled, faculties like medicine and the sciences limit the admission of students according to the number of places available, taking into account the earlier marks received by applying students. There is evidently a job-market problem in most countries for those who obtain their bachelor degree, and even for those who finish graduate studies. A certain number of students are sent abroad or admitted for foreign scholarships to continue their studies or to specialise; a certain percentage of students, varying according to country, stays abroad. Faculty teachers, on the other hand, have a high teaching load and often take supplementary jobs besides; there is not only a lack of facilities for reading and research, but also in some cases a problem of intellectual independence.

As everywhere else, the *kulliyyāt* in Muslim countries are in transition and undergoing permanent re-organisation. The exact, natural and applied sciences have an immediate relevance for the modernisation of these countries. The social sciences, not always developed adequately, are sensitive to ideological considerations, but are pivotal for the interpretation of the present-day situation of the societies of these countries; this holds true for the teaching of history too. The tendency at all faculties is to spread knowledge imposed from above, and this knowledge often appears to be considered as a finite quantity, to be assimilated by memorisation. Consequently, little attention is paid to promoting the awakening of the available natural intelligence.

It would be difficult to interpret the *kulliyyāt*, and the institutions of higher education in general, apart from their social context and the function which they fulfil in societies with pressing needs and with many uncertainties. They play an important role, in particular in the construction of a modern society and in the cultural transformation of whole countries. This takes place at a time when the ideals of culture have changed greatly, not only in relation to the religious orientation of the traditional Islamic educational institutions, but also since the political independence of the countries under consideration.

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(J. D. J. WAARDENBURG)

KÜLLIYYE (T.), in Ottoman usage the complex of buildings with varying purposes centred round a mosque. The concept of a *külliyye* was inherent in the earliest form of the mosque or *djāmiʿ* where one building housed the place of prayer and teaching as well as serving as a hostel [see EI¹, art. MASDJID]. Later, other services were incorporated under one foundation document, and each was housed in its own building within an enclosure. This did not preclude the foundation of hospitals, etc., as separate institutions, as in 7th/13th century Anatolia. The early grouping of a *külliyye* was often due to the contours of hillsides or the irregularities of the site donated, as with the royal foundations at Bursa in the 8th/14th centuries. In the late 9th/15th century, the great ordered *külliyyes* of the Ottoman dynasty were founded, in particular those of Bāyazīd II at Amasya and Edirne, the latter devoted to all aspects of medicine including the training of students. While each element of the foundation was separate, the buildings, their courts and parterres were conceived as an architectural whole.

The greatest of these *külliyyes* were built in Istanbul by Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ and Sülaymān I (Ḳānūnī). The latter incorporated seven *madrasas*, four for each of the Sunnī law schools, a preparatory college and one for studying the *Ḥadīth* and a medical school. Besides these with their courts, latrines and two houses for teachers or *mudarrisūn* there was a school for boys, a chantry, a hostel with stables, a bath or *ḥammām*, the mausoleum of the sultan and that of his consort in a cemetery, rooms for mosque servants over gateways, a large kitchen and refectory with store-rooms attached, a wrestling ground, and in the vaults supporting the vast platform on which these many buildings were erected, there were ironsmiths, cafés, button shops and other workshops. The one pavilion lacking was the usual royal *ḳaṣr* with access to the *maḳṣūra* or royal lodge (*ḵẖünkār maḥfili*).

Each and all of the charitable services had to be staffed, and detailed foundation documents regulated every duty, item of diet or salary. Besides the administrative officers who came under the chief eunuch in the department of the harem at Ṭopkapı Sarāyı, there were religious officers and teachers, porters, chanters, grave diggers, servants responsible for maintenance, including the polishing of courtyards and window grilles, cooks, scullions, plumbers, lamp-lighters, a guard against the theft of oil for lamps, carpenters, masons and tilers responsible for the lead sheets covering well over 500 domes. The kitchens coped with the feeding of this company, as well as the students and travellers and the poor; the scraps were given to the dogs. All these services required a considerable supply of water, and the cost of laying pipes and rebuilding aqueducts exceeded that of building the foundation. The initial building costs and the endowment needed to maintain so vast a foundation were raised by public subscription, including the gift of various properties, ranging from entire estates to a mill or one cottage. The donors ranged from the ruler, who might assign the revenues of a part of the realm through office holders of greater and lesser rank, to the common people.

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(G. GOODWIN)

ḲUL-OGHLU (T.) "son of a slave", in Ottoman usage, more specifically the son of a Janissary, admitted to the pay-roll of the corps; for further information see YEŃI ČERI.

In the period of Turkish domination in Algeria and Tunisia, the word *ḳulughlī/kulughlī* and, with dissimilation, *ḳurughlī/kurughlī* (pl. *ḳulughlān/kulughlān*, *ḳurughlān/kurughlān/krāghel*; French *koulougli* and variants) denoted those elements of the population resulting from marriages of Turks with local women. They were fairly numerous at Tunis, Algiers and Tlemcen, and in the towns which had Turkish garrisons, such as Médea, Mostaganem, etc. In Algeria, they lived in special quarters, and were rather looked down upon by the urban population (*ḥaḍar*), who would not give them willingly their daughters in marriage. The rules of the *odjaḳ* [*q.v.*] did not allow them to rise to higher levels, and they often endured harassment from the authorities. A considerable number of them also became mingled with the rural population and took up agriculture, especially in Tunisia. After the conquest, those who lived in Algeria were the target for hostility from the tribes, and many of them enrolled in the locally-recruited bodies of troops. They subsequently be-

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came merged within the general urban or rural populations. (Ed.)

ḲULOGHLU, Turkish folk poet of the 11th/17th century. Hardly anything is known about his life. He seems to have belonged to the Janissary corps and to have flourished during the reigns of ʿOthmān II, Muṣṭafā I, Murād IV and Ibrāhīm, and to have found particular favour at the court of Murād IV. A contemporary of Ḳul Muṣṭafā and Kātibī, he was at his best in lyric and epic poems, the best known of which is his elegy for Murād IV. His poems, scattered in most of the 17th and 18th century anthologies of folk poets (*dj̲ōnks*), have been collected and published by Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun.

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KULTHŪM B. ʿIYĀḌ AL-ḲUSHAYRĪ, Ḳaysī notable [see ḲAYS] whom the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik sent to the Maghrib, in Djumādā II 123/April-May 741, to avenge the bloody defeat which the Berbers, commanded by the successor of Maysara [*q.v.*], Khālid b. Ḥamīd/Ḥumayd al-Zanātī, had inflicted on the Arabs in the "battle of the nobles" (*ghazwat al-ashrāf*). Kulthūm left at the head of an army of 30,000 men, to which there were added contingents raised along the way, and he joined up with Ḥabīb b. Abī ʿUbayda al-Fihrī, the former companion of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*], who was endeavouring to halt the progress of the Ṣufrī Khāridjites near Tlemcen. The clumsy conduct of the Syrian army and the arrogant attitude of the commander of the vanguard, Baldj b. Bishr [*q.v.*], who was Kulthūm's nephew, towards Ḥabīb hampered the conduct of operations. Khālid al-Zanātī, after retiring before the Arabs, gave battle to them near the Wādī Sabū (Oued Sebou). Ignoring Ḥabīb's sensible advice, Kulthūm sent to the front Baldj's cavalry, which succeeded after great efforts in piercing the Berber lines, but the latter reformed behind them and overwhelmed by their mass the caliphal troops which had taken up battle order too late. Ḥabīb and the other chiefs were killed.

Kulthūm fought with the greatest bravery, reciting verses of the Ḳurʾān to encourage the others, but finally he fell. One-third of the army was killed and a third taken prisoners (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 123/Oct.-Nov. 741). Baldj's cavalry's only hope was to take refuge in Ceuta, whence after much suffering they were able to cross to Spain.

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ḲULUMRIYA, the name given by the Arabs to the town of Coimbra, on the right bank of the Mondego River in central Portugal. The town still has some ruins from the Roman period, and was originally called Aeminium; but it took over the name of another important Roman town, Conimbriga, which lay 18 km. to the south and had been devastated and depopulated during the barbarian invasions. The episcopal see of Conimbriga was transferred to Aeminium in *ca.* 580-9, and the change of name took place towards the middle of the 7th century A.D. Although the usual Arabic form was Ḳulumriya, Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (4th/10th century) has that of Ḳulunbiriya (*Iftitāḥ*, 200). The occupying of the town is attributed to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, governor of al-Andalus 95-7/714-16. His lands, like those of Santarém to the south, appear to have been omitted from the conqueror's division of the territories, probably because of a treaty (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 201-2).

The Arab geographers give descriptions of Ḳulumriya. Al-Rāzī states that it was an ancient town, well-fortified and with fertile surrounding estates where there were cornfields, olive groves and gardens. Al-Idrīsī (548/1154) says that the walls had three gates (one of which still exists, with the name of *almedina*), and mentions the mills along the Mondego vineyards and gardens and also the force of Christians living there. Al-Ḥimyarī repeats this information, and Yāḳūt gives a brief notice of the town.

Coimbra may have been the central town of a *kūra* or territorial district during its Islamic period. This last was very disturbed, for the town was coveted by the Christians who set afoot the *Reconquista* [see AL-ANDALUS and BURTUḲĀL]. In 264/878 the town was taken by Count Hermenegildo in Alfonso III's name, but al-Manṣūr recaptured it in 377/987 after having briefly occupied it two years previously. It was finally conquered by Ferdinand I in 456/1064 after a six-months' siege. He created the Mozarab Sisnandus Davidiz governor as a reward for his role here. The Coimbra district was one of the Mozarabs' most lively centres; as well as the facts described in e.g. the works of Gomez-Moreno and I. de Las Cagigas, P. da Cunha Serra (*Contribuição*, 35-6 and map II) has emphasised the role of the town's Mozarabs in the peopling of northern Portugal during the *Reconquista*. The presence of the Muslims in the area has left many traces, as its toponomy shows. From the 10th century onwards, Christian documents make a very clear distinction between what was in the *almedina* (the walled town and citadel) and what was in the *arrabalde* (< *rabaḍ*) outside the walls at that time.

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AL-ḲULZUM, an ancient town and seaport on the Red Sea (A. *Baḥr al-Ḳulzum* [*q.v.*], *Baḥr al-Hind* or *Baḥr al-Ḥabasha*), now administratively in the province (*muḥāfaẓa*) of al-Suways. It appears to have been a fort as well as a town, and was,

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perhaps, the spot where the troops destined to guard the sluices of the canal were stationed. It was called Castrum by Hierocles and Epiphanius; and κλύσμα (Clysma), or κλεῖσμα is first mentioned by Lucian. Ḳulzum is a corruption of the Greek name κλύσμα (in both Arabic and Greek almost always without the article; the Greek refers to the "sluice" at the mouth of the canal, which led from the Nile to the Red Sea). This canal, begun by Pharaoh Necho and finished by Darius of Persia, was later restored by Ptolemy II Philadelphos and by Trajan. In the Muslim period, when the construction of the canal was wrongly ascribed to Hadrian, labour was repeatedly spent on it.

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in 23/643-4 for example had it repaired to facilitate the transport of corn for Mecca from al-Fusṭāṭ to the Read Sea; it was called after him *Khalīdj Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. According to Abū Ṣāliḥ, its mouth was at al-Ḳulzum, according to al-Masʿūdī and others (more accurately) at *Dhunb* (*sic*; *dhanab*?) *al-Timsāḥ*, one mile from the town, where the Meccan pilgrims from Egypt crossed the canal by a large bridge. The caliph al-Manṣūr in 158/775 had it partly filled in, fearing an attack from his uncle Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, who had rebelled against him in Medina, so that in Abū Ṣāliḥ's time it ended at al-Sadīr at the entrance to the Wādī Ṭumīlāt. New but fruitless attempts to make it navigable again were made by the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who is said to have abandoned the attempt out of fear of the Greeks. Henceforth the bulk of its water flowed into the Birkat al-Djubb till it was completely filled in (1899) for sanitary reasons.

The town of al-Ḳulzum owed its importance mainly to this canal, for according to the descriptions of the Arab geographers, it was a desolate and miserable site without water and vegetation; neither trees nor fruits could flourish there. However, it was useful as a source of salt which was transported to various parts of Egypt and Syria for sale, and al-Baghdādī reports that quarries for red flint were operated in its vicinity. In antiquity and in the early Muslim period its main importance was as a point of departure for shipping on the Red Sea, which consequently came to be most commonly known to the Arabs as *Baḥr al-Ḳulzum*. The corn ships of al-Fusṭāṭ after they had passed the canal sailed from here to al-Djār and Djidda. Of the Jewish merchants called al-Rādhāniyya, Ibn Khurradādhbih says that they came from the lands of the Franks to al-Faramā'; thence they carried their wares 35 *farsaḵhs* on camels to al-Ḳulzum, where they were loaded on ships which sailed to India and China. According to the same geographer, al-Ḳulzum with al-Ṭūr and Ayla formed a district of Egypt.

The country round al-Ḳulzum was inhabited at an early date by Arabs. They are already mentioned in the *Acta* of the hermit Sisoes (Coptic: *apa Djidjoï*). Sisoes was one of the three Coptic martyrs (the other two being ʿIṭānās and Pidjīmī) whose place of burial is known to have been in al-Ḳulzum. For seventy years the anchorite Yūḥannā al-Kaṣīr (John Kolobos, died *ca.* A.D. 409) lived in a cave which he had dug himself in the nearby Djabal Anṭwān, and was buried beside the graves of the three martyrs. Djabal Anṭwān was so named after St. Antony who went into retreat there from the importunities of the secular world. In the *History of* John Kolobos, Ḳulzūm (*sic*) appears for the first time in the Arabic Synaxarium as the name of the ancient Clysma.

When under the last ʿAbbāsid governor in Egypt, ʿAnbasa b. Isḥāḳ, the Budjā or Bedja [*q.v.*] rebelled in Nubia, invaded the Ṣaʿīd or Upper Egypt and laid waste many towns, al-Mutawakkil sent against them an army under Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī which went from Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*] straight through the desert to the emerald mines, while seven ships with stores sailed from al-Ḳulzum to Ṣanga near ʿAydhāb and provided the victorious army from there with the necessary supplies.

In the autumn of 361/971, the Ḳarmaṭian leader Ḥasan b. Aḥmad on his campaign against the Fāṭimid Djawhar took the towns of al-Ḳulzum, al-Faramā', and Tinnīs; after his defeat before Cairo (3 Rabīʿ I 361/24 December 971), he retired under cover of night via al-Ḳulzum to Arabia.

Reynald de Châtillon at the beginning of his naval expedition against the holy cities in the winter of 578/1182-3 sent two ships from Aden, which were to watch the citadel of al-Ḳulzum and prevent the garrison from procuring water. But soon afterwards the Ḥādjib Ḥusām al-Dīn Luʾluʾ built a fleet by order of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, in al-Ḳulzum, which sailed for ʿAydhāb and put a sudden end to the desperate enterprise. When al-Dimashḳī includes al-Ḳulzum among the lands under al-Karak, this is perhaps a memory of these events of a century before.

In the time of al-Idrīsī, Yāḳūt and al-Dimashḳī, al-Ḳulzum was already a deserted town. Al-Maḳrīzī found among old documents in the palace of Cairo accounts of the expenditure on the civil and military administration of the town and district and concluded from them that it must once have been most flourishing. He quotes al-Ḳuḍāʿī as saying that the town was already ruinous in his day, and this presumably included the fortress (Ḳalʿat al-Ḳulzum) mentioned in several accounts. According to al-Idrīsī, the Bedouins had occupied and plundered it. The only water-supply he knew of in the vicinity was the well at al-Suways, which yielded only a scanty supply of brackish water. Al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century) already mentions al-Suways (i.e. Suez), which gradually took the place of al-Ḳulzum, a mile from it.

The name of al-Ḳulzum is still given to some heights to the north of Suez, Kōm al-Ḳulzum.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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(E. Honigmann - [R. Y. Ebied])

ḴUM (Ar. Ḳumm, current Persian pronunciation Ghom rather than Ḳum), a city of central Iran (Media in ancient times, later Djibāl or ʿIrāḳ-i adjam) situated in lat. 34°38′ N. and long. 50°58′ E., 150 km. to the south of Tehran. It is the capital of a *shāhristān* of the Central Province (*Ustān-i markazī*) and the ninth city of Iran, with a population of 246,873 in 1976. Situated on the great north-west/south-east axis, which follows the foothills of the central Iranian range and skirts the fold of the Zagros, it lies at the junction of all the road and rail routes linking southern Iran with Tehran.

Geographical setting.

With a complex geological history (entirely post-Cretaceous terrain; late formation of mountains linked to volcanic activity; marine development of the site of Ḳum in the Oligo-Miocene period), the region is characterised by its uneven relief. As elsewhere in central Iran, the natural environment bears the marks of aridity and of the features associated with an inland continental setting (steppe vegetation, saline earth; see M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 5 ff.). To the south, the mountainous region of Ḳuhistān contains half-a-dozen peaks whose south-western elevation exceeds 3,000 m. Towards the north-west, other mountains separate Ḳuhistān from another dense range exceeding 3,000 m. in altitude in the region of Tafrish. The valley of the river Ḳum (Anārbār in antiquity) constitutes a pass crossing the mountainous region of the south. It clears the final barrier of the mountains through a broad gap and spreads a thick deposit of sediment on the plain where the city of Ḳum is situated. To the north-east, the plain is barred by hill-ranges of only moderate elevation (1,000 m.), dominated to the west by the Kūh-i Namak (Mountain of Salt); distorted in shape and dangerous of access, it has given rise to a whole cycle of legends (see Bazin, *op. laud.*, 8, n. 4). Further to the north, the relief rises, dominating the low-lying areas which are divided unequally between *dasht* and *kawīr*. Rivers of most irregular current flow into the basin of Ḥawḍ-i Sulṭān and the vast salt lake (*daryā-i namak*) of Masīla. Although meteorological data are incomplete, the temperatures are characterised by strong daily and annual fluctuations, and a high general average (18·4° over the period 1958-68, as calculated by M. Bazin, *op. laud.*, 13; the pioneering work of A. H. Adle, *Āb u hawā-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1339, 77, gives an average of 18·5°). The winter is not very cold, and the temperature in summer frequently exceeds 40°. Rainfall is sparse everywhere (less than 200 mm. below 1,500 m.) and very irregular. Prolonged droughts can be disastrous (there have been instances in 1869-72 and more recently in 1960-6). The strength of the river-currents is also most irregular and there are often catastrophic floods (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 14 ff.; Bémont, 180). The soil is in general unfavourable to agriculture, and the natural vegetation is very poor.

Socio-economic setting.

This hostile natural environment is inhabited by a population of great ethnic and linguistic diversity. Since the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, a number of significant Arab elements have been added to the original Persian nucleus. Among the groups of foreign origin are the Khaladj [*q.v.*], who speak an archaic oriental Turkish and who arrived in the area at a very early stage (between the 11th and the 14th centuries). They have given their name to the mountains of Khaladjistān, to the east of Ḳum, the region where they are settled. There are considerable contrasts in the demographic evolution of this rural environment, where the density of population is generally below five inhabitants per square kilometre and where, in contrast to other regions of central Iran, the larger villages are mostly situated at high altitudes (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 23 ff.).

Agriculture depends primarily on irrigation by the traditional utilisation of water-courses (barrages, diversion channels) and of underground reserves (*ḳanāts* [*q.v.*]) as well as on modern techniques of developing fertility through wells of varying depths. The sharing of water among those exploiting it has given rise to a system of minute division which, in contrast to the practice elsewhere in Iran, operates without any particular supervision (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 39). In spite of the introduction of some modern methods of exploitation, agricultural techniques and systems are still archaic. Cereals (wheat, barley) give a rather mediocre yield. Summer crops (cotton, market-garden products including various kinds of melon and water-melon, pomegranates, figs, raisins, apricots, almonds, more recently opium, etc.) are mostly grown for sale. In general, agricultural production is inferior (Bazin, *op. cit.*, 40 ff.). In contrast to the situation prevailing elsewhere in Iran, before the implementation of land reform the bulk of the land belonged to urban middle class landlords and to peasant smallholders. The crown properties (*ḵhāliṣa* [*q.v.*]) which existed in the Ḳādjār period were no longer represented in the region (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 55). The *waḳf* estates gifted to the sanctuary of Fāṭima al-Maʿṣūma continue to be decidedly less important than those of the sanctuary of Imām Riḍā at Mashhad (Bazin, *op. cit.*); for a comparison, see Fisher, 70, and on Mashhad, N. Hakami, *Le vaqf d'un lieu saint en Iran-Mashad*, Mémoire de l'EPHE, Section vi, Paris 1975, 22 ff.). Traditional forms of ownership, exploitation and the sharing of crops are now being modified by the gradual implementation of land reform; a number of successful co-operatives have been created (Bazin, *op. cit.*, 57 ff.).

The relatively meagre agricultural yields are supplemented by ancillary activities: peasants and numerous nomadic and semi-nomadic groups practise stock-breeding (cattle, sheep, goats, camels); the crafts formerly practised (see below) have been replaced by the manufacture of carpets, introduced, at least as far as quality products are concerned, by merchants of Kāshān in the nineteen-thirties (Bazin, *op. laud.*, 64 ff.; idem, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 105 ff.; idem, *Le travail du tapis dans la région de Qom*). Numerous factors (including the religious and social conservatism of the population) have hindered the industrial development of the town and of the region, in spite of the discovery and exploitation of petroleum and natural gas in the folds of the Alburz and of Sarādja (for a bibliography relating to the industry of the region: textiles, building materials, ceramics, flour-mills, petroleum, natural gas, etc., see M. Bazin, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 109 ff.). The influence of Ḳum over the region has been to some extent artificially diminished to the advantage of the surrounding

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shāhristāns, especially those of Kāshān and Tafrīsh, the latter being a recent creation (*ibid.*, 124 ff.). In spite of the potential richness of the soil and attempts at modernisation, crop yields and the standard of living continue to be rather poor (M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 79 ff.; idem, with regard to nutrition, in *Studia Iranica*, ii [1973], 243-53).

Historical evolution.

Numerous signs testify to the occupation of the site of Ḳum in ancient times (M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 25 ff.). The remains of *čahār tāḳs* of the Sāsānid period are still visible in the region (A. Godard, *L'art de l'Iran*, Paris 1962, 232 ff.; M. Siroux, *Le site d'Atesh-Kouh pres de Delidjan*, in *Syria*, xliv [1967], 53-71). Excavations on the site of one of these, the Ḳal'a-yi Dukhtar, very close to Ḳum, have brought to light fragments of pottery of the type associated with Sialk II and III (5th and 4th millenia B.C.): see M. Siroux, *Le Kal'è Dukhtar de Ḳumm*, in *Āthār-e Īrān*, iii, (1938), 113-20; R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk*, Paris 1938, i, 91; L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, Leiden 1959, 125. Similar remains have been discovered in Khaladjistān (see M. Bahrami, in *Āmuzish wa parwarish*, x/4 [1940], 31-8). Two Seleucid columns are still to be found near Dilidjān (A. Godard, *op. laud.*, 149, 153, 164, and plate 88).

Ḳum is included among the *kūras* of Djibāl (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 20). Ibn al-Faḳīh (209 ff.) and other Arabic sources mention Sāsānid Ḳum in various contexts (see Faḳīhī, *Ta'rīkh-i madhhab-i Ḳum*, 54 ff.). According to the *Ta'rīkh-i Ḳum*, 24, Alexander the Great destroyed Ḳum, and it was the Sāsānid Ḳubād I (488-531) who restored its prosperity and gave it administrative independence from Iṣfahān. Many of the *rustāḳs* of Ḳum mentioned in the *Ta'rīkh-i Ḳum* bear Iranian names, some of which are still in use today. A version of a Pahlavi text draws attention to the merits of the saffron of Ḳum (see J. M. Unvala, *The Pahlavi text "King Husraw and his boy"*, Paris 1924, 44, following al-Tha'ālibī). In the *Shāh-namā* of Firdawsī, Ḳum is included among the towns belonging to the Pishdādiyān and Kayānid kings (Faḳīhī, 55, etc.).

But in spite of the archaeological remains and the literary allusions to Ḳum in the ancient texts, as in the case of Kāshān, with which it is often associated (Ḳum and Kāshān together are said to have supplied 20,000 horsemen to the Sāsānid army at al-Ḳādisiyya: see Faḳīhī, 56, following Ibn A'tham al-Kūfī), virtually nothing is known of the pre-Islamic town. According to the majority of Arabic sources (which often contain internal contradictions), the town was an Islamic foundation. According to the *Ta'rīkh-i Ḳum*, the Ash'arī Arabs of Kūfa, persecuted for their Shī'ī beliefs, came and established themselves in the region (where they were probably received by co-religionists), in 94/712-13, protected it from attacks by the Daylamīs, and ultimately built a wall around seven of the forty villages of the plain (240 ff.; on the non-Ash'arī Arabs who established themselves at Ḳum, see Faḳīhī, 43 ff.). This conglomeration presumably took its name from that of one of these villages, Ḳumīdān. But the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i Ḳum* follows al-Barḳī in preferring to derive the name Ḳum from *kūma*, a kind of hut, possibly the origin of Ḳumamaydān, which could have been contracted into Kūmaydān/Kumīdān (25; Houton-Schindler, 59). A derivation from Godman, pronounced Goman, is suggested by R. N. Frye (*The golden age of Persia*, London 1975, 11). Other fanciful etymologies (generally based on the Arabic imperative *ḳum* "rise up!") have also been proposed (see for example, Houtum-Schindler, 59 ff.). There are also numerous Shī'ī *ḥadīths* extolling the virtues of Ḳum as a place of refuge for believers etc. (*Ta'rīkh-i Ḳum*, 90 ff.; Faḳīhī, 75, 83 ff.); this latter attribute earned it in the course of time numerous honorific titles such as Dār al-Mu'minīn, Dār al-'Ibāda, Dār al-Muwaḥḥidīn, Dār al-'Ilm, Khāk Faradj etc. (Faḳīhī, 14).

This region, with its strong undercurrent of religious feeling (including Jewish and Christian associations; see Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui magi evangelici*, Vatican 1952, 84 ff.) became one of the first bastions of Shī'ism (on the Shī'ī and non-Shī'ī groups at Ḳum, see Faḳīhī, 308 ff.). The Zoroastrian community, whose chief, Yazdānfadhār, had in an earlier period assisted the Ash'arī Arabs to settle in the region, was ultimately eliminated (sometimes brutally) or Islamised; it has been observed, however, that Zoroastrian fire-temples continued to be in use in the area until the 3rd/9th century, and perhaps even later (Monneret de Villard, 139). From the start, the inhabitants of Ḳum had a reputation for rebelliousness, for resistance to Sunnī governors and to the payment of the levy (for the collection of taxes by force under Hārūn al-Rashīd; the destruction of the city's fortifications at the orders of al-Ma'mūn, who more than tripled the already excessive rate of *kharādj* exacted from the Ḳumīs; and a further punitive expedition ending in massacre in the reign of al-Mu'tazz, see Schwarz, 562). By contrast, a Shī'ī governor was accorded such co-operation that he was recalled by the caliph (Fisher, 56). Also to be noted are the conflicts between the people of Ḳum and the people of Iṣfahān, who were fanatical Sunnī (Faḳīhī, 222).

In the 3rd/9th century, the principal settlement was Manīdjān, one of the original "seven villages" or "seven fortresses" (Faḳīhī, 13, 58 ff.). In the 4th/10th century, Ḳum was described as a prosperous city, fortified with a rampart, with fields well-irrigated by means of canals, dams and pumping apparatus. The majority of the population was Shī'ī, ethnically Arab but Persian-speaking (Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, 370). There were frequent disputes between Ḳum and settlements lying up-stream (Taymara/Gulpāygān and Anār/Maḥallāt) regarding the distribution of the waters of the Anārbār. The flooding of this river was sometimes catastrophic (notably in 292/904-5, 1634, 1670, 1881, 1893: see Houtum-Schindler, 65 ff.; M. Bazin, *La vie rurale*, 33 ff.). With its many *'ulamā'* (tradition tells of seventeen *tābi'ūn* and of hundreds of Ash'arī *ruwāt* (see Faḳīhī, 37 ff.; in the 3rd/9th century there were two hundred and sixty-six Shī'ī *'ulamā'* and fourteen Sunnī *'ulamā'*, *ibid.*, 309) and especially the family of the famous Shaykh Ṣadūḳ (Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābūya), Ḳum could boast of having preceeded Nadjaf as a great theological centre.

The prosperity of the city seems to have begun with its administrative independence from Iṣfahān in 189/804-5. In 201/816-17, Fāṭima al-Ma'ṣūma went to visit her brother, the Eighth Imām, 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, at Ṭūs. She fell ill at Sāwa (a Sunnī town) and asked to be taken to Ḳum, where she died and was buried. Besides the town's reputation as a centre of theological education, it was this event which contributed most to its fame. The town expanded progressively from north-east to south-west in the direction of the tomb of Fāṭima, which ultimately

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became its centre (Faḳīhī, 94 ff.). Patronised by the Būyids (Faḳīhī, 127 ff.), Ḳum was renowned in the Saldjūḳ period for its *madrasas*, for the sanctuary of Fāṭima (visited by Sunnīs as well as Shīʿīs), for its religious foundations, and also for its administrators and viziers (see J. Calmard, in *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, Paris-Geneva 1971, i, 58 ff.) as well as for its many *ʿulamāʾ* and scholars, known by the *nisbas* of Ḳumī, Barḳī, Baravistānī, Ṭabrisī (from Ṭabris/Ṭafrish), etc. At the time of the Mongol conquest in 621/1224, its inhabitants were massacred, possibly at the instigation of the Sunnīs (see Faḳīhī, 223). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī described the town as being mostly in ruins in the 8th/14th century. It seems, however, that there was an attempt at reviving the region under the Īlkhāns, as evidenced by some important hydraulic constructions: the weighted dam at Sāwa (end of the 13th century) and the vaulted dam at Kebar, 25 km. to the south of Ḳum (see H. Goblot, *Kébar en Iran, sans doute le plus ancien des barrages-voûtes (1300 environ)*, in *Science Progrès (La Nature)*, Paris, February 1965, 50-6; the same, in *Arts et Manufactures*, Paris, June 1965, 43-9, April 1973, 15-20). Although travellers have drawn attention to the massacre perpetrated by Tīmūr, it seems that the Tīmūrids showed respect and favour to this holy city (we may note the mosque of Gawhar-Shād, wife of Shāh-Ruḳh, near the mausoleum of Fāṭima, and the fact that the sultan Muḥammad, son of Baysunghur, chose Ḳum as his capital in 846/1442: see Faḳīhī, 144-7). It was in any case from the 9th/14th century onwards that the town began to enjoy definite royal patronage. The Turkoman sultans Djahān-Shāh, Uzun Ḥasan, Yaʿḳūb, Murād and Alvand used it as a kind of winter capital for hunting, and this tradition was continued under the earlier Ṣafawids, Ismāʿīl I and Ṭahmāsp I (Fisher, 56 ff.; Faḳīhī, 147 ff.; on the *farmāns*, Turkomans charged with the appointment of an official (*mutawallī* of the sanctuary and *naḳīb* of the *sayyids*), see Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, in *Farhang-i Īrān-zamīn*, xix/1-4, 118-35).

But it was above all the result of the religious policy of Shāh ʿAbbās I—consisting in attracting pilgrims to the Shīʿī shrines of Iran (Mashhad and Ḳum) rather than to those of ʿIrāḳ, then controlled by the Ottomans—which endowed Ḳum with an unprecedented glamour. The sanctuary was embellished, and two of its four *ṣaḥns* were transformed into a *madrasa* with a hostel for pilgrims. Many *ʿulamāʾ* came to Ḳum to study, men such as Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ, Mullā ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Lāhidjī, Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī, Ḳāḍī Saʿīd Ḳumī, etc. (Fisher, 57). Traditions extolling the sanctity of the soil of Ḳum became current, and to the hundreds of tombs of Imām-zādas (at the time Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī counted 444 of them) were added the tombs of thousands of the faithful. The descendants of Shāh ʿAbbās I were buried there, as were thirty-one other princes (M. Bazin, *Qom, ville de pèlerinage*, 84). No other Iranian city has such a vast number of tombs of *ʿulamāʾ*, of distinguished people or of simple believers, and the cemeteries extend over an enormous area.

In the 17th century, travellers described at length the merits of the town's craft-products (rapier and sabre blades, silks, cottons, glass, porcelain, porous white ceramics, etc.: see Bazin, *Qom*, 105). But at the same time it was a kind of land of exile for deposed aristocrats (Faḳīhī, 151), and insolvent debtors took refuge in the sanctuary (Gemelli Careri, ii, 74-5). Money was coined at Ḳum in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, and it appears that the Ṣafawids and the Ḳādjārs sought to re-establish this tradition (Houtum-Schindler, 73; Faḳīhī, 39, 152 ff.).

After the terrible depression of the 18th century (pillage by the Afghāns, massacres perpetrated by Ibrāhīm Khān, brother of Nādir Shāh and by an Uzbek governor in the service of this sovereign: Faḳīhī, 224 ff.), the practice of building royal monuments was revived by the Ḳādjārs. The shrine of Fāṭima built by ʿAbbās I was embellished by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh who also built a *madrasa*. The vast "new court" (*ṣaḥn-i djadīd*) was constructed by Amīn al-Sulṭān, vizier of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, in 1883. Around the "old court" (*ṣaḥn-i ʿatīḳ*) stand an octagonal monument containing the tombs of senior Ḳādjār dignitaries (Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, Muḥammad Shāh, his wife Mahd-i Awliyā, etc.) and the sanctuary library (1,000 manuscripts and 8,800 volumes) which also contains a museum. The Masdjid-i Aʿẓam, constructed on the orders of the Āyat Allāh Burūdjirdī (d. 1961), stands to the west of the sanctuary which includes other monuments (for a plan of the sanctuary, see Bazin, *Qom*, 91; Fisher, 58; a history of the monuments, including a description of their contemporary state, with plans and illustrations of inscriptions, documents, etc., is supplied by Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Turbat-i pākān*, 2 vols., Ḳum 2535/1976). The city-sanctuary today (1976) comprises fourteen large traditional *madrasas*, supervised by the Āyat Allāhs, four modern schools (Fisher, 23) as well as numerous private libraries, the most important being that of the Āyat Allāh Marʿashī Nadjafī (70,000 volumes including 15,000 manuscripts). After 1965, the sanctuary was administered by a *mutawallī* nominated by the Shāh (Fisher, 66). The revenues of the sanctuary and the annual number of pilgrims (about a million in 1970) are poor in comparison with those of Mashhad (four and a half million, including tourists, in 1352/1973-4). Nevertheless the spiritual role of Ḳum continues to be very important. Since 1340/1920, a modern Centre for Theological Education (*Ḥawza-yi ʿilmī*) has been established there (Fisher, 62 ff.). Three of the most eminent *marḏjaʿ-i taḳlīd* (Gulpāygānī, Marʿashī Nadjafī, Sharīʿat Madārī) reside there (on the religious élite and the role of the *marḏjaʿ-i taḳlīd*, see Fisher, 30 ff., and A. K. S. Lambton in *Studia Islamica*, xx [1964], 115-35).

The demographic evolution of the town—which, in spite of mistakes on the part of travellers, may be more or less traced from the 9th/15th century onwards—contributes to an understanding of the vicissitudes that have affected it:

20,000 houses in 1474 (Barbaro)
2,000 hearths in 1524 (Tenreiro)
2,000 hearths in 1565 (Mestre Afonso)
2,000 families in 1627 (Herbert)
15,000 houses in 1673 (Chardin)
50 houses (*sic*) in 1796 (Olivier)

(each hearth, house or family should represent five to six persons).

After 1850, the population fluctuated between 20,000 and 25,000 inhabitants (with a drop to 14,000 in 1874-5 on account of a famine; see A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, 153, n. 3) rising to 35,000 in 1886-7. Since 1913 (30,000) the population has grown continuously (55,000 in 1937-8; 81,540 in 1947-8; 96,499 in 1956; 134,292 in 1966; and 246,873 in 1976).

Under the Ḳādjārs, Ḳum was a haven of refuge (*bast-nishīnī*) for political opponents of the régime. This opposition was particularly marked during the

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events of the constitutional revolution of 1905-11. Under Riḍā Shāh (1925-41), the opposition of certain *ʿulamāʾ* was also manifested in various ways (Fisher, 62). There now exists a dichotomy between theocratic and religious power, and some influential *ʿulamāʾ* of Ḳum have encouraged their disciples to rebel: examples are Kāshānī, under Muṣaddiḳ, and Khumaynī, who was arrested on the 15th of Khurdād (5th of June) 1963 and exiled to Turkey, then to ʿIrāḳ (see H. Algar, in *Scholars, saints and Sufis*, ed. N. R. Keddie, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1972, 241 ff.); and riots involving "Muslim Marxists" on the 15th of Khurdād, 1975 (Fisher, 77 ff.). The troubles which convulsed the whole of Iran in 1978 began in Ḳum between the 7th and 9th of January 1978. In October 1978, Khumaynī took refuge in France, at Neauphle-le-Château, whence he led the opposition which caused the Shah's departure from Iran. He returned to Tehran (1 February 1979) and thence to Ḳum (1 March 1979). He still represents the most radical Islamic tendency; a steadfast though more moderate opposition had crystallised around other *ʿulamāʾ*, especially the *marǧaʿ-i taḳlīd* of Ḳum, Sharīʿat Madārī.

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AL-ḲŪMĀ OR AL-ḲAWMĀ, the name of one of the seven types of post-classical poetry [see KĀN WA-KĀN]. It was invented by the people of Baghdād, and is connected with the *saḥūr*, i.e. the last part of the night when, during the month of Ramaḍān, it is still permitted to eat and drink and to take meals at that time; it derives its name from the expression *ḳūmā li 'l-saḥūr* which the singers recite after each strophe of a *ramal* or *zaǧal* in praise of the master of the house. Contrary to what is generally believed, it does not seem that *ḳūmā* is the imperative dual, "Arise, both of you!", but the singular *ḳūman* > *ḳūmā* "Arise!". This interpretation is justified by Ḳurʾān, XCVI, 15, *la-nasfaʿā bi 'l-nāṣiya* (for *la-nasfaʿan*), and better still, by a verse of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1371/1952, 226, l. 4), where we have exactly *ḳūmā* for *ḳūman* "Arise!" as the rhymeword (cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *Anwāʾ*, § 158; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūǧ*, iii 340 = § 1317). The origin of this poetic genre is obscure, and it is probable that it existed before Ibn Nuḳṭa, who is said to have invented it to please the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1179-1225). At all events, the *ḳūmā*, which is always in Arabic colloquial, has only been cultivated in ʿIrāḳ, where it has been used to express various themes, such as those of love, of wine-drinking, of flower-description, etc.

Technically, there are two types of *ḳūmā*:

Type 1 is made up of strophes of four hemistichs,

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of which three (the first, second and fourth) are the same in length and rhyme with each other, whilst the third is longer and does not rhyme with the rest.

hemistiches 1, 2, 4	*mustafʿilun*	*fāʿilān*
	mafāʿilun	*faʿilān*
	mutāfaʿilun	*faʿlān*
		faʿlun
hemistich 3	*mustafʿilun*	*fāʿilātun*
		faʿilātun

Type 2 is made up of three hemistiches of the same rhyme, but of increasing length—

hemistich 1	*mustafʿilātun*
	mafāʿilātun
hemistich 2	*fāʿilātun, fāʿilātun*
hemistich 3	*mustafʿilun, mustafʿilun, mustafʿilātun*
	mafāʿilun mafāʿilun

Bibliography: see that for KĀN WA-KĀN. The main sources are Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Būlāḳ 1292, ii, 275 = Cairo 1332, ii, 253-4 = Cairo n.d., ii, 889-91; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī—W. Hoenerbach, *Die vulgärarabische Poetik* . . ., Wiesbaden 1956, 47-8, 72-3, Ar. text 171 ff.; H. Gies, *al-Funūn al-sabʿa* . . ., Leipzig 1879, 63 ff.

(M. BEN CHENEB - [CH. PELLAT])

ḲUMĀN, a Turkish people whose origin is connected with Central Asia. In all probability their forefathers are to be found in the people indicated by Marwazī (*Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ed. Minorsky, 18, § 3), as *shārī* (*sārī*), identical with the Yellow Uyghurs, who since about 850 A.D. were living to the east of the Tarim basin. This name is probably derived from their physiognomy, varying from that of the other Turkic peoples. At the beginning of the 11th century A.D. (*ca.* 1012-18), the Sārī left their homeland under the pressure of the Ḳūn [*q.v.*] who were migrating to the west before the Ḳitāy. This movement of peoples reached in the west also the regions of the Turkmens, who were driven away to new areas. In the newly-conquered regions to the north of the Sīr Daryā, close contact between the participants in this migration (the Sārī and the Ḳūn) and the Kīmāk and Ḳipčaḳ [*q.vv.*] tribes who were living there, led to the formation of a new tribal confederation. It is probable that about this time the Sārī (*sarī* = yellow) were given by other Turkic-speaking peoples the name *ḳumān*, derived from a root with similar meaning (*ḳū* = yellowish).

A few decades later the Ḳumān pressed forward to the west. Apart from their own name, various other names were mentioned in Western and Armenian sources (*polovci, polovcy, plauci, plavci, Valben, Valwen, Falones, Xarteš*, etc.), but semantically these terms ("yellow, pale, sallow, bright, clear") accord with the meaning of the name Ḳumān. Towards the middle of the 11th century A.D., the Ḳumān were living in the Dniepr region. In 1062 they started launching attacks against Kiev, and in 1078, together with the Pečenegs, against Byzantium. In 1085 they took part in the rebellion of the Bulghars, but in 1091 they were allies with emperor Alexius against the Pečenegs. Their raids against Hungary started in the same period. Hungarian historical sources mention them under the name Ḳūn (*cuni, chuni*), but it has not yet become clear whether these tribes can be put in direct relation with the above-mentioned Ḳūn, who probably were absorbed later by the Sārī (i.e. the Ḳumān). In 1094 and again in 1114 the Emperor Alexius waged two quite important wars against the Ḳumān, who were to be pushed back to the other side of the Danube. The Mongol invasion put an end to the control of the Ḳumān over the Pontic steppes, and after the final defeat in 1239, a part of them sought refuge in Bulgaria. Thus they played an important rôle in the history of Hungary, in that of the second reign of the Bulgarian Tsars and in that of Byzantium. The Ḳumān who had remained in the Pontus area were incorporated into the western part of the Mongol empire called Ḳipčaḳ [see DASHT-I ḲIPČAḲ in Suppl.].

The most important document of the Ḳumān language is the *Codex Cumanicus* (14th century) a collection of texts brought together in South Russia by Italian and German missionaries. Some rudimentary remnants of the language are also found in Hungarian. Important references to their language are further present in loan-words of Ḳumān origin in Hungarian, Bulgarian and Rumanian, as well as in place-names in various regions of these countries.

Bibliography: Besides the literature given in the article ḲIPČAḲ, see J. Németh, *Die Volksnamen quman and qūn*,* in *Kőrösi-Csoma Archivum*, iii (1941-4), 95-109; K. Czeglédy, *A kunok eredetéről*, in *Magyar Nyelv* xlv (1949), 43-50. For the Codex Cumanicus, see *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, i, Wiesbaden 1959; A. Tietze, *The Koman riddles and Turkic folklore*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1966; Vl. Drima, *Syntaxe comane*, Bucarest 1973; idem, *Problèmes d'une nouvelle édition du "Codex Cumanicus"*; idem, *Miscellanea Cumanica I-IV*, in *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*, xv (1970), 455-59, 579-84; xvi (1971), 275-85; xvii (1972), 3-21.

(G. HAZAI)

ḲUMĀSH (A. pl. *aḳmisha*), in general sense, "cloth", but in a more particularised sense, "a Mamlūk garment". The term *ḳumāsh* in the later Middle Ages commonly designated "cloth" or any "woven stuff" in general and was synonymous with the classical words *bazz* and *thiyāb*. Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Dimashḳī (*ca.* 5/11th century) does not use the term at all in his handbook for merchants *K. al-Ishāra ilā maḥāsin al-tidjāra* (Cairo 1318), but the word is employed by the 4th/10th century geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal in his *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (BGA ii², ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, 132). It rarely appears in the documents of the Cairo Geniza [*q.v.*] (for example, TS 16.298, ed. S. D. Goitein, *India book*, 190, l. 13; *al-ḳumāsh al-sharb*—"fine linen stuff"). *Ḳumāsh* does not seem to have come into common usage until Mamlūk times. Thereafter, it became the general word for fabric throughout the Middle East and is still current in most dialects, as well as in Persian and Turkish. It never seems to have been particularly common in the Maghrib, although the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyāʾ (625-47/1228-49) is reported to have built a *sūḳ al-ḳumāsh* in Tunis.

Under the Mamlūks, *ḳumāsh* took on the specialised meaning of "dress uniform" although this sense is not found in any dictionary. A young Mamlūk was presented with his horse, a *ḳumāsh*, and a sword upon his manumission and induction into the corps. Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn (693-741/1293-1341) is credited with introducing the *shāsh wa 'l-ḳumāsh*, or "turban cloth and formal coat" of a Mamlūk warrior (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311, i, 173, ll. 15 f.). This dress uniform was also called *ḳumāsh al-khidma* (service coat), *ḳumāsh al-rukūb*, and *ḳumāsh al-mawkib* (parade or processional coast). The Mamlūk *ḳumāsh*

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must have been a heavy garment. Mamlūk soldiers threw off their armour and *ḳumāsh* when fleeing the battlefield (Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, 76, citing al-Yūninī), and the Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Ḳā'itbāy (872-901/1468-96) is reported to have abolished the obligation of wearing the *ḳumāsh* for ordinary palace service (*khidmat al-ḳaṣr*) as it was too hot for continual wear throughout most of the year in Egypt (Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, iii, ed. P. Kahle and M. Mostafa, Istanbul 1931, 322, l. 12). The less formal coat for everyday wear was called *ḳumāsh al-djulūs*.

Ḳumāsh (pl. *ḳumāshāt*) was also sometimes used in Mamlūk terminology as a synonym for *kanbūsh* or "caparison" of a horse (Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rīkh al-Duwal wa 'l-mulūk*, ed. Ḳ. Zurayḳ and N. Izzedin, Beirut 1942, ix, 247, ll. 9 f.).

Bibliography: (in addition to the works cited in the text): Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 405; G. Marçais, *Manuel d'art musulman: l'architecture*, Paris 1927, ii, 558; al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, iii; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, i, Paris 1940, 345; A. Barthélemy, *Dictionnaire arabe-français—Dialectes de Syrie*, Paris 1950, 681; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *al-Madkhal ilā 'l-sharʿ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1380/1960, iv, 31; *New Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary*, Istanbul 1968, 685; R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles: material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972. The best survey on the concept of *ḳumāsh* as a form of attire is to be found in L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk costume*, Geneva 1952, 75-80.

(N. A. STILLMANN)

AL-KUMAYT B. ZAYD AL-ASADĪ, ABU 'L-MUSTAHILL, an Arab poet of Kūfa (60-126/680-743) who is not to be confused with two earlier and lesser known Asadīs, al-Kumayt b. Maʿrūf and al-Kumayt b. Thaʿlaba (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, ii, 373; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*; al-Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, no. 571; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, nos. 7498 and 7499; etc.).

Al-Kumayt applied himself in an indirect fashion to the poetry and the language of the Bedouins, and he was acquainted with poets such as al-Farazdaḳ, Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj and the Khāridjī al-Ṭirimmāḥ, whose hostility towards the Umayyads he shared; in contrast to the last-mentioned, he came under the influence of the Shīʿi tendencies of his native town and these had a decisive effect on the direction that his career was to take, inspiring him with violently pro-ʿAlid opinions. He is reckoned to have acquired a fairly extensive intellectual training, and he also possessed a talent for oratory which shows in his poems, to the extent that some critics regard them as speeches. At first a schoolteacher in a Kūfa mosque, he was pressed by his family, so at least tradition has it, to set his poetic gifts to work and to undertake a poetic career which nowadays would be called "committed". Henceforward he acquired distinction with the composition of verses in praise of the Ahl al-Bayt [*q.v.*] and of a series of poems, among which the best known are his long *Muḏhahhaba* directed against the Yemenīs and his *Malḥama* in praise of the Ḳuraysh. The chronology of his work is far from clear, and the outstanding incidents of his career cannot be dated with certainty. His celebrated conflicts with the governor Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī (105-20/723-38 [*q.v.*]) and the decision of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) to have him put to death, have given rise to conflicting accounts which are difficult to reconcile and to romantic embellishments which are to be treated with caution. It was probably the *Muḏhahhaba* which earned him the hostility of Khālid, at a time when the latter needed assurance of the loyalty of the South Arabian elements. By a circuitous procedure, the governor informed the caliph of the attitude of the poet, who was imprisoned; with the help of his wife, who had come to visit him, he succeeded in escaping disguised as a woman and, after a period of wandering, he finally obtained pardon from the caliph through the mediation of the prince Maslama b. Hishām. On his return to Kūfa, he must have been gratified at the dismissal of Khālid (120/738); although his successor, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*] was responsible, two years later (122/740), for the death of Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who had allowed himself to become involved in a Shīʿī revolt, al-Kumayt had no scruples about flattering him, although he did not succeed in deluding the Yemenī soldiers of his guard, who, on an occasion when he arrived to recite a poem, inflicted on him a mortal wound (126/743).

The renown of the poet, maintained by Shīʿī circles, rests fundamentally on the *Hāshimiyyāt*, which have been the objects of a commentary by Abū Riyāsh (d. 339/950 [*q.v.* in Suppl.]) and of a number of editions: of M. Shākir al-Khayyāṭ (Cairo 1321, 1331), of Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Rāfiʿī (*Sharḥ al-Hāshimiyyāt*, Cairo n.d. [1928]), of ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī, with a quite interesting commentary (*al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī, shāʿir al-ʿaṣr al-marwānī wa-ḳaṣāʾiduh al-Hāshimiyyāt*, Cairo n.d.), and most of all, of J. Horovitz, with a German translation (*Die Haschimijat des Kumait*, Leiden 1904). In spite of the title, the poet's praises are not aimed at all the Banū Hāshim, but principally at the Prophet and at ʿAlī and his descendants. Some verses (i, 79, ii, 105 ff. of the Horovitz edition), in which mention is made of ʿAbbās and of his sons, were no doubt added in the ʿAbbāsid period, perhaps by the son of al-Kumayt, al-Mustahill, who was also a poet (see *Aghānī*, index) and was concerned to perpetuate his father's memory. The *Hāshimiyyāt* are composed, in the Horovitz edition, of four long *ḳaṣīdas* (103, 140, 133 and 111 verses), of two short *ḳaṣīdas* (33 and 20 verses), of one fragment of seven verses of which more than half constitutes an opening typical of the *ḳaṣīda*, and of four short pieces of six, two, two and two verses. In the long poems, al-Kumayt follows the framework of the *ḳaṣīda*, but with a short and not very conventional *nasīb*. In the *raḥīl*, he follows the classical tradition, and subsequently he produces lavish eulogies of the ʿAlids similar to those that were addressed to the Bedouin *sayyids*. He also borrows frequently from the Ḳurʾān, to such an extent that a scholar of Kūfa, Ibn Kunāsa [*q.v.*] was able to compose, in the 2nd/8th century, a *Kitāb Sariḳāt al-Kumayt min al-Ḳurʾān*. Some philologists and poets accuse him of plagiarism and inconsequence (see for example, al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshaḥ*, 191-8) and do not judge him worthy, in spite of his antiquity, of figuring among the poets who serve as a "proof", a *ḥudjdja* (cf. al-Baghdādī who takes his *shāhid* no. 16 from a poem of al-Kumayt). His compositions were on the other hand very highly regarded in Shīʿī circles, whose members probably did not hesitate to add to them verses or even whole sections of which he was not the author. For R. Blachère, "the simplicity of the language, the platitude of the arguments makes one think of a poetry of propaganda aimed at a public (possibly urban) immune to the lexicographic beauties of the desert poets." The language of al-Kumayt nevertheless does not lack refinement, but the artifi-

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cial use of a badly-understood *ghārīb* was a source of irritation to some of his contemporaries. In fact, the importance of the *Hāshimiyyāt*, insofar as they are entirely authentic, resides in the opinions and the sentiments current in the Shīʿī circles—or rather Zaydī circles, so it seems—of Kūfa which they reflect. Al-Kumayt, it is true, regards the first caliphs as usurpers (iv, 10), but he refrains from excommunicating them, even if they did wrong in not handing Fadak [*q.v.*] back to Fāṭima; ʿAlī is the *waṣī* of the Prophet, who bequeathed the *walāya* to him near the pool of Khumm (vi, 6, which seems to be the earliest evidence of this Shīʿī doctrine); it is to the ʿAlids alone that power belongs and it is they who will consolidate afresh the foundations of Islam which unworthy rulers have shaken. The poet's enthusiasm does not, however, run to the extent of leading him to take up arms in support of the ʿAlid cause, personified especially by Zayd b. ʿAlī, and his warfare is limited to virulent versified attacks on the ruling régime, although his convictions do not prevent him from addressing compliments to it, as is shown by the eulogies of Maslama and of Hishām himself, after his tirades had been pardoned. He recognises, besides, that in doing this, he had used *taḳiyya* [*q.v.*], in a verse (iv, 86) where this term, according to Goldziher (in *ZDMG*, lx, 219) is used for the first time in the sense which the Shīʿīs give to it (Goldziher, in *ZA*, xxii [1909], cf. *Arabica*, vii/1 [1960], 11, also comments on the metempsychosis referred to in iii, vv. 39-40).

It is probable that Hishām would not have shown so much clemency if he had really known the content of the *Hāshimiyyāt*; these must in fact have been circulated surreptitiously, with or without the complicity of the local authorities. It seems clear, in fact, in spite of divergences in the traditions, that al-Kumayt owed his rebuffs to the *Muḍhahhaba* alone. This poem of 300 verses, of which only a part has been preserved, is a riposte to a Kalbī poet referred to by the name al-Aʿwar, who had attacked Muḍar and, among them, the ʿAlids. In the *Hāshimiyyāt* there is no sign of any hostility towards the Yemenīs, and the poet had even lauded the Muhallabids in the person of Makhlad b. Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, which seems to prove that the section in which were enumerated the disreputable characteristics of the tribes of the Yemen is of a mainly occasional nature. Not only was this poem the primary cause of the assassination of al-Kumayt, but in addition, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 36-46 = §§ 2267-72) comes close to seeing here both a manifestation and a cause of the conflicts between the Northern and Southern Arabs which led to the fall of the Umayyads. This *Muḍhahhaba* certainly enjoyed a dangerous renown among the tribes of Muḍar, since, at the beginning of the following century, another Shīʿī poet, Diʿbil al-Khuzāʿī [*q.v.*], still considered it advisable to refute it and to take up the defence of the Yemenīs in a *ḳaṣīda*, which is said to have comprised 600 verses, of which only 25 are now extant (see ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *Shiʿr Diʿbil*, Damascus 1384/1964, 193-7; idem, *Diʿbil b. ʿAlī al-Khuzāʿī*, Damascus 1967, index).

As for the *Malḥama*, preserved by Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī (*Djamhara*, 187 ff.), it comprises 56 verses and contains general and personal observations and the eulogy of Ḳuraysh, that is, ultimately of the Umayyads.

The *Dīwān* of al-Kumayt, which must have contained 5,000 verses, has been the object—proof of the interest aroused by this poet—of a number of recensions by Ibn Kunāsa, Al-Aṣmaʿī, al-Sukkarī and Ibn al-Sikkīt (*Fihrist*, 158; Cairo ed., 225). It has been partially reconstituted by Dāwūd Sallūm, Baghdād 1969-70 (3 vols. without the *Hāshimiyyāt*).

In spite of the studies that have been devoted to him, the personality of this poet, who was capable of composing eulogies simultaneously to the ʿAlids and the Umayyads, remains inscrutable, even enigmatic, by reason of the meagre credit that may be accorded to the sources, Sunnī as well as Shīʿī; his versatility, even when justified by *taḳiyya*, is such as to throw doubt upon his sincerity and to advise the greatest caution in the use of his work.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index (giving the name of al-Kumayt's *rāwī*, Muḥammad b. Sahl, vii, 18; the abundantness of citations comes from the poet's frequent use of animal names in his verses); Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 268-9; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 368-71 (ed. Shākir, 562-6); Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 347-8; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; *Aghānī*, xv, 113-30 (ed. Beirut, xvi, 328-60) and index; Ḳālī, *Amālī*, index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 67-71, 86-7 = ed. Cairo, i, 134-41, 168-70; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 7498; A. S. Nadjā, *al-Kumayt b. Zayd al-Asadī shāʿir al-Shīʿa fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-Umawī*, Beirut 1957 (a serious study); Yūsuf Khulayf, *Ḥayāt al-shiʿr fi 'l-Kūfa*, Cairo 1388/1968, passim; Brockelmann, S I, 96-7; R. Blachère, *HLA*, 518-21 (with bibl.). (J. Horovitz - [Ch. Pellat])

KUMĪDJĪS, a people mentioned in the Arabic and Persian historical and geographical sources of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries as dwelling in the Buttaman Mts. at the heads of the valleys running southwards through Khuttal and Čaghāniyān down to the course of the upper Oxus. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982) describes them as professional brigands and as linked with a smaller group, the Kandjīna Turks. In fact, these two peoples must be remnants of some earlier waves of invaders from Inner Asia, left behind in the Pamir region, probably of the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA], or even of the earlier Sakas; Ptolemy mentions a Saka tribe of Kōmēdai, and it is accordingly probable that the name of our people should be read as *Kumēdh-djīs. Sources like Gardīzī and Bayhaḳī mention the Kumīdjīs as marauders called in by warring factions during the decline of the Sāmānids (*e.g.* by Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī), and during the disintegration of Ghaznawid power in the west (*e.g.* by the incoming Ḳarakhānids); but with the opening of the Saldjūḳ period, they disappear from recorded history.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 120, 361-3; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 233; idem, *Wehrot und Arang*, 54-9, 93; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 248, 297-8, 301; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 73, 239; idem and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 8-9.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KUMIS, the Russian form of the Turkish *ḳımız* "fermented mare's milk", "koumiss", the staple drink of the steppe peoples of Eurasia from the earliest time. Herodotus refers to its manufacture by the Scyths and the Chinese sources to its use amongst the Ancient Turks and the Khitan. William of Rubruck, who calls it *cosmos*, describes in detail the production of this drink by the 13th-century Mongols: and we read in the *Secret history of the*

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Mongols how the youthful Čingiz-Khān, fleeing from the Tayičiʾut, sought refuge in a tent "in which koumiss was churned all through the night till the dawn". In this, as in other respects, the Tīmūrids continued the practice of their Čingizid predecessors; and koumiss is prepared and drunk to this day by the nomads of North-Eastern Asia.

Bibliography: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, 512-17 (No. 1529). (J. A. Boyle)

ḲŪMIS, the Arabic transcription of the Latin *comes*, a title which in al-Andalus denoted the person responsible to the state for the *muʿāhidūn* [*q.v.*] or Scriptuaries, or at least, for the Christian Mozarabs [*q.v.*]. According to A. Fattal, "les représentants religieux des *ḏimmīs* sont autorisés par le pouvoir, moyennant *waṣiyya*, a exercer leur autorité. Il semble bien que les Arabes de la conquête respectèrent tant l'organisation administrative que judiciaire, que religieuse des populations soumises". Certain capitulation documents (*ʿahd*, *ṣulḥ*) [*q.v.*] expressly affirm this: "They shall not be forbidden the exercise of their religious cult and shall keep their own laws". This was the case in al-Andalus, as reflected in clauses 3-9 of the "treaty of Tūdmīr" [*q.v.*].

The first known *comes* was *Arṭubās ḳūmis al-Andalus wa-zaʿīm ʿAḏjam al-ḏhimma wa-mustaḵhriḏj ḵharāḏjihim li-umarāʾ al-muslimīn* (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, 109), who advised the governor Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār to grant to the Syrians fiefs of income (Chalmeta, *Concesiones territoriales*, in *Cuadernos de Historia Hispania*, vi, 1975). According to Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ*, 38, "he was the first to exercise *ḳimāsa* in Muslim Spain". We have therefore here a concentration in the person of the protector or defensor of extremely wide powers, embracing administrative, judicial and probably—to a certain degree—religious ones. At least, this is what one can deduce from the treatment as *serenissimo hominum catholicorum summo* which Alvaro of Cordova accords to the Count Romanus (*Corus*, 211), as does Ibn Khaldūn from Aṣbagh b. ʿAbd Allāh. In this context, it would probably be correct to see in the confiscation of Ardobas's properties not only a "resumption of former crown domains" (*ṣafāyā al-mulūk*), but also an extraordinary impost (not paid in cash) of the same type as we find in the East (Fattal, *Le statut légal*, 220-4) or as that which probably cost the Count Ḥazmīr his life. The *ḳūmis* was equally responsible, as *mustaḵhriḏj*—which could be translated by the Latin *exceptor*—for the collecting of taxes on his co-religionists. As such, he had to levy not only the *ḵharāḏj* and *ḏjizya*, but also all extraordinary imposts (*maʿāwin*, *maghārim*). This gave him a certain expertise and "vocation" as a professional tax-collector, and it explains the fact that we find under al-Ḥakam I a *ḳūmis* Rabīʿ in charge of all taxes, on *ḏhimmīs* and Muslims equally (Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, 15).

The *comes* was, then, a Christian, appointed by the state, but we do not know whether he was officially designated from above or nominated after proposal and election of his co-religionists. As an official, he had his subordinates. His powers made him the supreme judicial authority over his flock, by virtue of his röle as *zaʿīm* or head of the community. He was therefore by virtue of his office also *ḳāḍī al-ʿAḏjam* or *ḳāḍī al-naṣārā*, whether in person, or by delegating his powers. Consequently, the meagre list of our "counts" should be completed by adding the list of *censores* or *iudices* (a hypothesis put forward, but not followed up, by Simonet, *Historia de los mozarabes*, 112).

The names of some *ḳawāmis* have come down to us. After Arṭubās, one should doubtless place a certain Alfonso, since the genealogy of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn given by Ibn Khaldūn (*ʿIbar*, iv, 134). and Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, ii, 108), quoting Ibn Ḥayyān, gives him as the sixth descendant after a *ḳūmis* Adfunsh. Rabīʿ b. Theodulf, *mutawallī al-muʿāhidīn min al-naṣārā*, was not only the hated chief tax collector over the Cordovans, but also commander of the foreign palace guards of al-Ḥakam I, and ended up by being crucified (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 96). He was probably followed by the count (and physician) Romanus cited by Alvarus (*Corpus*, 211). St. Eulogius mentions one Isaac, a noble Cordovan who, before retiring to the monastery of Tabanos, had been *doctus lingua arabica, exceptoris rei publicae officio fungeretur* (*Corpus*, 402). Ḳūmis b. Antunyān, who served in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II's administration and was *kātib* to the *amīr* Muḥammad, and who is stigmatised by Alvaro and St. Eulogius as a hateful persecutor, *Ecclesiae publicanus. . . publicae rei exceptor*, should be included amongst the *comes* (and not amongst the "Gomez", as according to Simonet), because of (a) his function as *mustaḵhriḏj*, and (b) the fact that he seems to have been the official intermediary (much more than Recafred, metropolitan of Seville) between the state and the Mozarabs. With this authority, he transmitted the *amīr*'s commands, and consigned members of his flock to jail, when necessary, not as a state official, but as the leader and one responsible for the Christians under his jurisdiction. He presided over the council at Cordova in 852 which forbade the Mozarabs to seek voluntary martyrdom. The course of events shows that he had not only the backing of the whole state apparatus but also that of the majority of his community. The upper classes were unable to agree, and he reached the point of fearing for his life (Khushanī, *Kuḍāt*, 130-1; Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabas*, ii, 138, 142), but things did not go as far as his assassination, as frequently happened in the East (Fattal, *op. cit.*, 220-3). He must have been followed by the *comes* Servandus, who held power in *ca.* 853, according to Alvaro (*Corpus*, 214, 551, 554, 560, 581). Ibn Antunyān's son, also the *amīr*'s *kātib*, disappeared in 298/911 (*Bayān*, ii, 153). The Archpriest Cyprianus wrote in *ca.* 890 his *Epigrammas* for the *comes* Adulfus, and he also mentions a *comes* Guifredus (*Corpus*, 685-6). Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya (*Iftitāḥ*, 5) cites his contemporary Abū Saʿīd *al-ḳūmis*, as well as the *ḳāḍī al-ʿAḏjam* Ḥafṣ b. Albar, both of them descendants of Artobas. Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, ii, 142) records under the year 293/905 that "Ḥazmīr *al-ḳūmis* was imprisoned; he was tortured and underwent the torture of the iron boot until he died". It is likely that the *ḳāḍī al-naṣārā* of Cordova in 351/962, who acted as interpreter for Ordoño IV, was also the "*comes* of the Mozarabs". This was doubtless also the case with Aṣbagh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Nabīl, who was commissioned, in the name of the ʿĀmirid ʿAbd al-Malik, to arbitrate in the dispute over the tutelage of Alfonso V between the two counts, Sancho Garcia of Castile and Menendo Gonzalez of Léon. Aṣbagh must have been the successor of Muʿāwiya b. Lubb, who was *ḳūmis* in 361/971. According to Ibn Bashkuwāl (*Ṣila*, No. 443), there was in the time of the caliphate a little market in Cordova called the *suwayḳat al-ḳūmis*.

The fact that, in the course of the 4th/10th century, one finds more references to judges than to counts,

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in contexts where one would expect the reverse, must indicate a lowering of the latter's status, who by then had lost many of his duties. It is hard to believe that Ibn Zaydūn, appointed by Abu 'l-Walīd Ibn Djahwar to "enquire into certain affairs of the *dh̲imm*is" (Ibn al-Abbār, *Iʿtāb al-kuttāb*, 212-13), can have had the title of *ḳūmis*. Indeed, if he had really fulfilled this role, it would have been indicative of a profound change, since Christians would have become subject to a Muslim and not to one of their co-religionists. It is very possible that Ibn al-Ḳallās, *kabīr al-muʿāhidīn* of Granada in 1125-6, at the time of Alfonso the Warrior's Andalusian expedition, was *comes* of the Mozarabs (*Iḥāṭa*, 113, 116). The disorders of the period of *fitna* [*q.v.*], conducive to rebellions, the emigration of native Christians to the kingdoms of the north, and the severities of the Almoravids and Almohads, explain the silence of our sources for the later periods.

The term *ḳūmis* was applied not only to the head of the Mozarabs, however, but also to the counts of the Christian kingdoms. Ibn Ḥayyān (*Muḳtabas*, v) says that Ordoño II rallied for warfare all his counts at the siege of Evora in 301/913. He gives this title to the counts of Alaba and Djallīḳiya, to the Banū Gūmis and Banū Anshūr, and cites by specific name Sandjo b. Gharsiya (Banbalūna), Fardhiland b. Ghundishalb (Ḳashtīliya), Barmundh b. Nuño (Shalamanka), Abu 'l-Mundhir (Gormaz), Fortūn b. Gharsiya known as Amāṭ *al-ḳūmis*, Rudhmīr *al-ḳūmis* alias Ibn Māmma Ṭūta, the counts Manyūra and Fallīn, and above all, *al-Ḳumṭ ḳūmis Djarīsha*. At the time of al-Ḥakam II (*Muḳtabas*, vi), the same author gives this title to Bon Fīlyo, Gundishalb b. Munyo, Esimeno b. Gharsiya and Ashraka b. ʿUmar b. Dāwūd. Ibn Khaldūn, in his chapter in the *K. al-ʿIbar* on the Christian kings of Spain, speaks of Fernan Gonzalez and Garcia Fernandez *ḳūmis Alaba wa 'l-Ḳīla*ʿ, Menendo Gonzalez *ḳūmis Ghalīsiya*, Henry of Burgundy, and the Banū Gūmis and Banū Fardhiland, as well as Alvar Fañez. Ibn Bassām spoke in *ca.* 1010 of the *ḳūmis* Raymund, lord of Barcelona. Speaking of events from the beginning of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Khaldūn uses *kumṭ*, *aḳmāṭ* for Raymond of Burgundy, Don Nuño (Gonzalez de Lara) and Henry of Trastamara. The *Vocabulista* attributed to R. Martí gives *kumṭ*, *aḳmāṭ* as the equivalent of *comes*; P. de Alcalá has *conde o condesa = cónd, agnát*; whilst the *Fragmento . . . reyes nazaries* published by Müller and re-edited by Bustani-Quiros (Larache 1940) translates "count" by *kundī*.

Bibliography: In addition to sources mentioned in the article, see Fr. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas*, Madrid 1888, 125-6; idem, *Historia de los mozárabes de España*, Madrid 1903, 111-13; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, 218-19; A. Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans*, Beirut 1958; A. S. Tritton, *The caliphs and their non-Muslim subjects*, Oxford 1930; I. Cagigas, *Los mozárabes*, Madrid 1947-8; E. P. Colbert, *The martyrs of Cordoba (850-859)*, Washington 1962; *Bol. R. Acad. Cordoba*, lxxx (1960), dedicated to St. Eulogius; J. Gil, *Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, Madrid 1973. (P. CHALMETA)

ḲŪMIS, a small province of mediaeval Islamic Persia, lying to the south of the Alburz chain watershed and extending into the northern fringes of the Dasht-i Kavīr. Its western boundaries lay almost in the eastern rural districts of Ray, whilst on the east it marched with Khurāsān, with which it was indeed at times linked. It was bisected by the great Ray-Khurāsān highway, along which were situated the chief towns of Ḳūmis, from west to east Khuwār or Khawār (classical Χοαρηνή, modern Aradūn), Simnān [*q.v.*], Dāmghān [*q.v.*], and Bisṭām [*q.v.*], whilst at its south-eastern extremity, out in the Great Desert, was the small town of Biyār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], modern Biyārdjumand. The administrative capital of Ḳūmis was Dāmghān, which is often accordingly called in the sources Madīnat Ḳūmis or Shahr-i Ḳūmis, according to a well-known toponomastic process (cf. the town of Bardasīr/Kirmān). The name Ḳūmis is obsolete today, and the lands making up the mediaeval province are included administratively in the *farmāndārī-yi kull* or governorate of Simnān and the *ustān* or province of Māzandarān. The present-day town of Shāhrūd, just to the south-west of Bisṭām, does not seem to have been in existence as such in mediaeval times.

The province was one of considerable importance in pre-Islamic times. In Greek sources it appears as Κωμισηνή, and in Armenian writers like Sebeos and Moses of Khoren as Komish. H. W. Bailey, in *JRAS* (1970), 61-2, has suggested that the name derives from an Old Ir. root *ka-*, *kaur-*, conveying the idea of "hollowness", plus a passive or agental suffix, whence Komish "opened up, excavated place". Seleucus Nicator seized the satrapy of Parthia between 311 and 302 B.C., and it was allegedly he who founded the "city of a hundred gates", Hecatompylos, although it almost certainly existed before then; a legend retailed in the 8th century A.D. Middle Persian catalogue of the towns of Iran says that Ḳūmis "the five-towered" (*panǰ-burg*) was built by the sorcerer Azh-i Dahāk, whilst from later Islamic times, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 161, tr. 157, attributes the building of Dāmghān to the hero Hūshang. Such classical authors as Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, etc. mention Hecatompylos as the royal city of the Parthians, and some of these sources give the distance of the city from the Caspian Gates (e.g. Strabo, 1260 *stadia*, and Pliny, 133 *milia passuum*; the consensus of modern opinion tends to identify the Caspian Gates with the Sar-Darrah defile through the Kūh-i Namak spur of the Alburz). But the site was never properly identified with any reasonable certainty, although it was thought that it probably lay somewhere between the towns of Dāmghān and Shāhrūd, until recently, however, Hansman and Stronach have examined and excavated the site of the modern spot called Shahr-i Ḳūmis, near Ḳūsha to the south-west of Dāmghān on the Simnān road. It seems that this very extensive site could well be the ancient Parthian capital, apparently largely abandoned around the middle of the 1st century B.C. when the Arsacids moved their winter capital to Ctesiphon. See A. D. Mordtmann, *Hekatompylos*, in *SB Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Cl. (1869), 497-536; Pauly-Wissowa, xii/2, cols. 2790-7, *s.v.* (Kiessling); Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 12, 55-6; R. N. Frye, *The heritage of Persia*, London 1962, 183-4; J. Hansman, *The problems of Qūmis*, in *JRAS* (1968), 111-39; idem and D. Stronach, *Excavations at Shahr-i Qumis, 1967*, in *JRAS* (1970), 29-62; idem, *A Sasanian repository at Shahr-i Qumis*, in *ibid.*, 142-55; S. Matheson, *Persia: an archaeological guide*[1], London 1972, 191-2.

In Sāsānid times, there seems to have been a refounding of Kōmish, perhaps by Yazdagird I (399-421) as a defensive post against the Turks and Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA] who were threatening the north-eastern frontiers of his kingdom. The region

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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retained its old connection with the Parthians through its being the home of the noble Parthian family of Mihrān, to whom belonged the Spahpat (Islamic form, Ispahbadh, [*q.v.*]) Pahlav, killed by Hormizd IV (579-90); in the next reign, Kōmish was the residence of the Spahpat of Khurāsān, Ḳāren of Nihāwand [see ḲĀRINIDS for the subsequent history of this family]. There was there a highly-venerated fire-temple, described in Middle Persian sources of the early Islamic period as burning perpetually without fuel (whence, presumably, its N. Pers. name Khurishn < M. Pers. *a-xwarišn* "without food"), obviously a fire fed from some volcanic source or else from a natural seepage of petroleum. Towards the end of the Sāsānid period, however, the administrative centre of the province seems to have been transferred to the apparently new foundation of Dāmghān, which thereafter acquired in early Islamic times the name of [Madīnat] Ḳūmis. It may have been that the old Kōmish of middle Sāsānid times had never been more than a frontier post, since no Sāsānid coins are known to have been minted there. See Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 71-2; Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, 56-7; Hansman, *The problems of Qūmis*, 136-9.

At the time of the Arab conquest of Persia, the men of Ḳūmis fought in the Sāsānid army at Nihāwand and at the defence of Ray, but the province offered no resistance to the Arabs thereafter. According to al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 318, Sulaymān b. ʿUmar al-Ḍabbī sent troops into Ḳūmis, but according to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2656-7, the caliph ʿUmar sent an army under Suwayd b. Muḳarrin in 22/643, and Ḳūmis was thereafter used as a base for attacks on Gurgān and the Caspian region. As with Djibāl and Ray, it was Arab warriors from Kūfa who garrisoned the chief town of Dāmghān. Al-Ṭabarī further records, i, 2839, that the more northerly highway to Khurāsān was less used in these early decades than the one via Fārs and Kirmān, since Ḳūmis was vulnerable to attacks by Daylamī and other mountain peoples of the Alburz; it was, so he says, the governor Ḳutayba b. Muslim [*q.v.*] who first regularly used the Ḳūmis route to Khurāsān and Transoxania (cf. C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids (30-250/651-864)*, Rome 1968, 20). In fact, the governor ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz [*q.v.*] had used that route in 31/652, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 192. The region had meanwhile been disturbed by Khāridjī sectaries, involving the appearance there of the Azraḳī leader ʿAbīda b. Hilāl al-Yashkurī in 77/696 with the remnants of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa's forces fleeing before the pursuing Umayyad army [see AZĀRIḲA and ḲAṬARĪ B. AL-FUDJĀʾA]. Also, soon after 127/744-5, Ḳūmis, together with much of northern Persia, was occupied by the ʿAlid pretender ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1880, 1976). Reform type *dirhams* were minted under the name Ḳūmis from 91/710 onwards, but there do not seem to have been any Arab-Sāsānid coins minted there (cf. J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum. i. Arab-Sassanian coins*, London 1941, pp. cxxxviii-cxxxix).

Administratively, Ḳūmis was mostly linked during this period with Damāwand [*q.v.*] or Dumbāwand and with northwestern Persia in general; thus under the caliph Hishām, Ḳūmis and Iṣfahān both formed part of the governorship of Ray (al-Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 388), until in 164/780-1 under the early ʿAbbāsids Ḳūmis was separated from Ray, according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 503. Abū Muslim's troops early occupied Ḳūmis in their march westwards during the ʿAbbāsid revolution, and some years later, in 137/754-5, it was briefly seized by the anti-ʿAbbāsid Persian rebel Sunbādh [*q.v.*]. In the 3rd/9th century, Ḳūmis suffered several severe bouts of plague (e.g. in 242/856-7), and in 259/873 it was occupied temporarily by the ʿAlid al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*] in his expansionary wars outside his base of Ṭabaristān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1880). By the beginning of the 4th/10th century, Ḳūmis had fallen away from caliphal control, and was disputed by various Daylamī and other adventurers contending, together with the major powers of the Būyids and Sāmānids, for mastery in northern Persia; at various times, Būyids, Sāmānids and Ziyārids controlled it, as the evidence of coins, principally bearing the mint-name of Dāmghān, shows (cf. E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 115).

The geographers of this period give descriptions of the province, usually dealing with it town-by-town. They emphasise its fertility, with exports of its fruit, such as the famed *ḳūmisī* and *bisṭāmī* apples, as far as ʿIrāḳ, and the fame of its woollen, silk and goats' hair textiles and carpets (see e.g. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 276, tr. Wiet, 80; Abū Dulaf, *Second Risāla*, tr. Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Misʿar ibn Muhalhil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, Cairo 1955, 56-8; Muḳaddasī, 367; according to al-Djāḥiẓ's *K. al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-tidjāra*, Ḳūmisī *ṭaylasāns* were the best procurable after those of Rūyān, Āmul and Egypt (cf. R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 75, 80). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 135, § 32, comments on the bellicosity of the people of Ḳūmis and Dāmghān, perhaps a reflection of their position, exposed to attacks along the Khurāsān highroad and from the Caspian region. Al-Muḳaddasī, 353, 367-8, comments on the piety of the Ḥanafī inhabitants of Ḳūmis and on the peculiarities of their Persian dialect, which he says is connected with that of Ṭabaristān and which seems to show archaic features. Various authorities give the tax-yield of the province, from the figures of Ibn Khurradādhbih (mid-3rd/9th century), 34, of 2,196,000 *dirhams* to those of al-Muḳaddasī, 371, according to whom the *kharādj* of Ḳūmis amounted to 1,196,000 *dirhams* plus 26,000 *dirhams* from Biyār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], this before Biyār was transferred administratively from Ḳūmis by the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43) and linked with Nīshāpūr and Khurāsān.

From the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the name Ḳūmis gradually drops out of usage, although Mustawfī (8th/14th century) still uses it in his *Nuzha*, 162-3, tr. 157-8, to denote the province; its last appearance on a coin appears to be on a Ziyārid *dirham* of 364/974-5 (Zambaur, *op. cit.*, 199).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 364-8, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, repr. Hildesheim 1969, 809 ff.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KŪMIYA, one of the most important tribes of the Maghrib in the Middle Ages; they were at one time called Saṭfūra and were descended through Fātin from Mādghīs al-Abtar. Tradition says that the brothers of Kūmiya, the eponymous ancestor of the tribe, were Lemāya and Maṭghara from whom were descended numerous families, some of whom still exist at the present day. The most important representatives of the Kūmiya, who live in the north-

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west of Algeria between Tlemcen and Areshḳūl (Rashgun) are the B. ʿĀbid, from whom was descended the first caliph of the Almohad dynasty, ʿAbd al-Muʾmin [*q.v.*], born at Tādjera between Humayn and Nedroma; the Nedroma who gave their name to an important town; the Saghāra, now represented by the Mātīla, the Banū Hūl, of whom a section the Masīfa still exist. The Kūmiya showed themselves devoted to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, who was one of them. They formed the second *djund* in the Almohad army; but they exhausted themselves in supplying the dynasty with soldiers for the wars in Spain and North Africa. Subjected to *kharādj* by the Zenāta. some of them joined another group, the Ūlhāṣa and formed the powerful confederation of Trāra in the north-west of Algeria.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Nédromah et les Traras*, Paris 1901, and the writers there quoted.

(R. Basset)

ḴUM(M)Ī, Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ibrāhīmī Ḥusaynī, Persian chronicler and chancery clerk (*munshī*), was born on 17 Rabīʿ I 953/18 May 1546 in Ḳum(m), the son of the *munshī* Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī. In 964/1556-7 he went with his father to Mashhad at the court of the art-loving prince Ibrāhīm Mīrzā b. Bahrām Mīrzā b. Ismāʿīl I, where he was trained by well-known calligraphers. In 973/1566 he was a *munshī* at the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I, together with his father. At the instigation of Shāh Ismāʿīl II, he started composing in 984-5/1576-7 his chronicle *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*. From 984-8/1576-1580 he was employed at the chancellery of *mustawfī al-mamālik* Mīr Shāh Ghāzī, in 988/1580 as financial supervisor with Erdoghdī Khalīfa Takkalu and from 959/1581 onwards worked at the highest level of the financial administration by command of the highest authority. In 997/1589 he was at the residence of Shāh ʿAbbās I to whom he dedicated in 999/1591 his chronicle *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*. About his further life nothing is known; so far his works are the only sources for his life (see Minorsky, 1-12, Müller 3-7).

Ḳum(m)ī composed at least three works: 1. *Madjmaʿ* (or *Tadhkirat*) *al-shuʿarā-yi ʿAbbāsī*. The work has not been preserved but the author refers to it several times in his later works. According to these references the work must have been an anthology of at least six volumes in which among other things information was given about the lives of great scholars, scientists and poets.

2. *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, a chronicle in five volumes, of which the fifth volume only has been preserved. It describes at full length the history of the Ṣafawids from their origin to the first years of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I and was probably composed between 995/1587 and 1000/1592. It exists in five manuscripts. The first part of this volume, dealing with the early Ṣafawids, has been published, translated into German and annotated by E. Glassen, and the last part, in which the first years of Shāh ʿAbbās I are treated, by H. Müller. This chronicle is one of the most important sources of Ṣafawid history. Although the first part is highly dependent upon other known and unknown sources, the sections dealing with later times, witnessed by the author himself, give truly independent information. Together with Iskandar Beg Munshī's *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, it may be considered as one of the two most important sources for the period of Shāh ʿAbbās I.

3. *Gulistān-i hunar*, a treatise on calligraphers and painters, composed *ca.* 1005/1597, exists in several incomplete manuscripts; it has been edited by A. S. Khʷānsārī, translated into Russian by B. N. Zakhoder and into English by V. Minorsky. The contents of this work, classified according to the various kinds of writing, are mainly based on earlier sources. There are however many important observations by the author himself on contemporary calligraphers, whom he had plenty opportunity to meet at the court of Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, at that time a flourishing centre for calligraphy.

For other works, possibly written by Ḳum(m)ī (*Muntakhab al-wuzarāʾ* and *Madjmaʿ al-khiyār*) see Müller, 8-10.

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2. Secondary literature: W. Hinz, *Eine neuentdeckte Quelle zur Geschichte Irans im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *ZDMG*, lxxxix (1935), 315-28; H. R. Roemer, *Die Niedergang Irans nach dem Tode Ismāʿīls des Grausamen 1577 bis 1581*, Würzburg 1939; Zahrā Dāʿī-zāda, *Tadhkira-yi khʷush-nawīsān u nakkāshān*, in *Armaghān*, xix (1317) nos. 5-6, 344 f.; C. C. Edwards, *Calligraphers and artists: a Persian work of the late 16th century*, in *BSOAS* x (1940-2), 199-211; Storey i/2, 1074 f. and 1279 f.; H. H. Nakhdjuwānī, *Muʿarrifī-yi kitāb-i Gulistān-i hunar*, in *Université de Tabriz, Revue de la Faculté des Lettres*, 9ᵉ année, no. 1, Tabriz 1336; I. Stchoukine et al., *Illuminierte islamische Handschriften*, Wiesbaden 1971, 100-102; M. Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳumī*, in *Barrassihā-ye Tārikhi*, x/2, No. 57 (1975), 61-100; E. Eshraqi, *Le kholâsat al-tawârikh de Qâzi Ahmad connu sous le nom de Mir Monshi*, in *Studia Iranica*, iv (1975), fasc. 1, 73-89.

(H. Müller)

ḴUMR, the Arabic name for the Comoro Is., a group of four islands in the Indian Ocean at the northern exit of the Mozambique Channel, halfway between East Africa and northern Madagascar. The largest island of the archipelago is Grande Comore (in the local language: Ngazija; in the chronicles also: Hangazidja, Langazidja, al-Angazidja, Ḳum[u]r), with 1148 km² and *ca.* 120,000 inhabitants (1966); followed by Anjouan (Nzwani, Hinzwani; in older Portuguese and English sources: Johanna) with 424 km² and *ca.* 85,000 inhabitants; Mayotte (Mayuta, Ma[h]ore) with 374 km² and *ca.* 28,000 inhabitants; and Mohéli (Mwali; in older European sources Molaly, Mohilla etc.), with 290 km² and *ca.* 10,000 inhabitants. The capital of the islands is Moroni on Grande Comore. The islands are of volcanic origin (still active is the volcano Karthala, 2361 m, on Grande Comore) and consist mainly of basalt and tuff. The climate is tropical-maritime with the heaviest rainfalls from November to April. The natural vegetation is a dense rain-forest with rare varieties of wood, which, however, for the most part have been rooted out and replaced by plantations and savannas. Agricultural products of importance for export are coco palms, vanilla, coffee, pepper, aromatic plants (ylang-ylang), sisal and sugar-cane. Cattle-breeding and fishery are scarcely developed.

The population, which suffers from a very high birthrate (outside the islands, in Madagascar and

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East Africa, there already live about 300,000 Comorians, cf. Guy, *Islam comorien*, 149), has developed from three different ethnic elements; (a) Bantus from East Africa, (b) Malayo-Indonesians who came via Madagascar, and (c) Arabs who immigrated directly from South Arabia (especially Ḥaḍramawt) or from Arab settlements in East Africa. The Comorian language is divided into two main dialects, the Shi-Ngazija and the Shi-Nzwani, and, at least from the phonetic point of view, seems to be related more to the Venda, a Bantu language spoken on the middle Limpopo river, than to Swahili (Heepe, *Die Komorendialekte*, 45). Like Swahili, which is well understood by most of the Comorians, it has incorporated many Arabic loanwords. While Arabic seems to have been used as the written language still in the last century, most of the recent chronicles and correspondence are written in the local language with Arabic letters. Arabic is taught in Ḳurʾān-schools but is understood only by a small minority. The Comorians are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī rite, but many African animistic conceptions and magic practices have survived in popular belief (cf. Robineau, *Société*, 51, with further references). Al-Nawawī's *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* is widely used and still serves as the theoretical base for Civil Law. The Shafiʿī law was widely respected by the French administration, but in many fields it is supplemented by the customary law (*ada*) which shows many matriarchal characteristics (e.g. law of succession). The Ṣūfī brotherhoods of the Shādhiliyya, Tidjāniyya, Rāfiʿiyya, Ḳādiriyya and ʿAlawiyya play a very important part in religious life (sc. Guy, *Islam comorien*, 145 ff.).

Local legendary tradition, as well as false identifications of place-names, have led some former historians (Gevrey, Grandidier, etc.) to fantastic speculations about the early relations between the Comoro Is. and the ancient Mediterranean world. Until now there seems to be only one hint which deserves some attention and which might establish such relations. Pliny gives as the name for an island, the location of which would fit well with one of the Comoro Is., Damnia, and Von Wissmann (art. *Zangenae*, in *Paulys Realencyclopädie*, Suppl.-Bd. xi [1968], 1339) may be right in identifying Damnia with Domoni, an old settlement on Anjouan and formerly used as name for the whole island. Arab geographers, including the pilots of the 15th and 16th century like Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, used the name Ḳumr for Madagascar exclusively and cited, if they did at all, each of the islands by its proper name (cf. Tibbets, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean*, London 1971, 432). Local tradition starts the history of the islands with the legendary report (unknown on the Swahili coast) of the immigration of two families from the Arabian peninsula some years after the death of Solomon. But the first traditions which deserve more interest are those that speak of the arrival of Bantu-speaking people from East Africa to Grande Comore at an unknown date but in any case before the 14th century. One chronicle (Rotter, *Muslimische Inseln*, 24) calls them Wa-Mizi and Tungi; Mizi as a place-name was already known to Pliny (Von Wissmann, *Zangenae*, 1339) and corresponds with modern Kilwa Kisimani, while Tungi is identical with Tungui south of Cap Delgado. Since a group of former slaves in Anjouan bears the name Makwa (Robineau, *Islam*, 46; idem, *Société*, 34) which corresponds with the tribe Makua in the hinterland of Tungui, it is very likely that at least the greatest part of the Bantu element on the Comoro Is. came from the East African coast between Lindi and the mouth of the Limpopo River. This fits with the above-mentioned linguistic facts. At least on Anjouan these Africans were not the first inhabitants, but merged with an older population, now generally called Antalaotra, of Malayo-Indonesian race, which might have immigrated in the course of the first millenium (cf. Robineau, *Société*, 34) via Madagascar (former European sources often call them wrongly Bushmen, cf. Repiquet, *Sultanat*, 50).

The local tradition of Grande Comore and Anjouan has preserved the names of the ruling houses before the coming of the Shīrāzī (15th century). On Grande Comore the *ma-fey* (or *ma-fe* "chiefs", cf. Swahili *fu* and *fumu*) are said to have established and ruled the first eleven villages, before they were defeated by the *ma-beja* (cf. Swahili *wa-mbeja*) (Harries, *Swahili chronicle*, 12, 71). On Anjouan the *beja* are regarded as the oldest ruling class, which was replaced by chiefs who bore the title *fani* (Faurec, *L'Archipel*, 33). Although we must take for granted that at that time, i.e. in the first half of this millenium, Arab or Swahilised-Arab merchants were in contact with the islands, and some of them might have settled there, it is difficult to say, whether Islam was already wide-spread. It is noteworthy, however, that the last *fani*-rulers on Anjouan bore Arab names like ʿAlī and ʿIsā.

The decisive turn in Comorian history was the arrival of the Shīrāzīs in the second half of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century, who by fighting and intermarriage seized power on all four islands (the coming of the Shīrāzī clan with their ancestor Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā is described through the legend of the Seven Brothers which is also well-known in East Africa, cf. among others, Chittick, *Shirazi colonization*, 276; Trimingham, *Islam in East Africa*, 10 ff.) and became the real founders of Islamic culture on the islands (the first mosques were built by them at Tsaweni on Grande Comore, at Sima and Domoni on Anjouan, and at Chingoni on Mayotte, all in the middle of the 16th century).

In the following three centuries the political situation was marked by (i) very complicated internal dynastic struggles, (ii) the invasions of the Malagasy tribes, Sakalava and Betsimisaraka, and (iii) the growing political influence of the French and British in the area.

(i) Grande Comore was divided into eleven more or less independent territories (Bajini, La Dombe, Bambao, Hambu, Itsa ıdra, Hamamvu, Mitsamihuli, Mbude, Mbaku, Washili, Hamahame) ruled by sultans who only seldom jointly recognised the supremacy (*utibe*) of one of them. Sulṭān Aḥmad (= Mwinye Mkuu) (1793-1875), the son of Shaykh Ngome from Pate in northern Swahili country, and of Mwana Mtiti, half-sister of a *sulṭāna* of Grande Comore (women rulers were not unusual, and the maternal line was often accorded higher prestige on all four islands) was the last really great personality who, at least for some years, managed to unify the islands, before he was defeated by Mūsā Fumu. The rivalry between Sulṭān Aḥmad's grandson Sayyid ʿAlī, the favourite of the French, and Mūsā Fumu (d. 1883 in prison), who was supported by the British and the Sultan of Zanzibar, marked the last years of independence. Against the will of most of the other sultans ʿAlī signed in 1886 a treaty of protectorate with France.—On Anjouan the political situation was characterised by the bipolarisation of the two main towns Domoni, which was made the capital by the Shīrāzīs after Sima, and Mutsamudu, which became the political and commercial centre from the

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end of the 18th century onwards when power shifted from the clan (*ḳabīla*) of Āl Madwa to the clan of Āl Masīla (both names show their Ḥaḍramawt origin, cf. B. G. Martin, *Migrations from the Hadramawt to East Africa*, in *Centre of Arabic Documentation, Research Bulletin*, Ibadan 1973). Continuous succession struggles in the first half of the 19th century were only ended by Sulṭān Sālim (1842-55), whose son Sulṭān ʿAbd Allāh III (1855-1890) put his island under French protection. Neither was Mayotte spared from dynastic rivalries within the Shīrāzī clan who ruled at Chingoni from the 16th century. In addition, the situation was complicated by the constant attempts of the sultans of Anjouan to bring Mayotte under their control. The last Shīrāzī sultan ceded his island in 1832 to the Malagasy nobleman of the Hova tribe Ramanetaka who already ruled on Mohéli. In 1835 or 1836 Ramanetaka was defeated by the Sakalava Dia-Ntsoli (= Andrian-Tsouli), and the island became nominally a possession of the sultan of Anjouan. The same Dia-Ntsoli, without the authorisation of the sultan of Anjouan, in 1841 presented the island to France. The smallest island Mohéli apparently was always dependent on Anjouan, until in 1830 the above-mentioned Ramanetaka (d. 1841) after having become a Muslim, appointed himself sultan of the island. One of his descendants signed the treaty of protection with France in 1886.

(ii) There seems to have been a more or less peaceful influx of Malagasy people to the islands throughout the centuries, but around the turn of the 19th century the nearly annual invasions of the Betsimisaraka and Sakalava threatened the political and cultural integrity of the islands. The main reason for these invasions, which caused heavy losses among the population and the destruction of whole settlements, was the search for slaves, although some groups had been summoned by the quarrelling sultans themselves. Only after the Anglo-Malagasy treaty of 1817 did the invasions gradually stop. In the following decade it was the political situation on Madagascar and the extension of the Hova state that drove large groups of Sakalava (under Dia-Ntsoli) and Betsimisaraka (under Ramanetaka) to the islands. They finally settled down on Mayotte and Mohéli.

(iii) The first contact with a European power was a short visit of the Portuguese on Grande Comore about 1505 which, however, left no permanent traces on the islands. In the first half of the 19th century when the British and the French disputed control of the Indian Ocean, the Comoro Is. also became involved. In taking possession of Mayotte in 1841, France tried to counterbalance the growing British influence on the other three islands (in 1833 the British had reinstalled Sultan ʿAbd Allāh II on Anjouan by force). Only after the British slowly withdrew from the Malagasy region after 1880 could France bring the other islands under its protection in 1886 (a process intensively studied by B. Dubins, *Political history*).

From 1914 till 1946 the whole archipelago was placed under the Gouvernement Général of Madagascar. On 6 July 1975 the Comoro Is. declared their independence, except for Mayotte, where on 11 April 1976 a referendum saw a large majority voting to become a *département outre-mer* of France.

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ḲUMUḲ (variant: Ḳumiḳ) a people of the eastern Caucasus. The Ḳumuḳs belong to the Ḳipčaḳ Turkic ethnic group, along with the Noghay, Karačay and Balkar. They live north of the main chain of the Great Caucasus, on the northern, northeastern and eastern slopes of the Dāghistānian Caucasus between the foothills and the Caspian Sea, from Derbend to Adzhi-Su (near the lower Terek River). Although confined to a narrow strip of land in the south, they inhabit a wider area near the Terek in the north. The Ḳumuḳs are bordered by the Noghays in the north, the Avars [*q.v.*] and Darghins [*q.v.*] in the west, and Tabasarans and Azeris [*q.v.*] in the south. The major rivers in Ḳumuḳ territory are the Terek, Sulak, Shura, Ullu-Čai, Gamzi, Manas, Aksai and Gubden. The great majority of Ḳumuḳs are Sunnī Muslims of the Ḥanafī school, although some Ḳumuḳs of Derbend and Makhačḳala are "Twelver" Shīʿīs. The 1926 Soviet census lists 94,549 ethnic Ḳumuḳs, of which some 10,000 lived outside Dāghistān, and 94,909 Ḳumuḳ-speaking people. The 1959 Soviet census lists 134,967 ethnic Ḳumuḳs, and 132,303 Ḳumuḳ-speakers. (Due to the adoption of Russian as a primary language by Ḳumuḳ-speakers in the north, and Azeri by those in the south, the relative number of Ḳumuḳ-speaking people has declined, despite increasing numbers of

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mountaineers using Ḳumuḳ as their primary language.)

The Ḳumuḳs inhabit eight districts of the Dāghistān ASSR: Baba-Yurt, Khasav-Yurt and Ḳizil-Yurt on the northern plains, and Buynaksk and Karabudakhkent in the eastern coastal plains. The "Southern Ḳumuḳs" (Ḳumuḳs of Kayakent) live in the Kayakent district and in the villages of Maġalis, Yangikent and Tumenler in the Ḳaytaḳ district. The Ḳumuḳs are also found in six settlements in the vicinity of Makhačḳala, and in the cities of Makhačḳala, Khasav-Yurt, Buynaksk, Izberbash and Derbend. A number of Ḳumuḳs live outside Dāghistān on the Noghay steppes in the Groznyi region, north of the Terek River, as well as in North Ossetia.

The ethnic origin of the Ḳumuḳs is complex and difficult to determine. They are probably a mixture of the indigenous Ibero-Caucasian tribes and various nomadic Turkic groups (Kuman-Polovtsi, Khazar, Ḳıpčaḳ, etc.) who were pushed into the lowlands from the North Caucasian steppes in the 11th-13th centuries, imposing their language on the inhabitants.

The formation of the Ḳumuḳ people began in the 7th century when the Khazars [*q.v.*] overran the plains of southern Russia and populated them with Turkic-speaking peoples. The indigenous Ibero-Caucasian population mixed with these Turkic peoples, especially the Ḳıpčaḳs [*q.v.*], and adopted their language. The Ḳumuḳ "nationality" appeared in the 13th century on the steppes of northern Dāghistān when successive waves of the Golden Horde pushed these Turkic-speaking peoples southwards. Their Islamisation began immediately, under the influence of the Golden Horde from the north and the Laks from the south, and was completed by the 14th century when the Golden Horde annexed northern Dāghistān. Prior to this, the people had been Christians, Jews and animists.

The first political organisation of the Ḳumuḳs was the feudal Shamkhalat, which united all the Ḳumuḳs as well as other northern and eastern Dāghistāni peoples. The Shamkhal originally resided in the mountains of the Lak (Ḳazi-Ḳumuḳ) region. When Shamkhal Čoban died in 986/1578, the Laks shook off the rule of his son Sulṭān-But, and the centre of government was shifted to Buynaksk. After 1050/1640, Tarku was the capital of the Shamkhalat. In the 16th century the Shamkhal ruled most of northern Dāghistān. The semi-independent states of Endirey, Aksaey, Kosteko, Bammatulah, Buinaksk, etc. were all headed by representatives of the Shamkhal of Tarku's family.

The Shamkhals acknowledged Persian sovereignty throughout their existence, in spite of their strong diplomatic ties with Russia in the late 16th century when Russia was attempting expansion into Dāghistān. The power of the Shamkhalat began to decline with the wars against the Kabardines and Georgians. It lost control of the area between the Terek and Sulak Rivers first, then the Darghin and Lak regions in the 17th century. However, the Russian expeditions of 1586, 1590 and 1604 were defeated by a joint Ḳumuḳ and Ottoman effort. Although the Shamkhals were formally vassals to the Moscow state, they remained close allies of the Ottomans from the late 16th till the late 18th centuries. In 1725 the Russians ended independent Shamkhal rule and the decline of the Ḳumuḳs was completed with the creation of the Mehtulin and Bammatulah Khānates. By 1765 the Shamkhalat was reduced to a 2,500 km² strip of land along the Caspian Sea.

Imām Manṣūr attempted to rally the feudal nobility of the Caucasus (especially among the Ḳumuḳs and Kabarda) against the Russians in the late 18th century, but failed. The Treaty of Gülistān (1813) formally ceded Dāghistān to Russia, but the Ḳumuḳs continued to be governed by the Shamkhals. After the Russians subdued the Murīd insurrection (1834-59) led by the Imām Shamīl [*q.v.*], the Ḳumuḳs and the other Dāghistāni peoples were incorporated into the Russian Empire. Native rule was supplanted by a Tsarist military administration.

A small Ḳumuḳ intelligentsia emerged in the early 20th century. They had been educated in the *Djadīd* [*q.v.*] schools on the borders of Dāghistān, and were among the first to be impregnated with socialist ideas. This small group was destined to provide the leadership for the national liberal movement (which was doomed to failure) during and after the Russian Revolution.

In 1917 the Ḳumuḳs played an important role in the North Caucasus peoples' move for independence. Motivated by their own political traditions and Turkic cultural influences, they favoured a "Turkic" consolidation of Dāghistān (as opposed to the "Islamic" consolidation favoured by conservative Dāghistānis), with linguistic unification based on Ḳumuḳ or Azeri. They sought to become part of the great Pan-Turkic movement centred on Bākū, Ḳāzān and the Crimea. Following a power struggle between the religious and conservative elements led by *Shaykh* Uzun Ḥaǧi and Imām Gotsinski and the socialists, the Soviet régime was established in the principal cities on the plain in April 1918. By September 1918, General Bičerahov's "White" army, equipped in Persia by the English, had crushed the Soviet forces. Soviet power was not re-established in Dāghistān until 1920 when the Eleventh Red Army defeated Denikin's White Army and drove the partisans of Imām Gotsinski back into the mountains.

The Ḳumuḳs had one of the most powerful, complete and complex feudal structures in Dāghistān before the Revolution. The ruling class consisted of the Shamkhal, *beks*, high nobility (*čanka*), middle nobles (*sala-uzden*), and religious leaders. The freemen (*uzden*), free serfs (*čagar*, organised into various groups (*dims*)), serfs bound to the land (*terkeme*, living in separate *aul*s and working the land), and house slaves (*kul*, a very small group) comprised the lower classes. The merchant class grew rapidly with the rise of industry and capitalism in the late 19th century, but the working class was never large, since most industry was domestically oriented.

The Ḳumuḳ language belongs to the Ḳıpčaḳ-Oghuz subgroup of the Ḳıpčaḳ group of Turkic languages, to which the Noghay and Ḳaračay-Balkar languages also belong. Ḳumuḳ has three dialects: Khaydak is strongly influenced by the Ibero-Caucasian languages and is used by the Meridional Ḳumuḳs; Buynaksk, and Khasav-yurt (or Aksay), which forms the basis of the literary language, developed with the Arabic script in the late 19th century. In 1927 a Latin alphabet replaced the Arabic, and Cyrillic script was adopted in 1938. Ḳumuḳ was the *lingua franca* of the Dāghistāni peoples. The first Dāghistāni Communists accepted this rôle for Ḳumuḳ in the 1920s, but Russian was later adopted as the official language. Although Avar has replaced Ḳumuḳ as an inter-tribal language, Ḳumuḳ remains the second or third language of certain Ibero-Caucasian peoples in north and central Dāghistān (Andi-Dido-Avar, Darghin, Lak). Article 78 of the *Constitution of the ASSR of Dāghistān*

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names Ḳumuḳ as one of the nine official literary languages of Dāghistān.

The Ḳumuḳs are the only Dāghistān people having a true national literature which dates back to the early 19th century. These early works were generally local versions of heroic epics or adventure novels, and were often consigned to small pamphlets destined for public readings. Turkic-language publications from Ḳāzān, Adharbāydjān, the Crimea and Turkey satisfied the desire for other literature. Christian missionary publications of the early 19th century were instrumental in the development of a literary language. Written in a composite language of various Caucasian peoples, they were among the first written literature of the area.

Ḳumuḳ literature came under the influence of the Turkic modernist movement centred on Ḳāzān and Baghčesarāy in the second half of the 19th century, resulting in the nationalistic poetry of Yūsuf from Yakhay and Ayyūb from Djengutay. In 1883 the Ḳumuḳ ʿOsmānov Muḥammad (b. 1843) published an anthology of Ḳumuḳ and Noghay folklore and literary texts in St. Petersburg, where he was a member of the Faculty of Oriental Languages at the Academy of Sciences. The collection includes a letter in verse, dated 1872, from the revolutionary Ḳumuḳ poet Yirči Ḳazaḳ (1830-80), inviting Muḥammad Efendi, then a student at St. Petersburg, to return home. This letter is one of the oldest literary vestiges of the Ḳumuḳ language, and Yirči Ḳazaḳ is thus considered the founder of Ḳumuḳ literature.

Muḥammad Mīrzā Magarayef established a printing shop utilising Arabic script at Temir Khān-Shura at the beginning of the 20th century. By 1912 he had printed translations from Arabic and Ḳāzān Tatar and the poetry of Abū Sufyān in Ḳumuḳ. Nokhay Batırmurzayev (1860-1919) wrote the first modern narrative works inspired by Ḳumuḳ contemporary life in 1906-7. His son Zainalabid (1897-1919) was the first Ḳumuḳ Bolshevik writer. Together they founded the political-literary society *Taň čolpan* (“*The morning star*”) at Khasav-Yurt in 1916 to promote the development of modern Ḳumuḳ literature. With the assistance of poet and dramatist Temir Bulat Beybulatov and other Ḳumuḳ, Tat and Russian writers (including S. S. Kazbekov and H. O. Bulač), this organisation sponsored a nationalist, progressive review of the same name, first published at Temir Khān-Shura in August 1917. The Khasav-yurt dialect of Ḳumuḳ was adopted as their literary language.

Taň čolpan was instrumental in reviving the Ḳumuḳ national consciousness. In actuality a radical nationalist organ, it professed to be apolitical and declined to choose between the socialist and nationalist positions. However, as a result of the first short-lived Soviet occupation of Dāghistān beginning in April 1918, *Taň čolpan* adopted a pro-Bolshevik position. Publication ceased in July 1918.

Taň čolpan was not the first Ḳumuḳ journal to appear. In 1913 the liberal nationalist Mīrzā Muḥammad Mavaraev of Temir Khān-Shura requested authorisation for a Ḳumuḳ journal entitled *Ḳumuḳ gazāti* (“The Ḳumuḳ journal”). This demand was rejected by the authorities, and the classical Arabic publication *Djarīdat Dāghistān* (published in 1915) notwithstanding, the first Ḳumuḳ publications did not appear until after the Revolution of February 1917. The journal *Musāvāt* (“Equality”) was the first Ḳumuḳ periodical, published at Temir Khān-Shura in June 1917, under the editorship of Mavaraev.

This first period of Soviet domination witnessed the publication of a third Ḳumuḳ journal, *Ishči khalḳ* (“*The working people*”); it was edited by Zainalabid Batırmurzayev and adhered to a Bolshevik position. The journal *Yoldash* also supported the development of a national Ḳumuḳ literature. The Ḳumuḳ press is currently represented by one republican organ published at Makhačkala, and several district organs (at Khasav-Yurt, Baba-Yurt, etc.).

The Ḳumuḳs possess a very rich Soviet literature. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammadoghlu Magomedov (1869-1937) is considered the national poet of Dāghistān by the Soviets as a result of his pro-Communist writings in the post-Revolutionary years. The most celebrated Ḳumuḳ prose writer is Yūsuf Gereyef, whose satirical style was influenced by the Ādharbāydjānī poet Ṣābir. Other literary figures of note include poet, dramatist and author of children’s books ʿĀlimpasha Salavatoghlu (1901-43), poets A. Beshirov and Kaiyan, poet-novelist ʿAbdul-Wahab Sulaymānoghlu (b. 1909), playwrights Ḥamīd Rustamov and Amīr Kurbanov (b. 1909), and novelist Anvar Agiev (b. 1913). The Ḳumuḳ poetess Inču Gadieva is the most renowned female Dāghistāni writer. In addition, many Russian authors have been translated into Ḳumuḳ (e.g. Tolstoy, Lermontov, etc.).

The Ḳumuḳs participate actively in the political life of Dāghistān. In 1924, Ḳumuḳs comprised 5.7% of the *profsoyuz* of the Dāghistān ASSR, and in 1927 there were 696 Ḳumuḳs in the Dāghistāni Communist Party.

The Ḳumuḳ educational system is less developed than that of the Avars; in 1948 there were eight Ḳumuḳ secondary schools (compared to 17 Avar); Karabudakhkent, Kayakent, Izberbash, Makhačḳala, Buynaksk, Khasav-Yurt, Baba-Yurt and Ḳizil-Yurt. Islam seems to remain a strong force among the Ḳumuḳs up to the present time.

Modernisation is changing the character of the traditional Ḳumuḳ economy. Agriculture and animal husbandry remain the basis of the rural activity, but mechanisation and collectivisation have made the large-scale production of cereals and cotton possible. The fishing and canning industries, as well as oil (at Kayakent), hydroelectric plants and other factories are evidence of advanced industrialisation in certain sectors. Nonetheless, traditional crafts are still pursued: woven woollen goods and carpets (villages of Kumtorkal, Kayakent, Upper and Lower Kazanishče), gold work (Irneli, Kafir-Kumukh, Sultan-Yaňi-Yurt, etc.), wrought iron work (Verkhneye, Nizhneye, Kazanishče, Anderey-aul), and pottery (Verkhneye, Kazanishče).

The Ḳumuḳs, along with the Avars, Darghins, Laks and Lezgs, appear to be points of consolidation among the Dāghistāni peoples, destined to absorb certain small groups (although certainly not all). Of the nine official languages of Dāghistān, newspapers are only published in the languages of these five groups.

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(W. Barthold - [David K. Kermani])

KUMŪN, "latency", a key-notion of speculative physics in early Muslim theology, especially in the system of al-Naẓẓām [*q.v.*].

The concept was derived from simple observations: blood is "hidden" in the body of man, oil in sesame, flour in wheat, butter in milk etc.; these substances can be made patent by certain procedures, such as grinding, churning etc. On the other hand, new substances can be produced by putting several ingredients together: pottery results from the "mixture" of clay, water, and fire, and these primary elements are "hidden" in it afterwards. On this empirical basis, where the term still had a rather non-technical meaning, al-Naẓẓām constructed a rather elaborate system which has not yet been the object of more thorough investigation. He did not follow the atomism of his teacher and uncle Abu 'l-Hudhayl, who treated qualities as accidents which may be replaced by their contraries. For him, all natural qualities (with the exception of movement, understood in a very broad sense, as "all actions depending on man's will") were "bodies" inherent in other bodies: fire is not hot and luminous, but is composed of heat and luminosity. As such, fire may itself be considered an ingredient (*ḵẖilṭ*) of wood where it is "latent" until the wood is burnt. When it becomes manifest, other ingredients do so too: ashes, which consist of taste, colour, and dryness; smoke, which consists of taste, colour and smell; and water, which consists of humidity and a certain sound, i.e. the crackling produced in burning. In consequence of his "corporealism", al-Naẓẓām thus treated the qualities of an object and its constituent parts alike. It is possible that he differentiated between them insofar as the qualities form the ingredients of the primary elements which then make up for the more complex bodies; but we are not yet able to ascertain whether his theory implied such a hierarchy.

The "elements" (fire, water, etc.) are thus not simple themselves, but composed or, as al-Naẓẓām said, "joint" (*muzdawiǧ*). They may inhere in each other: water always contains fire, which may be activated through heating and then leaves it for the empyraean. The process can be recognised through the bubbling of the water; the particles of humidity which are dragged along the fire in its upward movement manifest themselves as vapour. Similarly, water normally contains earth which remains as a salty or limelike sediment in the kettle after evaporation. On the other hand, earth usually contains water; otherwise, it would not keep together (clay being normally given as an example). That fire and water may penetrate each other (*mudāḵẖala*) without conflicting, is to be explained by the fact that they keep each other's balance; God has wisely calculated their proportions so that things do not explode by themselves (cf. al-Khayyāṭ, *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, Beirut 1957, § 18). Their equilibrium may even be used as a proof for the existence of a creator (*ibid.*, § 26). Only when this equilibrium of "hidden" contradictory ingredients is disturbed by external influence does disintegration ensue. When fire is brought close to wood, the fire latent in the wood gets the upper hand and destroys the coherent structure of its vessel. When somebody is bitten by a snake he dies not through the venom of the snake, but through the venom which he has in his own body and which is now reinforced. For the same reason the snake does not die from its own venom; here the venom is balanced by the right proportion of antidotes. When water freezes, this means that not only the cold which is latent in it has been enforced from outside, but also its "hidden" dryness; for ice is not only cold, but also dry. When it melts again, this process is thus not merely produced by heat, but also by humidity which was added from outside. When something wet becomes dry, it does not only lose humidity, but also weight; this shows that humidity contains "latent" weight, whereas heat does not.

Disintegration may be slow and imperceptible, as happens, e.g. with an oil lamp which burns down during the night, although it looks alike from one moment to the other. Disintegration may sometimes also be stopped. Wood must not lose all its fire at once; it may be transformed into charcoal which still contains part of it. Different species of the same genus may contain different proportions of the proper *aḵẖlāṭ*. Some kinds of wood are more inflammable because they contain more fire; for the same reason, some kinds of stone can be better used as a flint than other ones.

This advanced theory presupposes a rather intricate intellectual tradition and a widely-developed range of discussion. As a matter of fact, the word *kumūn* is already alluded to in a poem by Abū Nuwās, one generation before al-Naẓẓām (cf. *Dīwān*, ed. E. Wagner, i, 136, l. 6). Al-Naẓẓām took over his vocabulary (*kumūn* and *mudāḵẖala*) and the basic structural assumptions of his system: his rejection of atomism and his definition of the body, from the Shīʿī theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], who had adopted them in his discussions with dualists, especially with Abū Shākir al-Dayṣānī, whom he seems to have converted to Islam. Via the Dayṣāniyya and their spiritual ancestor Bardesanes (died 216 A.D.), we may trace some basic ideas back to Stoicism: a similar definition of body (σῶμα) and the concept of κρᾶσις δι' ὅλου (= *mudāḵẖala*) or μῖξις (= *imtizāǧ*, *iḵẖtilāṭ*). In the Iranian environment this tradition was perhaps amalgamated with certain Indian ideas (the example of pottery is used in the Indian Samkhya; cf. W. Ruben, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, Berlin 1954, 193). All dualist creeds understood the world as being in a stage of "mixture" (*gumēzišn*) between light and darkness. In a Syriac fragment of Bardesanes, the qualities (ποιότητες = *znayyā* or *ḥailē*) are called *muzzāgē*, "mixtures". But al-Naẓẓām did not simply imitate: he refuted the Manichaeans, as is shown by several passages in al-Khayyāṭ's *K. al-Intiṣār*, and he attacked the Dayṣāniyya; he did not accept their axiom that light and darkness are at the bottom of every mixture (cf. al-Ǧāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 46, ll. 6 ff. etc.). He used the advantage of meeting them on common ground, but he seems to have developed quite individual ideas.

Inside Islam, there were certain affinities with the—rather vaguely definable—*aṣḥāb al-ṭabāʾiʿ* who believed that all things have a nature of their own which, once being created, no longer depends on God's will (and may as well be "hidden" in them, the *ḵẖilḳa* in al-Naẓẓām's terminology), and with the Muʿtazilī Muʿammar b. ʿAbbād (cf. H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbād as-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, 110 ff.). Opposition came from the *aṣḥāb al-aʿrāḍ*, the "accidentalists" or atomists whose ideas had been first expounded by

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Ḍirār b. ʿAmr [*q.v.* in Suppl.], but also from apparently al-Aṣamm [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who, in spite of denying the accidents, did not think of qualities as "bodies". The critique used mainly three arguments: (a) nothing can take place in something smaller than itself (and fire is bigger than wood); (b) several things cannot be simultaneously in the same place (which would be the case if several qualities were "hidden" in one substance); and (c) if fire were hidden in wood, we should feel it when we touch the wood, or we should find it when we cleave it. Arguments (a) and (b) were already brought forth against the Stoics (e.g. by Alexander of Aphrodisias in his Περὶ μίξεως, ch. 5 ff.); (c) is found in Indian philosophy (cf. W. Ruben in *AO*, xiii (1935), 147). The discussion turned especially around (c); al-Naẓẓām objected that coldness balances the fire hidden in the wood; when the fire comes forth in burning, the coldness also leaves the wood immediately and enters the cold substances in its environments, i.e. water and earth, in a leap (*ṭafra*), without getting into contact with the things in between. This is why the ashes are not cold, in spite of the fact that the fire has left; the warmth found in it is not the warmth of the fire, but the warmth which was "hidden" in it and was activated by the fire. As the "accidentalists" recurred to Aristotelian tradition (visible in (a) and (b)), al-Naẓẓām also criticised Aristotle's model of physics.

The theory was eagerly defended by Naẓẓām's disciples. But already al-Djāḥiẓ did not conceal his scepticism (cf. the quotations in van Ess, *Das K. an-Naḳṭ des Naẓẓām*, Göttingen 1972, 120). In the second half of the 3rd/9th century, it was apparently given up completely within the Muʿtazila. The future belonged to atomism.

Bibliography: The main source for Naẓẓām's ideas about *kumūn* is Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 6 ff. (partly tr. into Turkish by Nafiz Danişman, *Kelâm ilmine giriş*, Ankara 1955, 126 ff.). Cf. also Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1927 ff., 327, ll. 4 ff., with further references mentioned in the apparatus; Job of Edessa, *The book of treasures*, ed. A. Mingana, Cambridge 1935, chs. xvi-xx. For an analysis of the material, cf. J. van Ess in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 241 ff. See also S. Pinès, *Beiträge zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Berlin 1936, index s.v. *Kumūn*; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīda, *Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār al-Naẓẓām*, Cairo 1365/1946, 140 ff.; van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī*, Wiesbaden 1966, index s.v. *Naẓẓām*; M. Fakhry, *Islamic philosophy*, New York 1970, 64 f.; F. Rex, *Zur Theorie der Naturprozesse in der früharabischen Wissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1975, introd.; J. Hecker, *Reason and responsibility. An explanatory translation of Kitab al-Tawlīd from al-Mughnī ... by Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār*, diss. Berkeley 1975, index s.v. "latency." (J. VAN ESS)

ḴUN, Arabic orthography Ḳūn, a Turkish tribe of Inner Asia known in the pre-Mongol period, but only in a shadowy fashion.

The earliest mention of the Ḳun is in Bīrūnī's *K. al-Tafhīm* (420/1029), ed. R. R. Wright, London 1934, 145, and he places them in the Sixth Clime, in the territory of the eastern Turks between the Ḳāy and the Khirkīz [see ḴĀYĪ and ḴIRGĪZ]. The tribe is not, however, mentioned in Bīrūnī's *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* (*pace* Pelliot, *À propos des Comans*, in *JA*, Ser. 11, Vol. xv [1920], 134-5). Nor are the Ḳun given in Kāshgharī (who does however deal with the other two tribes mentioned in the *Tafhīm* as their neighbours), but there is an important section on them in Marwazī's *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-ḥayawān* (early 6th/12th century), see Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Dīn Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, text li, tr. 29-30, comm. 95-102. This was adapted a century later by ʿAwfī in his *Djawāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt*, section on the Turks, printed and tr. by Marquart in his *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in Bang and Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.F. xiii/1 (Berlin 1914), 40-2, and used by him as the basis of a complex and convoluted commentary on the Ḳun, *ibid.*, 42-77.

It seems that the Ḳun were amongst the easternmost of the Turkish peoples, with their original homeland in eastern Mongolia and the fringes of Manchuria. It may be that the Ḳun were the epigoni of the T'u-yü-hun to the north of the great northwards bend of the Huang-Ho or Yellow River; the resemblance of the name Ḳun to that of the proto-Huns, the Hsiung-nu, etc., had already been noted by Marquart, *op. cit.*, 64-5, cf. also Sir Gerard Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian studies*, London 1962, 12. According to Marwazī, the tribe had been converted in their homeland to Nestorian Christianity (by missionaries from the Ordos region?), but had been impelled to migrate far westwards by pressure on their pasture grounds from the Ḳayi. The Ḳun then moved into the land of the Shārī/Sārī (whose name Barthold, in Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden 1936, *34*, connected with the Turkish word *sarī* "yellow" and the Ḳıpčaḳ/Comans, the Russian *Polovtsi* "pallid, yellowish ones"; possibly, however, they should be linked rather with the Sarī Uyghur of Kansu [*q.v.*]), and eventually ended up in the Aral Sea-Ḳıpčaḳ Steppe area. This chain of migrations must have been set off after Bīrūnī's time, i.e. in the middle or later years of the 11th century. Minorsky was at first inclined to identify the Ḳun with the Ḳūrī/Fūrī (mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, § 14, tr. 97, cf. comm. 283-6, 311-12, a savage and bestial tribe living to the east of the Ḳırgız (i.e. apparently to the east and south of Lake Baikal, their name surviving in the present-day Khori tribe of the Buryats), but subsequently abandoned this equation when he found the clear orthography *Ḳūn* in Marwazī. Earlier, Marquart had attempted to connect the Kun with the later Comans (in Magyar, Kún) of the South Russian-Western Siberian steppes [see ḴIPČAḲ], and this was later affirmed by J. Németh: that Ḳun and Ḳuman/Ḳoman both stem from a Turkish adjective *ḳū* < *kub* "yellowish, pale" (*Die Volksnamen* quman *und* qūn, in *KCsA*, iii [1941-3], 95-109).

At all events, the Ḳun have left very little mark on the Islamic history of Central Asia; we do not know whether they were substantially Islamised before losing their identity in some larger steppe confederation, such as that of the Ḳıpčaḳ or the later Golden Horde. The only member of the Ḳun to achieve mention in Islamic sources is the slave commander of the Saldjūḳs Ekinči b. Ḳočḳar [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who was appointed governor of Khʷārazm by Berk-Yaruḳ in 490/1097; Minorsky plausibly surmised that he may have been Marwazī's informant for his section on the Ḳun.

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ḴUNĀ, Qena, a town in Upper Egypt, on the east bank of the Nile (population 40,000). It is the

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capital of the province (*mudīriyya*) of the same name, which is divided into seven districts (*markaz*), namely: 1. Dishnā; 2. Isnā; 3. Ḳunā; 4. Ḳuṣayr; 5. Ḳūṣ; 6. Luḳṣur; 7. Nadjʿ Ḥamādī. In 1897 the population of the province was 711,457, but by 1956 it was more than 1,100,000. In 1940 the town of Ḳunā and the village of al-Humaydāt and their dependencies were detached from the district of Ḳunā and made into a separate *maʾmūriyya*. The region produces cotton and cereals; in the town, cloth and sweet-stuffs are manufactured. But Ḳunā is especially noted for its porous pottery; the jars (*ḳulla*) which are made there are called *ballāṣ* from the name of a place a few miles to the south.

The Arabic name, written Iḳnā by some geographers and *Ḳūnā* in the Copto-Arab *scalae*, comes from the Coptic ⲔⲰⲚⲈ which gives rise to a play on the Greek καινὴ πόλις "new town", a name which did not last long as it is never found in the Byzantine period. The identity of this town with the Neapolis of Herodotus has been seriously urged; it is rather the modern Minshaʾa, the ancient Ptolemais. On the other hand, it has been conjectured with much probability that at the end of the 3rd century it received the name Maximianopolis.

In the first Arab period, the *kūra* of Ḳunā extended to the east of the Nile between that of Fāw on the north and Ḳift in the south, in front of that of Dandara from which it was separated by the river. The first author to mention it, al-Yaʿḳūbī, gives a very unflattering description of the district: he says it is a little town rapidly going to ruin, deserted by its inhabitants who feared the raids of the Bedouin robbers and brigands. Therefore, when the new provincial divisions were made under al-Mustanṣir, it was Ḳūṣ which gave its name to the district (*ʿamal*) and became its capital. Ḳunā remained unimportant for some time, as Yāḳūt only gives it a brief note and Abu 'l-Fidā does not mention it.

Its prosperity was not long in beginning, owing to the tomb of the saint ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, which became an object of pilgrimage, while pious Muslims settled in its vicinity. Some years previously, Ibn Djubayr had mentioned Ḳunā as a pretty little town with houses of a dazzling whiteness; he makes special mention of the virtue of the women, who never appeared in the streets. After Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, al-Adfuwī gives us an account of the merits of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm; he describes the houses of the town as spacious and very high and mentions two *madrasa*s in Ḳunā and a number of hospices (*ribāṭ*), Ibn Duḳmāḳ only copies al-Adfuwī. In the Turkish period, Ḳunā was the residence of a *Kāshif*, but it is only in modern times that it has assumed the administrative position which it owes to its present steadily-increasing prosperity.

The town, situated at the point where the Nile comes nearest to the Red Sea, had become the point of departure for caravans in the direction of Ḳuṣayr. This route took the place of the one used in the Middle Ages between Ḳūṣ and ʿAydhāb, which in turn succeeded the ancient Copto-Berenice road. The continual intercourse between Egypt and Arabia and India gave these roads great value; it is by this route that many of the Muslims of North Africa go to Mecca, and even during the Crusades, it was the only pilgrim road. In 1831-3 Muḥammad ʿAlī had the wells inspected on the Ḳunā-Ḳuṣayr road; some were deepened so that they would provide water at all seasons (cf. *L'Égypte moderne*, collection *L'Univers*, 164-6; Barron and Hurne, *Topography and geology of the East Desert of Egypt, Central Portion*, Cairo 1902).

The saint who is the object of Muslim veneration, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad b. Ḥadjdjūn, twelfth descendant of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, was born in the environs of Ceuta in Morocco. After a journey to Mecca where he spent seven years, he settled in Ḳunā and died there on 9 Ṣafar 592/13 January 1196. Honoured during his life for his reputation for sanctity and asceticism, he has become one of the principal saints of Egypt, along with Aḥmad Badawī, Ibrāhīm Dasūḳī and Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj Aḳsurī. At one time a pious formula used to be handed down which, if recited beside the tomb, hastened the realisation of a desire or brought about cures. According to some travellers, the pilgrims who came to Ḳunā made circuits (*ṭawāf*) of the tomb of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm similar to those made by the pilgrims at the Kaʿba (Adfuwī, *Ṭāliʿ saʿīd*, no. 231; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 315, Eng. tr. ii, 287; *RHR*, ii, 284; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 224). There were descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm living in Egypt for two centuries; they were, in particular, jurists and professors (Adfuwī, nos. 29, 117, 129, 308, 402, 476, 533; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 423).

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ḲUNAYṬIRA [see ḲANṬARA].

ḲUNBI ṢĀLIḤ, an important cluster of ruins of mediaeval date, situated in lat. 15° 46′ N and long 7° 59′ W in Hodh (southern Mauretania), 330 km. N of Bamako, 95 km. WNW of Nara and 70 km. SSE of Timbédra. Most modern writers agree that it was the capital of the Sarakoli kingdom of Ghāna [*q.v.*] which dominated the southern part of the Western Sahara and the North Sudan from around the 6th century until *ca.* 1076.

The ruins are situated on a schistose plateau which is covered with thorn-bushes, and they stand between two seasonal pools. They extend for about 1,200 m. north to south and 800 m. east to west, but this does not include the scattered outbuildings and two extensive burial grounds. The one in the north-west covers an area 1,600 m. by 800 m. and contains a columned tomb with six chambers. The other in the south-east at Sohobi measures 700 m. by 400 m.

There are many mediaeval references in Arabic to Ghāna, from al-Fazārī (before 184/800) to Ibn Khaldūn, but local oral traditions do not mention this place name. In fact, it is not until the 17th century that the name Ḳunbi appears in the *Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh*, which says: "The name [of the empire of Kayamaga] was Ḳunbi, and this Ḳunbi was a great city." The *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān* specifically states that the capital of Kayamaga was Ghāna, but all the Sarakoli traditions about the Wagadu speak of Ḳunbi (Ch. Monteil, *Mélanges ethnologiques*, 390; A. Bathily, *B. IFAN B* [1975], 73; Wa Kamissoko, 1976, unpublished) as the residence of the serpent Bida. The persistance of the Sarakoli and Moorish tradition is best illustrated by the fact that in 1914

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Bonnel de Mézières was driven directly from Walata to Ḳunbi when he expressed a desire to the marabouts to see the site of the capital of Ghāna.

Although the ruins of Ḳunbī were well known to Africans, Bonnel de Mézières in 1914 was the first European to see them. He then undertook some excavations there, and the results were published in 1920, but unfortunately none of the material which was brought back from the expedition can now be located; it cannot be found in the Musée de l'Homme, the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres or anywhere else. Later excavations have been made by M. Lazartigues (1939), P. Thomassey (1949-50) and R. Mauny and G. Szumowski (1951); the most recent excavations have been by J. Devisse, D. and S. Robert and their team (1972, 1975, 1976), but as yet these are not published. These excavations have revealed many schist-built houses with beautiful Arab-Berber architecture, which predates the Hispano-Moorish style. They contain carefully-made paving stones, wall-niches, stairways and stone beds. An imposing columned mosque is slowly being revealed on the Main Avenue which crosses the ruins from east to west. It has superimposed *miḥrāb*s showing that at least two sanctuaries have stood on the same site. Material remains include stones with painted inscriptions of the *shahāda*, countless pieces of coarse pottery with some slip-decorated ware and even some glazed (Mediterranean) ware, tools and weapons in iron, objects in copper and glass and beads in stone and glass.

The north-east necropolis comprises a series of chambers for multiple Muslim burials; they are collective tombs for families or for people from the same Maghribī town or the same tribe. The most elaborate "columned tomb" is surrounded by six successive chambers, the last of which has a perimeter of 800 m.

The ruins show that this was an urban settlement with a high population density. The estimated population for the town at its peak is 15,000 to 20,000, which is an enormous figure for a Saharan town with a limited water supply (R. Mauny, *Tableau geogr.*, 482). Walls have been found at depths of up to 8 m., showing occupation levels over several centuries after the 8th century. The dates provided by carbon 14 analysis are: 828 ± 115 A.D.; 933 ± ? A.D.; 963 ± 114 A.D.; 1210 ± 121 A.D. This confirms what is already known of the history of the capital of Ghāna with which these ruins are to be identified, in the present writer's opinion, despite the hesitations of Ch. and V. Monteil (1951, 441-52; 1964, 58-62; 1968, 109-12), who are more inclined to follow al-Idrīsī (i, 2) in situating Ghāna "on the two banks of the river [Senegal]". However, their identification must be challenged, for al-Idrīsī made enormous errors in his work and, furthermore, no ruin of this importance has ever been found on the banks of the middle Senegal river. The evidence of oral traditions and what is written in the *Ta'rīkh*s all points to Ḳunbi as the correct site.

The irritating question remains to be resolved about the two places called Ghāna which al-Bakrī (460/1067-8) describes. The one was populated by Muslim merchants and had twelve mosques; the other was six miles away and was reserved for the king and his court. The present writer holds that Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ should be identified with the town of the rich Arab-Berber merchants described by al-Bakrī. If this is so, where was the royal capital? New ideas about this problem have been suggested at a recent conference on the history of Mali, held at Bamako in February 1976. Traditions show that the royal residence was apparently at Kalaka (Karka, 23 km. south of Ḳunbi) and the royal stockyard at Ḳunbi Dyufi, a modern village 20 km. SSE of Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ, which was in fact the merchants' town. The existence of a double or triple town can be understood because of the natural desire of the animistic kings to live apart from the Muslims and also because of the scarcity of water in the area. This is a potentially new field for archaeological investigation. Ḳunbi Ṣāliḥ is the most important ruined site in West Africa—with Tegadaoust (Awdaghost?) running it a close second—and because of this, fresh excavations ought to be undertaken there.

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AL-KUNDURĪ, ʿAMĪD AL-MULK ABŪ NAṢR MUḤAMMAD B. MANṢŪR, vizier of the first Great Saldjūḳ, Ṭughrïl Beg (447-55/1055-63). The *nisba* Kundurī may refer to one of two villages by the name of Kundur, one located in Ṭurayṯïth in Ḳūhistān, the other near Ḳazwīn; the reference may also be to the selling of *kundur* (frankincense).

The Great Saldjūḳs, Ṭughrïl Beg, Alp Arslān and Malikshāh, were served by two *wazīr*s: Kundurī, *wazīr* of Ṭughrïl Beg, and the more famous Niẓām al-Mulk, *wazīr* of Alp Arslan and Malikshāh. The main ambition of these two *wazīr*s was to manipulate power and influence through the sultans whom they served. Niẓām al-Mulk did this with consummate skill for three full decades, outmanoeuvring his

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rivals, and always keeping a step ahead of them in their plots and intrigues against him. Kundurī was not as successful. In comparison with the magisterial politics of Niẓām al-Mulk, he appears as a bungling fool.

Kundurī's first ill-advised deed is recorded early in his career as Ṭughrīl Beg's minister. Sent by Ṭughrīl on a mission to contract a marriage for him, Kundurī contracted the marriage for himself instead; as punishment for this, Ṭughrīl had him castrated.

Kundurī's next ill-advised deed was to scheme against Ṭughrīl Beg in an effort to replace him with Anūshirwān, son of Khātūn, Ṭughrīl's wife. This plot against Ṭughrīl appears to have been mounted when Ṭughrīl was setting out to fight one of his rivals in Mawṣil, the Turkish general Arslān Basāsīrī [*q.v.*]. At his departure, noticing that he had a following of only 2,000 men, he reproached Kundurī, saying: "Why did you not inform me so that I could wait until all the men were assembled?" Again at Hamadhān, faced by the superior forces of Ibrāhīm Ināl, his half-brother, Ṭughrīl asked his wife Khātūn and Kundurī to come to his aid. Khātūn wanted to do so, but was convinced by Kundurī that their troops would fall into the hands of Ināl and that this would only serve to strengthen Ināl's forces and weaken hers as well as Ṭughrīl's. Kundurī then began to arrange for Anūshirwān to make a bid for the sultanate, and money was distributed among the troops for their allegiance (*bayʿa*). Kundurī, Khātūn and Anūshirwān contributed, as well as the caliph, the merchants and the high functionaries of Baghdād. But Kundurī's plan met with opposition from two of Ṭughrīl's generals, ʿUmar and Inānd̲jīl, who refused to recognise Anūshirwān. Then when Kundurī asked the caliph to proclaim Anūshirwān as sultan, he was told to defer the matter, and to see that the city was not deprived of troops to defend it against the menace of Basāsīrī. Khātūn also changed her mind and went to rejoin her husband. The sources are not expansive in their reports regarding this plot, but we later see both Kundurī and Anūshirwān in the service of Ṭughrīl Beg. They later fought against Basāsīrī and negociated the latter's delivery at the hands of the Mazyadid Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa, and their success here regained for them the confidence of the sultan.

After Ṭughrīl's death in 455/1063, Kundurī once again saw his opportunity to serve under a sultan whom he could manipulate. Ṭughrīl, before his death, had designated Sulaymān, son of his brother, Čaghrī Beg and brother of Alp Arslān. This choice may have been suggested by Kundurī. In any case, the succession to the sultanate had to be secured by eliminating all other pretenders. Alp Arslān was ready to oppose the choice of Ṭughrīl, and here he had to deal with Kundurī. From the beginning, Kundurī had the *ḵẖuṭba* in Rayy made in the name of Sulaymān. He then wrote a letter to Alp Arslān and, in threatening tones, told him to be content with the possession of Khurāsān. Alp Arslān marched on Rayy. Kundurī having now to face both Alp Arslān and Ḳutlumush, called on Alp Arslān to help him against Ḳutlumush, and made the *ḵẖuṭba* in Rayy in the name of Alp Arslān. Arriving at the palace of the sultanate in Rayy, Alp Arslān did not make known his true feelings towards Kundurī, and insisted on Kundurī remaining with him in the palace when the latter wanted to move, saying "My joy consists in having you beside me, how can you entertain the thought of going away from us?". This was the beginning of a cat-and-mouse game played with relish by Alp Arslān, who kept Kundurī until he had recovered all the wealth amassed by the *wazīr*, before finally putting him to death, having taxed him with crass ignorance for imagining that he could stand against three Saldj̲ūḳ pretenders to the sultanate, meaning himself, Ḳāwurd [*q.v.*] and Ḳutlumush.

Kundurī's ambition had been to hold *de facto* power under a docile and malleable sultan, but his plans failed disastrously. He did, however, succeed in arranging the marriage between Ṭughrīl Beg and the daughter of the caliph al-Ḳāʾim, the negociations for which lasted for a period of three years (452-5/1060-3). Ṭughrīl had hoped to see a Saldj̲ūḳ descendant assuming the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, but the marriage ended with his death and without issue. Kundurī's success in arranging the marriage, against the caliph's will, earned for him the enmity of al-Ḳāʾim who, on making the *ḵẖuṭba* in Alp Arslān's name in Baghdād (Rabīʿ II 456/March-April 1064) asked Alp Arslān to eliminate Kundurī.

Where Kundurī had failed, Niẓām al-Mulk succeeded. The difference between these two *wazīrs* consisted in the political acumen and consummate administrative skill of the latter as compared with the former's lack of perception and discrimination. Kundurī supported the Muʿtazilī movement, and was instrumental in having al-Ashʿarī cursed from the pulpits of Khurāsān by the order of Ṭughrīl Beg. In Baghdād, he earned the hatred of the Sunnīs by supporting the Shīʿīs. By contrast, Niẓām al-Mulk supported the Ashʿarīs, but was not averse to supporting *ʿulamāʾ* of other movements wherever these last had a strong following. Also, his establishing *awḳāf* for the *ʿulamāʾ*, in the form of *madrasas*, *masd̲jids* and *ribāṭs*, secured the support of the masses among their followers. Not the least among al-Kundurī's mistakes was his personal engagement in battle, whereas Niẓām al-Mulk remained a man who manipulated the pen, leaving the sword for those better suited to the battle field.

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(G. Makdisi)

ḲUNDUZ, the name of a river, a town and a modern province of Afghānistān.

1. The river is one of the two main left bank affluents in Afghānistan of the Oxus. It rises in the central region of the Hindū Kush [*q.v.*], with Bāmiyān in its catchment area, and flows for some 300 miles/480 km. until it reaches the Oxus just below where it receives its right-bank affluent the Wakhsh River. The different stretches of the river have varying names; thus the middle course, within which are situated the towns of Baghlān and Pul-i Khumrī, is called the Surkhāb or "Red River".

2. The town is situated in lat. 36°45′ N. and long 68°30′ E. at an altitude of 1,300 feet/400 m. in a region which has the general name of Ḳataghān. The surrounding countryside, centred on ancient Ḳunduz and the nearby modern town of Khānābād, is now fertile agricultural land (rice, fruits, etc.) and pastures, but was until very recently notoriously malarial and unhealthy. The town of Ḳunduz (presumably Pers. *kuhan-diz* "fortress") is not mentioned under this name by the mediaeval Islamic geographers, but it

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fell within the province of Ṭukhāristān [*q.v.*], and is very probably identical with, or situated close to, the important early Islamic town of Walwālīdj or Walwālāz, originally a centre of the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA] in their struggles with the invading Arabs in the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries, and then an administrative centre and mint town for northern Afghānistān until Saldjūḳ times (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, comm. 340, and Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 428); today, there are many ruins in the vicinity of Ḳunduz.

In the Tīmūrid period, Ḳunduz is frequently mentioned under this name. It figures in the campaigns of Ḥusayn Bayḳarā [see ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ], e.g. in 901/1495-6, being until this time ruled by the rival Tīmūrid prince Maḥmūd Mīrzā b. Abī Saʿīd, d. 900/1495 (see Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia. iii. Mīr ʿAlī-Shīr*, Leiden 1962, 53, 62-3). It then passed for some years into the hands of Bābur, who during the years 916-20/1511-14 used it as a base for his unsuccessful attempts to conquer territory north of the Oxus in Ḥiṣār and Wakhsh (*Bābūr-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 45-8, 318, 345, 352 ff., and *passim*).

Northern Afghānistān was by now becoming increasingly Turkicised by Özbeg and Turkmen groups, and in the period of the Ṣafawid-Özbeg rivalry, petty Özbeg principalities were established in towns like Balkh, Khulm and Ḳunduz. These submitted in 1164/1751 to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*], but in the early 19th century Mountstuart Elphinstone again found Ḳunduz under an independent Özbeg chieftain "Khauldaud Khaun", who had 15,000 men under his command (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*[2], London 1839, ii, 200). A few decades later, in the years 1850-9, the Özbeg principalities of Balkh, Khulm, Ḳunduz, Maymana, Aḳča, etc. came into the orbit of Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*] of Kābul. Ḳunduz was visited by John Wood in the 1830s, who found it a miserable settlement of 500 to 600 mud huts of sedentaries plus reed huts and black tents of Özbeg nomads (*A journey to the source of the River Oxus*[2], London 1872, 137-8).

The present population of the Ḳunduz district is highly mixed, but includes a large proportion of Ozbegs, Turkmens and Kazakhs, plus some Pashtūns settled there in the present century by the Afghān government, and some Arabic-speaking groups have been reported from the region (see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan, an attempt at a preliminary classification*, in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F. Avd. i, Bd. 35, Nr. 5 (1939), 17-20). There is now an important amount of seasonal immigration from the Hindū Kush mountain regions, the workers being attracted by the higher wages which can be earned in agricultural work.

Since the 1964 administrative re-organisation, Ḳunduz town has been the capital of a province of the same name, having been previously in the province of Ḳataghān; the population of the town has been estimated (1969) at 40,000, and of the province at 415,000. It is now a centre for agricultural development schemes in the Oxus lowlands, and the local Turkish population also carries on carpet-weaving; moreover, it has an airfield, with regular flights connecting the town with Kābul.

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ḲUNFUDH, ḲUNFADH (A., fem. *ḳunfuḏha*, pl. *ḳanāfiḏh*), a masc. noun preserved in all the Arabic dialects (Maghrib, *ḳenfūd/genfūd*, Middle East, *ḳenfūd*) which denotes, like its Hebrew counterpart, *ḳippod* (see Isaiah, xiv, 23, xxxiv, 11, and Zephaniah, ii, 14), both the hedgehog and the porcupine. These two small excavating mammals, externally fairly similar through the sharp, hairy spines covering their backs and flanks and through their nocturnal habits, are nevertheless quite different zoologically in their respective species, dimensions and food habits. But all the ancient authors, Greek and oriental, systematically included them in the same family, although the first is insectivorous and the second a rodent.

1. The hedgehog (Pers. *ḵhār pusht*, Tkish. *kirpi*), of the Erinaceid family, comprises, in the Old World, some fifteen species spread from the Atlantic coasts to Manchuria and from the 60th parallel north to South Africa, with the exception of Madagascar, where it is not present. Thus in the Arab lands is found, at the side of the universal *Erinaceus europaeus*, the race *E. algirus* in the Maghrib (nicknamed in Algeria *al-Ḥādjdj Aḥmad*, Berber *inisi/insi*, pl. *inisawen/insan*), *E. deserti* in the Sahara (Tamahaḳ, Hoggar *ekenisi/tekenisit*, pl. *ikenusay/tikenusay*, at Ghāt *kensiin*, in Aïr *tikaneshit*), *E. albiventris* in Egypt and the Sudan, *E. aethiopicus* in Abyssinia, and *E. syriacus* and *auritus* in ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Arabia. This unobtrusive, nocturnal traveller, with its rapid and jerky movements like a mechanical toy, is endowed with, as well as the generic names *ḳunfuḏh* and *anḳad* (this latter one shared with the tortoise), various bynames evoking its nocturnal habits (*ʿasʿas*, *dālidj*, *madlidj*), its scampering gait (*darrām*, *darrādj*, *mudadjdjidj*, *dhafīf*, *mazzāʿ*), and its spinyness (*ḥasīka*, *ḥiskik*, *ḥiskil*, *ḥarba*, *abū shūkāt*); its sleeping or defensive attitude, involving its curling up into a ball like a chestnut-bur, cause it to have such names as *kabbābat al-shūk*, *kubbwiba* "ball of spines" in Syria and, since one cannot then see its head any longer, once it is buried within its prickly suit of armour, it is called *ḳubaʿ/ḳubbāʿ*. The cry of the male hedgehog is a short sighing noise, whence its name *ḥinana* "whining, grizzling one". The hedgehog is considered as one of the most inoffensive and feeble of animals, as expressed in the old, assonantal and metathesising adage, *matā lam naḳḍi al-tulunna aḵḥaḏḥatnā 'l-lutunna* "when one does not do what is required, one becomes subject even to every gentle hedgehog".

2. The porcupine (Pers. *tashī*, Tkish. *büyük kirpi*, in the Maghrib *ḍorbān* through confusion with the classical *ẓaribān/ẓarbān* denoting the zoril, Berber *arwi*, Tamahaḳ, in Aïr and Adrar, *emerey/temereyt*, pl. *imereyen/timereyn*) is from the family of Hystricidae which comprises five genera and some fifteen species. It is present, with two geographical races which are the most universal (*Hystrix cristata* and *H. leucora*), in all Africa, the Near East, Iran, and from the East Indies to China; but in Arabia, it is present only in the southern half of the peninsula. It is three or four times larger than the hedgehog and always considered to be its big cousin, but this vegetarian is nevertheless distinguished from the former by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 461-2) under the

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names *duldul*/*duldūl*, *šayham*/*šayzam* and *nayṣ* (this last preserved as *nīṣ*/*nīs* in the Near East). This careful observer adds, in good faith, that the porcupine is to the hedgehog as the ox is to the buffalo [see ḎJĀMŪS in Suppl.] or the rat to the mouse. The long, horny, erectile and widely-spaced needles (*dhāt al-madārī*), which are its only defence, are at the base of the legend that it defends itself by hurling at the enemy these sharp-pointed darts although it only leaves them behind in the wounds caused by their immediate contact; without grudging it the by-name of *abū šāḳ*, that of *kabkāb* is in no way justified, though it is given it in Syria, because it never in fact goes into a spiny "ball" and never curls up like the hedgehog. On the other hand, the motherly care with which the female porcupine surrounds her young, usually from two to four, is well-recognised; a touching and very ancient fable (see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, i, 337-8, ii, 57, 265-7, and in the same edition, al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-maḵlūḳāt*, ii, 357-61) relates that the porcupine, when it has young, climbs up the vine-stems by night, pulls off the bunches of grapes and lets them fall, then comes down and rolls among its harvest and carries it off transfixed on its spines to its home territory, thus providing an ample diet of succulent grapes for its children.

3. Whether it is a case of the hedgehog or of the porcupine considered as a large hedgehog—and both of these are taken by the mediaeval Arab naturalists, together with the thorn-tail lizard [see ḌABB] and the jerboa (*yarbūʿ* [see FAʾR in Suppl.]), as "creeping beasts" (*aḥnāš al-arḍ*, *ḥašarāt al-arḍ* (*Ḥayawān*, v, 283)—the *ḳunfuḏh*, through its nocturnal life and its innate distrustfulness, has given rise to such comparisons as *asrā min ḳunfuḏh* "travelling more often by night than a hedgehog" and *asmaʿ min ḳunfuḏh* ... *min duldul* "having sharper ears than a hedgehog ... porcupine"; whence a night racked by insomnia may be described as *laylat al-ḳunfuḏh*, *layl al-anḳad* "hedgehog's night". The mysteriousness of the gloom enveloping its journeyings summoned up in the fertile imagination of the Bedouin the image of dissimulation and calumny and, by a simple inversion of the construction of the two preceeding expressions, an "undercover" spy was called *ḳunfuḏh layl*, *anḳad layl* "night hedgehog" (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 166).

Like the Greeks, the Arabs, despite all this, well recognised the great value of the hedgehog as a destroyer of vermin and especially, against the venom of serpents, which they were considered to be immune from after having nibbled thyme bushes (*saʿtar*); for this reason, experienced men from certain tribes recommended that this valuable helper should not be killed, if the land abounded in vipers, and in particular, this was the order given to Ibn al-Ašʿath's army at the time of the expedition of 81/700 into Sidjistān, a region infested with these dangerous reptiles and a great producer of snake-charmers as well as the compounders of snake-bite antidote. The ancients had likewise observed in regard to the *ḳunfuḏh* an innate faculty for detecting the direction of winds (Aristotle, *Hist. anim.*, ii, 602, and *Ḥayawān*, iv, 229) prevalent at the orientation of the two entries of its burrow.

The flesh of the *ḳunfuḏh* (of both kinds) is succulent according to those who eat it, such as, in Europe, the gypsies. The Bedouins have always been fond of it, and in our time, the Touareg appreciate it in a stew or braised within the glowing embers after having wrapped it in a covering of clay. Although it formed a kind of game easily captured, in ancient Arabia the risk was never taken of killing it in the early hours of the night, because it could serve as the mount for some benevolent genie, and people preferred to pound it with a cudgel, by day, in chance encounters rather than mounting a regular hunt for it. At beginning of this present century, in the Maghrib and especially in Morocco, the capture of these two spiny creatures was one of the nocturnal activities of slimly-built adolescents of the equivocal class of kif smokers; slipping into the haunts of these animals, they would empty them of their occupants either with gloved hands in the case of the hedgehogs, or with a spear in the case of the porcupines, and groups of vagrants would have a feast of the *mašwī* of these victims (see L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, Paris 1927, 55-6). The long spines of the porcupine were used for the making of pretty, darkened cages for nightingales.

This ancient custom of eating the flesh of the *ḳunfuḏh* posed a question, as with the hyena [see ḌABUʿ in Suppl.], in early Islam, about the lawfulness of this practice. When the Prophet was asked about this, he is said merely to have relied laconically that such an animal was "ignoble" (*ḵhabīṯh*), but he did not make a formal prohibition. Basing themselves on this vagueness, the Shāfiʿīs considered the *ḳunfuḏh* to be perfectly legal eating, whilst the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs formally excluded it from the category of permitted types of meat. As for the Mālikīs, they remained undecided on the question and depended on the decisions of local authorities, basing themselves on the customs and usages of the region; thus amongst the Berbers in the Maghrib, no objection is met with against making the *ḳunfuḏh* an article of diet.

The various anatomical parts of the *ḳunfuḏh* possessed, in the ancient therapeutic inventory, numerous specific qualities, notably that of the right eye, which, boiled in sesame oil and mixed with collyrium, caused nyctalopia or day-blindness; this formula was, it seems, used by rogues and nocturnal prowlers in order to facilitate their nefarious activities. Salted hedgehog flesh was beneficial for children suffering from urinary incontinence. At the present day, according to what the Touareg say, a porcupine-needle stuck in a camel's saddle prevents fatigue in the loins for the camelriders of the Sahara. Of a more practical kind is usage of a hedgehog skin, with its spines, as a muzzle for kids too inclined inconsiderately to suck their mothers' milk. The porcupine's quills are also used, moreover, for making little instruments and tools like needles for sewing, sticks for applying kohl, etc.

For some time past, the hedgehog, which is very easily domesticated, has been the domestic pet in numerous dwellings of the Saharan oases in order to rid them of cockroaches and other undesirable infestations; here we have a modest rehabilitation of the *ḳunfuḏh burḳa*, "hedgehog of the stony ground", a byname given metaphorically to an individual with unattractive features but where there is still a possibility of finding someone even less attractive.

From a similarity of appearance, the terms *ḳunfuḏh al-baḥr* or *šayham baḥrī* "sea hedgehog" denote the edible sea-urchin (*Echinus esculentus*), whilst in al-Ḍamīrī and al-Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, the term *ḳunfuḏh baḥrī* is applied to the beaver.

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Paris 1951, 117-18, 135-6; Fīrūz Iskandar, *Rāhna mā-yi pistāndārān-i Īrān* (*Guide to mammals of Iran*), Tehran 1977, 7, 12, 20, 50. (F. VIRÉ)

AL-ḴUNFUDHA, a port on the Red Sea coast of the Tihāma or lowland of the southern Ḥidjāz, situated in lat. 19°9′ N. and long. 41°04′ E. and at the mouth of the Wādī Ḳanawnā. It lies 210 miles south of Djidda or Djudda [*q.v.*] and 45 miles north of Ḥaly.

The town is in the form of a large rectangle enclosed by a wall, strengthened at several points by towers and pierced by three gates. Practically the only stone buildings are at the harbour, where is the bazaar with its one-storied warehouses in an irregular line, and the chief mosque and smaller mosques with low minarets. On a little island about a quarter of a mile away is a small castle which used to be the residence of the representative of the Sharīf of Mecca. The town was estimated in *ca.* 1920 to have a population of 10,000, but S. Langer in 1882 put it at only 2,000. The harbour, which is enclosed by a number of sandy islets and is only accessible to Arab vessels of medium size, has great disadvantages, notably that the boats cannot land there; until recent times, however, a certain number of pilgrims on the *ḥadjdj* have landed there and at al-Līth to the north by sailing craft. Trade and commerce are moderate: It exports the myrrh collected in ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] and also hides and honey; the harbour used to be frequented by slave-dealers who brought their Abyssinian slaves for sale here, but Britain's sharp control made slave smuggling practically impossible by the early 20th century. Trade with the interior is limited to the exchange of provisions and everyday necessities and is confined to modest bounds. The much more important harbour of Ḥudayda further south has long since attracted almost all the trade. The poverty of the inhabitants is revealed by the primitive huts, built of poles and thatch with gable roofs, which are typical of the whole coast plain. Of agricultural products, cotton and millet are grown in the district.

Al-Ḳunfudha is perhaps a very old settlement; in any case it is a district of great interest to classical students, the land of the Debae. Pliny's *regio Canauna* has been identified by A. Sprenger and B. Moritz with the Ḳanawnā mentioned by al-Ḥamdānī, but this town lies at the mouth of the Wādī of the same name. Gold, for which this region was celebrated in antiquity, is still found here; the Āl Khaṭārish still get gold from the streams. Al-Ḳunfudha, however, seems to have been the northern limit of this ancient gold area. The name appears to be comparatively modern. The Portuguese know it in the form Confutá. Niebuhr calls al-Ḳunfudha a large but badly-built town, In his day (1761) it derived a certain importance from the trade in coffee, because all the ships carrying coffee from Yemen to Djidda had to pay toll here to the Sharīf of Mecca, although the town was within the sphere of suzerainty of the *Imām* of Ṣanʿā'. It passed to the Sharīf, together with the whole strip of coast from Djidda to Haly which the Sharīf of Mecca won in *ca.* 1722, and even had a certain revival of prosperity when Muḥammad ʿAlī conquered the Sharīfs and made al-Ḳunfudha his base of operations for the campaign against Central Arabia and ʿAsīr. Soon after this, al-Ḳunfudha figured in the rebellion of the Georgian commander Meḥmed Agha Türkče Bilmez against Muḥammad ʿAlī's governor in the Ḥidjāz, Aḥmad Paṣha (1832-3); Türkče Bilmez penetrated to al-Ḳunfudha, Abū ʿArīsh, Ḥudayda, and even to Mocha by 1833, before his revolt was quelled. It was only in 1870 that the Ottomans were able to revive Muḥammad ʿAlī's plans and al-Ḳunfudha became the base of operations against the tribes of the hill country of ʿAsīr, after the conquest of which in 1871, al-Ḳunfudha with its hinterland became a *ḳaḍā'* of the *sandjaḳ* of ʿAsīr. A certain degree of Ottoman control was now implanted, and al-Ḳunfudha was linked by telegraph with Djidda to the north and Luḥayya, Ḥudayda and Ṣanʿā' to the south. However, the district soon fell to the Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca's son ʿAbd Allāh at the time of the Arab Revolt, and in September 1916 both al-Ṭā'if and al-Ḳunfudha were lost by the Turks; already in the previous year, the local ruler of adjacent ʿAsīr, Sayyid Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, had adhered to the Allied cause [see ʿASĪR]. In 1923-5 the whole of the Ḥidjāz was occupied by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd, and al-Ḳunfudha henceforth has formed part of the Saʿūdī kingdom.

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(A. GROHMANN-[C. E. BOSWORTH])

ḴUNGRĀT, the name of first a Mongol and then a Türkmen tribe of Central Asia, and deriving its name from these last, a settlement on the lower Āmū Daryā or Oxus, modern Kungrad.

The Mongol tribe of Ḳonḳīrat/Ḳonḳurat or Onggirat (spelt Ḳ.n.ḳūrāt in Djuwaynī, Ungrat in Marco Polo) seems to have lived in the extreme east of Mongolia, towards the Khinggan Mts. in a district called Ābdjiya-Küteger. The tribe gave its allegiance to Čingiz in his struggle against Ong Khān [see ČINGIZ KHĀN], and had the privilege of supplying the Khāns with wives; thus Čingiz's wife Börte Fudjin, mother of his five principal sons, was from the Ḳonḳīrat, as were wives of Djoči and Orda. Cf. P. Pelliot and L. Hambis, trs., *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan: Cheng-wou ta'in-tcheng lou*, i, Leiden 1951, 402-9; Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, Paris 1959-63, ii, 869-70, No. 375; Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 38, ii, 585; J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York-London 1971, 17, 97.

The tribal name was carried westwards in the mass movement of peoples during the Mongol invasions, and elements of the Mongol Ḳonḳīrat doubtless mingled with and were eventually absorbed into Turkish tribes of the Turkestan steppes. Hence in recent times Ḳungrāt has been noted as a tribal name amonst both the Özbegs and the Ḳara Ḳalpaḳs of the

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region to the south of the Aral Sea (M. A. Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia in history and at the present day*, London 1918, 38, 40). In the 18th century the Özbeg Ḳungrāt played a dominant role in the Ḵẖānate of Ḵẖīwa. When the ʿArabshāhid line of Ḵẖāns of Ḵẖīwa became extinct at the end of the 17th century, real power was exercised in the Ḵẖānate by Ḳungrāt military chiefs who held the title of Inaḳ [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In the early 19th century, these Inaḳs came themselves to assume the title of Ḵẖān and ruled in Ḵẖīwa until the period of the Russian protectorate [see ḵẖᵛārazm]. The tribal name was given to a settlement in the delta or "island" area of the Oxus mouth, on the road between Ḵẖodja-ili and the Aral Sea shores; during the later 18th century, until 1226/1811 and the time of Muḥammad Raḥīm Ḵẖān of Ḵẖīwa (1221-41/1806-26), this district centred on Ḳungrāt was in effect an independent principality (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 151, and idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 192).

In 1858 a Russian military steamer sailed up the Oxus delta, alarming the inhabitants of Ḳungrāt, and the town was an important strategic point in the Russian expeditions of 1873 under General Kaufmann and directed against Ḵẖīwa; it formed the concentration-point for the naval force from the Aral Sea and the land forces from Orenburg and from Manghïshlāḳ (see E. Schuyler, *Turkistan, notes of a journey in Russian Turkestan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 107, ii, 331, 336, 346-8). Kungrad is now a town in the Kara Kalpak ASSR; see on it *BSE*[3], xxiv, 53.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲŪNKA, variant forms Ḳūnḳa, Kūnka, Kūnkā, Kunka, the Arabic name for the modern town of Cuenca, administrative centre of the province of the same name in Castile, Spain, situated near the confluence of the Júcar and Huécar Rivers at an altitude of 922 m. at the point where the Mancha becomes a mountain chain. According to al-Idrīsī, Ḳūnḳa was "a small, ancient town, surrounded by a wall, and lacking a suburb". Al-ʿUḏhrī mentions it among the 20 stages of the route connecting Cordova and Saragossa. Al-Idrīsī mentions Cuenca in his division of al-Andalus into 26 *iḳlīms*, but gives it the title of a *kūra*. Al-ʿUmarī makes it the eleventh province of Spain, comprising the towns of "Orihuela, Cuenca, Elche and Denia, as well as numerous strongholds". Yāḳūt makes it part of the *aʿmāl* of Santaver, and Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, who was there in 567/1172, has left a description of it.

During the period of the *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif*, various political and economic factors reinforced the strategic importance of Cuenca. Previously, from 151/768 to 160/777, it had been part of the region shaken by the rebellion of Shaḳyā al-Fāṭimī. It had then passed to the Ḏhu 'l-Nūnids [*q.v.*], and in 295/908 had been divided among the three sons of Mūsā, who in these strongholds of the frontier zone, were virtually independent of the central government. At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, Cuenca belonged to Ismāʿīl b. Ḏhī 'l-Nūn, who proclaimed his independence in the *ṭāʾifa* of Toledo. Later, we find Ibn al-Faraḍi, who distinguished himself in military campaigns, as *wālī* of Cuenca for the Ḏhu 'l-Nūnids. Whilst al-Mutawakkil b. al-Afṭas temporarily occupied Toledo (472/1079), al-Ḳādir took refuge in Cuenca. In the following year, Sancho Ramirez and Aḥmad b. Hūd besieged the town, which bought them off with a sum of money. After Alfonso VI's capture of Toledo (478/1085), Cuenca passed under Castilian rule and was included in the famous "dot de la mora Zaida". Alfonso probably kept the Muslim structure of the town, requiring a tribute, according to the homilies of the Mozarab Count Sisnando. In 490/1097, whilst Cuenca was being protected by Alvar Fañez's army, the Almoravids led by Muḥammad b. ʿĀʾisha raided the district, and after the victory of Uclés (501/1108) occupied the town; but in 531/1137 the populace rose against the Almoravid garrison and felt the sting of Tāshfīn b. ʿAlī's sword. Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] made over to the Christians lands near Cuenca, but the latter retreated before the Almohad caliph Abū Yaʿḳūb, who in 567/1172 found the town sunk in decay, with only 700 inhabitants. It was besieged by Alfonso VIII, helped by Alfonso II of Aragon, and surrendered on 21 September 1177 after a seven months' siege, without the Almohads being able to protect it. Abu Yaʿḳūb tried to regain it in 1194 and burnt its standing crops in 1197. After the conquest of Cuenca, the Castilian king made grants to the military orders of Santiago and Calatrava, and the town was soon organised as a *Concejo*, whilst retaining some of its older organisations and structures, such as the office of *almotacen* (*muḥtasib* [see ḥisba]). The *Fuero* offered commercial concessions to the Mudéjares. The second bishop of Cuenca was a Mozarab from Toledo, Saint Julian. There remained a mosque, "lindante con el monasterio de Ntra. Sra. de la Contemplacion" until the 15th century. During the period of the harrying of the Moriscos, Cuenca was the seat of a tribunal of the Inquisition.

The local economy of Cuenca flourished greatly during the 4th/10th century, with textile and ivory-carving crafts, and there were salt pans and silver and iron ore mines in the vicinity. Also, wood cut in the Serranía was sent down the Júcar to the Mediterranean shores.

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(MARIA J. VIGUERA)

ḲUNṢUL [see CONSUL].

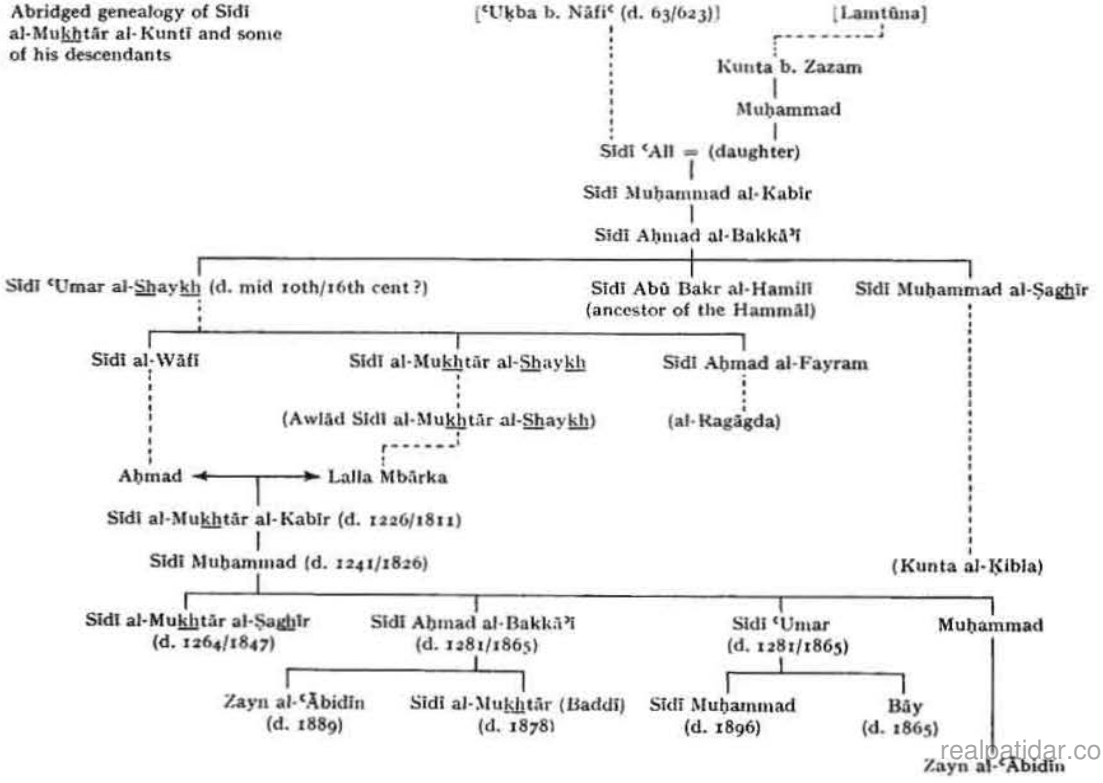
KUNTA (sometimes pluralised as Kanāta), a highly ramified Arabic-speaking tribe widely dispersed over the southern Sahara from Tagānit in Mauritania to the Adrar-n-Ifoghas in eastern Mali and beyond. Their own genealogies claim descent from ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ al-Fihrī [*q.v.*], to whom they attribute a series of exploits in and beyond ancient Ghāna as far as Takrūr. According to the so-called *Taʾrikh Kunta* (tr. in I. Hamet, *Notice sur les Kounta*), Sīdī ʿAlī, a descendant of ʿUḳba, married the daughter of Muḥammad b. Kunta b. Zazam (or Zam), chief of the Id Oukal (Ibdūkal/Abdūkal) fraction of the Lamtūna Berbers, allegedly in the early 9th/15th century. Their son, Muḥammad, married into another Lamtūna group, the Tādjakānt, as did also his son Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī. It is from the latter's three sons that all the branches of the Kunta derive. Thus, even by their own accounts, the Arab element in Kunta stock would appear small, and, significantly, their eponym is Berber. Their *zawāyā* (non-warrior) status, too, is indicative of Berber origin and, like most such groups in the western Sahara, they probably acquired an Arab pedigree along with the Arabic language during the period of Ḥassāniyya ascendancy in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

The period from the mid-10th/16th century, when Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī's son Sīdī ʿUmar al-Shaykh is said to have died, until the early 12th/18th century seems to mark the emergence of the Kunta as a distinct and relatively large tribe, their numbers no doubt being augmented by the acquisition and eventual integration of tributaries and slaves. They appear to have roamed over a wide area from the Hodh (al-Ḥawḍ) in the south to al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ in the north and Tuwāt in the east. Some members settled in Walāta and in a village in Tuwāt known as Zāwiyat Kunta where Sīdī ʿUmar's son, Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Shaykh, is said to have been buried.

In the early 12th/18th century a rift occurred. The clans descended from Sīdī Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr b. Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī hived off to roam the western Sahara from the banks of the River Senegal to al-Sāḳiya al-Ḥamrāʾ (the Kunta al-Ḳibla), while those descended from Sīdī ʿUmar al-Shaykh combined pastoralism with commerce, establishing a network of camps and trading posts from the Wādī Darʿa through Tuwāt and the Azawād region north of the Middle Niger to Timbuktu in the west and Katsina in the east.

Among the latter, the Awlād Sīdī al-Wāfī established a position of pre-eminence in the second half of the 12th/18th century, due to the role of their leader Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kabīr b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr (1142-1226/1729-1811), who combined qualities of sanctity with political astuteness and commercial acumen. In *ca.* 1167/1753-4 he established his camp at al-Ḥilla in Azawād, which rapidly became a centre of study and of the propagation of the Ḳādiriyya Order. It is from the sub-order which he established, the Mukhtāriyya, that most of the Ḳādiriyya

Abridged genealogy of Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī and some of his descendants



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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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groups in West Africa derive their affiliation. Sīdī al-Mukhtār's role as a Ṣūfī leader and his prestige as a scholar enabled him to mediate between warring Arab and Tuareg tribes in the area and to heal the rift between the eastern and western Kunta. His far-ranging missionary tours (*siyāḥa*) in the Sahara, and his *zāwiya* at al-Ḥilla, which received disciples from distant areas, were supported by income from participation in the salt trade from Taoudeni to the Niger and the trade in tobacco from Tuwāt to Timbuktu.

His teachings, born of his Ṣūfī outlook as well as the position of his clan as a *zawāyā* group, emphasised leniency, the overlooking of faults and the winning of hearts through "*djihād* of the tongue" rather than "*djihād* of the sword", though when ʿUthmān b. Fūdī [*q.v.*] initiated a militant *djihād* in 1218/1804-5, he expressed his approval of it. He proclaimed himself the sole "regenerator" (*mudjaddid*) of the 13th century of the *hidjra* (1200 = 1786), though for earlier centuries he named a multiplicity of regenerators in different spheres of endeavour such as *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, *siyāsa*, *zuhd* etc. (cf. the view of Ibn Kathīr reported by al-Suyūṭī, *Risāla fī man yabʿaṯh Allāh li-hāḏihi 'l-umma ʿalā raʾs kull miʾa*, ms. Leiden, 2409[8], f. 6). Over sixty works are attributed to him, including several series of *adjwiba*, as well as a great deal of poetry. None has so far been published and manuscript copies are scattered over private libraries in Timbuktu and the southern Sahara and in such public collections as the Bibliothèque Générale et Archives, Rabat, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

His son, Sīdī Muḥammad (*ca.* 1178-1241/1765-1826), inherited his position as leader of the Ḳādiriyya-Mukhtāriyya and was himself a prolific author. His *Taʾrīkh Kunta* (properly called *al-Risāla al-Ghallāwiyya*) has already been mentioned, and his *Kitāb al-Ṭarāʾif wa 'l-talāʾid*, ostensibly a hagiographical work on his father and mother, has been abstracted by Ismael Hamet in his *Littérature arabe saharienne*, in *RMM*, xii (1910), 196-213, 380-405. It contains an annotated *silsila* for the Ḳādiriyya-Mukhtāriyya, in which the names of al-Suyūṭī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī and Ibn ʿArabī appear as successive links, thus invalidating it as an historical document, but no doubt enhancing the spiritual prestige of the order in the eyes of its members. The *wird* of the Mukhtāriyya was widely propagated in southern Mauritania by an outstanding pupil of Sīdī Muḥammad, Shaykh Sīdiyya (1190-1284/1776-1868) of the Awlād Abyayri from his *zāwiya* in Būtilīmīt.

On Sīdī Muḥammad's death, leadership of the Awlād Sīdī al-Wāfī and direction of the Mukhtāriyya passed to his eldest son Shaykh Sīdī al-Mukhtār al-Ṣaghīr (1204-64/1790-1847). He was instrumental in saving Timbuktu from the worst excesses of the Fulbe forces of Aḥmadu Lobbo [*q.v.*] and eventually driving them from the city. His brother, and successor to both his political and spiritual role, Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī (*ca.* 1217-81/1803-65) negotiated a pact with the Fulbe in 1846 at Muḥammad's request and himself came to settle in Timbuktu, gaining sufficient moral authority there to be able to act as protector for the explorer Heinrich Barth, an open Christian, in 1853. Al-Bakkāʾī wrote numerous poems and *rasāʾil*, some addressed to the Fulbe rulers of Māsina, others attacking the claims of the Tidjāniyya order.

In the closing years of the 19th century, two grandsons of Sīdī Muḥammad distinguished themselves by their attitudes to French penetration of the central southern Sahara: Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Muḥammad al-Kuntī (b. 1848), who declared a *djihād* against the French after their occupation of Timbuktu in 1894 and whose continued challenge to French authority remained a menace in the first two decades of the 20th century; and Sīdī Bāy b. Sīdī ʿUmar (b. 1865), a scholar and man of saintly repute who took up residence in the Adrar-n-Ifoghas and encouraged both the Ifoghas and Ahoggar Tuareg to avoid conflict with the French. Several copies of his *Nawāzil*, as yet unstudied, are preserved in the Institut des Sciences Humaines, Niamey, Rép. du Niger.

The spiritual influence of the Kunta in the 12th-13th/18th-19th centuries was far-reaching. The two major Fulbe leaders, Shaykh ʿUthmān b. Fūdī and Shaykh Aḥmadu Lobbo, both received and propagated the *wird* of the Mukhtāriyya, though in both Hausaland and Māsina the Tidjāniyya gained ground rapidly from the mid-19th century. A list of the main groups of West African Muslims attached to the Order or branching from it may be found in P. Marty, *Études*, i, 140-1 (see Bibl.).

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Kuntī (1729-1811), in *Trans-African J. of Hist.* (Nairobī), iv/1-2 (1974), 41-70. For the influence of the Kunta *shaykh*s on Shaykh Sīdiyya, see C. C. Stewart, *Islam and social order in Mauritania*, Oxford 1973, 34-53. A history of the eastern Kunta and their *shaykh*s is given in P. Marty, *Études sur l'Islam et les tribus du Soudan*, i, Paris 1920, 1-175, and their contemporary situation is described in J. Geneviève, *Les Kounta et leurs activités commerciales*, in *BIFAN*, xii (1950), 1111-27. See also Brockelmann, S I, 894; Muḥammed b. Muḥammad Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Cairo 1349/1930-1, 377; C^na^G. Salvy, *Les Kounta du Sud Marocain*, in *Travaux de l'Inst. de Rech. Sahariennes*, vii (1951), 166-86; Kaḥḥāla, iv, 198.

(J. O. Hunwick)

ḲUNŪT (A.), a technical term of Islamic religion, with various meanings, regarding the fundamental signification of which there is no unanimity among the lexicographers. "Refraining from speaking", "prayer during the *ṣalāt*", "humility and recognition that one's relation to Allāh is that of a creature to his creator", "standing"— these are the usual dictionary definitions which are also found in the commentaries on different verses of the Ḳur'ān where *ḳunūt* or derivatives from the root *ḳ-n-t* occur. There is hardly one of these for which the context provides a rigid definition of the meaning (see II, 110, 239; III, 15, 38; IV, 38; VI, 121; XXX, 25; XXXIII, 31, 35; XXXIX, 12; LXVI, 5, 12).

The *ḥadīth* gives more definite contexts. "The best *ṣalāt* is a long *ḳunūt*" (e.g. Muslim, *ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, trad. 164, 165, *bāb afḍal al-ṣalāt ṭūl al-ḳunūt*; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 168). Here, in the unanimous opinion of all the commentators (see al-Nawawī on the passage), *ḳunūt* means "standing". In the well-known *ḥadīth*: "alike to the fighter on the path of Allāh is he who fasts, who stands, who *ḳānit bi-āyāt Allāh*" (Muslim, *Imāra*, trad. 110), *ḳānit* has obviously the meaning of "to recite standing" (cf. Abu Dāwūd, *Shahr Ramaḍān*, *bāb* 9: "And he who recites 100 verses of the Ḳur'ān standing is enrolled among the *ḳānitūn*"). *Ḳunūt*, however, usually seems to be connected in meaning with *du'ā'*, e.g. in the oft-quoted tradition which tells how Muḥammad in the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* appealed to Allāh for a month against the tribe of Ri'l and Dhakwān, as they had slain the *ḳurrā'* at Bi'r Ma'ūna (*Witr*, *bāb* 7); in this case the meaning is certain from the explanation *yad'ū 'alā* (al-Bukhārī, *Witr*, *bāb* 7; *Djihād*, *āb* 184). In the parallel tradition, idem, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 28, trad. 3, there is added "and till then we were wont to perform the *ḳunūt*". Some sources (see Goldziher, *Zauberelemente*, 323) add that this was in the month of Ramaḍān.

The rite also appears in parallel traditions in a more precise form; it is said that the *ḳunūt* took place in the *ṣalāt al-faḍjr* (al-Bukhārī, *Da'awāt*, *bāb* 59) after the *rukū'* (idem, *Witr*, *bāb* 7). It is still more precisely defined in a *ḥadīth* in al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 32: "... that he heard how the Prophet when he raised his head after the first *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, said: "O Allāh, curse this and that man (i.e. some of the *munāfiḳūn*); thereupon Allāh revealed: "It does not concern thee whether He turns to them with favour or punishes them" (III, 123). The following is another example of *ḳunūt*: "When the messenger of Allāh lifted his head after the second *rak'a* at the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, he said: "O Allāh, save Walīd b. Abī Walīd and Salima b. Hishām and 'Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī'a and the weak ones in Mecca. O Allāh, tread heavily on Muḍar and send them years of famine, like the years of Joseph" (al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 28). According to another tradition, which also goes back to Abū Hurayra (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 126), the *ḳunūt* consisted of prayers and blessings for the Muslims and curses upon the unbelievers.

We are also told that the *ḳunūt* was regularly performed at the morning and evening *ṣalāt* (*subḥ* and *maghrib*; al-Tirmidhī, *Ṣalāt*, *bāb* 177; al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 30). Al-Tirmidhī gives the following note on this tradition: "The learned differ in their views about the *ḳunūt* at the *ṣalāt al-faḍjr*. Some of the scholars of the *Ṣaḥāba* and later generations advocate this *ḳunūt*, such as Mālik and al-Shāfi'ī". Aḥmad [b. Ḥanbal] and Isḥāḳ say: "There is no *ḳunūt* uttered at the *ṣalāt al-faḍjr* except in case of a calamity, which affects the Muslims as a body". In such a case the *Imām* has to pray for the Muslim armies. *Ẓuhr* and *'ishā'* are also mentioned as *ṣalāt*s into which the *ḳunūt* was inserted (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 126; al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 29).

There is further a difference of opinion as to where, in the *ṣalāt*, the *ḳunūt* should be inserted. 'Āṣim is said to have asked Anas b. Mālik about the *ḳunūt*. Anas replied: "The *ḳunūt* took place ..." I asked: "Before or after the *rukū'*?" He replied: "Before the *rukū'*". I said: "But I have been told on your authority, after the *rukū'*". Anas replied: "Then they lied. The apostle of Allāh only uttered the *ḳunūt* prayer after the *rukū'* for a month. I think, after he ..., etc." (here follows the story of Bi'r Ma'ūna, see above, Bukhārī, *Witr*, *bāb* 7). It is even said that the *ḳunūt* is a *bid'a*. Abu Mālik al-Ashdja' records a tradition on the authority of his father, that the latter had performed the *ṣalāt* under the direction of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and 'Alī and that none of these uttered the *ḳunūt* prayer. He adds "it is therefore also a *bid'a*, my son" (al-Nasā'ī, *Taṭbīḳ*, *bāb* 33).

Nevertheless, it continued to be known as the name of the prayer (*du'ā'*) at the *ṣalāt*. In the books of tradition a formula is given for the *ḳunūt al-witr* (it occurs often and in different forms, though it is not always called *ḳunūt* but is given names like *du'ā'*, etc.): "O Allāh, lead me amongst those whom Thou guidest, and pardon me among those whom Thou pardonest, and care for me among those for whom Thou carest and bless me with what Thou distributest, and protect me from the evil that Thou has decided upon; for Thou decidest and none decides about Thee. Disgrace will never come upon him for whom Thou carest. Thou art blessed and exalted, O our Lord" (al-Tirmidhī, *Witr*, *bāb* 10). The same formula is found as an element in the *ṣalāt* in al-Nawawī, *Minhādj*, ed. van den Berg, i, 83, 455-6; cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḳ-n-t*, who gives another formula.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet*, in *Orient. Studien, Theod. Nöldeke ... gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 323-29 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, v, 52-8) and the references given there.

(A. J. Wensinck)

KUNYA (A.), patronymic, an onomastic element composed of Abū (m.) "father" or Umm (f.) "mother" plus a name. We have here a metonymic designation corresponding to a general tendency among primitive peoples to consider an individual's name as taboo and not to pronounce it unless exceptionally (see J. G. Frazer, *The golden bough*, ch. xxii). The *kunya* was therefore accordingly the name which should be used, but in historical times, the original intention here was forgotten, and al-Djāḥiẓ (see *JA* [1967], 70, 82), far from seeing here any

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connection with sympathetic magic, counts the *kunya* amongst the claims to glory of the Arabs and, seeing only one aspect of the reality, stresses the honour attaching to it. Nevertheless, it is certain that the use of the *kunya* was not wholly honorific, since it gave the possibility of citing a person whose name, for various reasons, including certain rather humiliating ones (e.g. in regard to an enemy), one did not wish to pronounce. In any case, usage was such that the *kunya* sometimes came to predominate over the *ism* [*q.v.*] or name proper, to such an extent that the *ism* of certain personalities cannot be established with certainty, has been forgotten or may even never have existed (see e.g. Abū Ṭālib, Abū Lahab, etc.)

In principle, Abū or Umm is followed by the eldest son's name, and this usage is based on the value which Semitic peoples placed upon their children, and above all their sons. This again points to the importance placed on the punctilious performance of funeral rites, a duty that was incumbent upon the eldest son in particular. There is negative evidence of the connection between the *kunya* and funeral rites from the facts that slaves, as a rule, had no patronymic and that, unless they had been received into the *familia*, they were buried without ceremonies.

However, the *kunya* can be composed of the name of a younger son or even of a daughter, but again, this does not necessarily correspond to reality, and since it is given to a child, the latter might well have no issue of its own throughout his life. The giving of a *kunya* can in effect act as an expression of the hope that its nearer will have a son and will give him a determined name. Several *kunyas* are traditionally attached to certain names (the *ism* [*q.v.*]) by custom or in order to show respect for a precedent; an Ibrāhīm is often called Abū Isḥāḳ or Abū Yaʿḳūb, and a ʿUmar, Abū Ḥafṣ. Contrariwise, in principle it is forbidden to take Muḥammad's *kunya*, Abu l-Ḳāsim, in conformity with the *ḥadīth*, *tasammaw bi-smī wa-lā taktanū bi-kunyatī* "take my name [sc. Muḥammad], but not my *kunya*"; however, this prohibition was considered null and void at the Prophet's death, and it became regarded as sufficient to avoid the coupling of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad. The one and the same person might have more than one *kunya* (e.g. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān had three, Abū ʿAmr, Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abu Laylā), and cases are cited of warriors who had one for use in times of peace and one for times of war (e.g. ʿĀmir b. al-Ṭufayl and Ḳaṭarī [*q.vv.*]; see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 342). On the other hand, the *kunya* may be purely metaphorical and allude to some desired quality, like Abu 'l-Faḍl "father of merit" or Abu 'l-Khayr "father of goodness", etc. In certain cases, it may be a sobriquet based on some personal feature or characteristic, e.g. Abu 'l-Dawānīḳ "father of farthings", given to the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, renowned for his meanness, or Abū Hurayra "father of the little cat, kitten", allegedly given this *kunya* because of his love of cats. The *kunya* not unfrequently may have a pejorative sense, as in Abū Djahl "father of ignorance", or point to some physical pecularity, as in Abū Shāma "the man with a birth-mark". In this way, Abū loses its original sense completely and becomes a synonym for *dhū* "the man with . . .".

The *kunya* is also applied, from an early period, to certain animals, e.g. Abū Fāris "lion", Umm ʿĀmir "hyena", Abū Sulaymān "cock", and to all sorts of things which are in some degree personified, e.g. monuments like Abu 'l-Hawl "the Sphinx", and toponyms, e.g. Abū Ḳubays, a mountain. Furthermore, the ancient usage of the words *abū* or *umm* with the sense of *dhū*/*dhāt* called forth a proliferation, especially obvious in the dialects, of expressive appellations including some term which usually marks out a peculiarity of the person or animal or thing in question, either in a humorous way (*abū liḥya*/*bū laḥya* "bearded person"; *bū khemsa*, in North Africa, "colonel" with five rank stripes, etc.) or in an euphemistic one (*abu 'l-baṣīr* "blind person", etc.). Some compound expressions of this kind are particularly applied to some plants and their fruit (*abū zaʿḳa* "nux vomica" because of its bitterness (*zaʿḳa*); *abū farwa* "chestnut", from the husk which resembles a fur; etc.), but mainly to certain animals (*abū misalla* or *abū miṇḳār* or *umm miṇḳār* "woodcock", with its long beak; *umm arbaʿ wa-arbaʿīn* "centipede"; *abu 'l-waththāb* "flea", from its habit of jumping; etc.).

The *kunya* became very early an onomastic element charged with expressiveness, in such a way that it had a caritative value and could be employed in special circumstances outside the sphere of private life. The warrior who advanced against enemy armies to challenge an enemy to single combat would call himself by his *kunya*, and it was by this name that the tribe would appeal to its champion for help (see Ḳays b. al-Khaṭīm, *Dīwān*, ed. Kowalski, fragment 4, v. 38). In official relationships, the caliph sometimes marked out one of his courtiers for special favour by publicly addressing him by his *kunya* and not by his name or *ism*, but after the 5th/11th century, protocol forbade such familiarity (Mez, *The renaissance of Islam*, Eng. tr. 136-7). Similarly, in correspondence emanating from the chancery, the *kunya* of the addressee was used when the sender wished to honour him (see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 430-7).

At the present day, the usage of the *kunya* has disappeared, and the term is sometimes used, in official contexts, together with the *laḳab* [*q.v.*], to denote a family name; but one should remark that a number of patronymics adopted after the setting-up of a civil government in Arabic-speaking countries stem from former *kunyas* and that the nom-de-guerre of several Palestinian fighters is precisely a *kunya*.

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(A. J. Wensinck*)

KUR, the largest river in the Caucasus (according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, 200 *farsaḵhs* = nearly 800 miles in length). The Kur, known as Cyrus to the Greeks; Nahr al-Kurr to the Arabs; Kura to the Russians (said to be derived from *a-kuara*, "river", in the Abkhāzī tongue); and Mtkvari to the Georgians (said to be derived from *mdinaré*, "river" in the Kartlian dialect), rises in Georgia south of Ardahani (west of Ḳārṣ in the Poso district), and flows northwards to Akhaltzikhé, where it turns east (see map in V. Minorksy, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries*, Cambridge 1958, 174). For the rest of its course it maintains a generally west-east alignment, bisecting the city of Tiflis [*q.v.*]. The Kur, 240 feet wide in places, is navigable only by rafts in its upper course, "but lower, 150 miles before the Caspian, large sailing boats may ply, drawing up to 3 ft. of water" (W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*,

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London 1971, 8). The navigation of the Kur has only once played a part in political history, at the time of the destruction of the town of Bardhaʿa [*q.v.*] by the Rūs in 332/943-4. Some 100 miles west of the Caspian Sea [see BAḤR AL-KHAZAR], the Kur is joined by the river Aras [*q.v.*], and the "united waters find a double mouth along the sandy foreshore of the Caspian" (Allen, *loc. sit.*) in the Gushtāsfī district. Just east of the confluence with the Aras, the Kur is crossed by a bridge at Djawād. In Islamic times, the Kur formed the boundary between the province of Ḳarābāgh or Arrān [*q.vv.*], and the regions of Shīrwān [*q.v.*] and Georgia [see AL-KURDJ].

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(W. BARTHOLD - [R. M. SAVORY])

AL-KURA, the sphere.

1. The sphere itself. The Arabs studied the properties of the sphere, following Euclid, Archimedes and Theodosius. They also dealt with certain principles of spherical trigonometry, which form the foundations for astronomical theory, the principle of the transversal (*shakl al-ḳaṭṭāʿ*), the principle of the four magnitudes (*al-shakl al-mugḥnī*) and the principle of the shadow, i.e. of the tangent (*al-shakl al-ẓillī*) following Menelaus and Ptolemy. (On the translations cf. M. Steinschneider in *ZDMG*, i [1896], 161 ff.; the mathematical principles are discussed by H. Bürger and K. Kohl, *Axel Bjørnbo Thābits Werk über den Transversalensatz*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaft und Medizin* [1924], part 7, pp. 1-91; references are given there to the earlier literature also).

2. *al-Kura dhāt al-kursī* (the globe mounted on a stand) is used in two senses:

(a) The globe of the heavens (instead of *al-kura* we also find *al-bayḍa*, the egg, in this sense, e.g. in *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 235, in al-Battanī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. C. A. Nallino, 1913, i, 138; cf. E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. iii*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxvii, [1905], 239 ff.). The constellations are painted on a globe. It is placed in a ring which stands on 3 or 4 legs Such globes have been prepared and described. perhaps as early as by Hipparchus, at any rate by Ptolemy. Ptolemy's description is given in the Arabic translations of the *Almagest* and in separate treatises. One such globe, erroneously ascribed to Ptolemy, was seen in Cairo in 435/1043-4 by Ibn al-Sandabadī (cf. Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 440). The globes were made of wood covered with paper or with different metals. Hollow globes could also be made of metal, which were then fastened to wooden spheres. ʿAlam al-Dīn Ḳayṣar al-Taʿāsīf used a gilt wooden globe (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iv. 497; H. Suter, *Mathematiker*, no. 358). The making of such globes and the errors that occur in them were fully discussed by al-Bīrūnī (*Beitrage zur Gesch. der Mathematik, etc.*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwiss. und Medizin*, part 4 [1922], 79-93; cf. also H. Schnell, *ibid.*, in a later part).

The astronomical instrument prepared by al-Idrīsī for King Roger of Sicily was apparently an armillary sphere.

(b) *al-Kura dhāt al-kursī* is also an arrangement by which one follows the movements of the heavens. The horizontal ring is directed to the horizon; it is notched at right angles in two opposite points, a meridian ring is placed in the notches and allowed to go to its lowest position in a groove. The globe itself turns round an axis which is placed in round holes at two opposite points on the meridian ring. Divisions are marked on the horizon and on the meridian ring. By turning the meridian ring in its grooves, the axis of the globe can be inclined at will to the horizon and the instrument can thus be used for all latitudes. A quadrant with divisions which can be placed on the globe enables many kinds of measurements to be taken. With this globe, the magnitudes of importance in astronomy, *al-ṭālīʿ*, *al-maṭālīʿ*, the props of the earth etc., can be obtained.

The oldest Arabic work on the subject is by Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā [*q.v.*] and exists in Arabic in several editions, e.g. that of al-Marrākushī; it may go back to classical originals, as is probable in view of the author's relation to the Greeks. It was also translated into Latin, and into Spanish by Alfonso of Castile (*Libros del Saber*, i).

If the globe is left out and a series of other rings is added to the horizon and meridian rings, which correspond to circles in the heavens, we get the armillary sphere (*ālat dhāt al-ḥalaḳ*), the instrument with the rings with which the ancients, the Arabs and notably Alfonso of Castile, occupied themselves a great deal.

Bibliography: B. Dorn, *Drei astronomische Instrumente*, in *Mém. de l'Acad. impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*, series 7, vol. ix, no. 1 31; L. Am. Sedillot, *Mém. sur les instruments astronomiques des Arabes*, in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Acad. R. des Inscriptions*, etc., Paris 1844, series 1, vol. i, 1-229; F. Nolte, *Über die Armillarsphäre*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissensch., etc.*, part 2, 1-50. Nolte also gives the earlier literature.

3. *al-Kura al-muḥarriḳa*, the burning-glass (lit. the strongly-burning globe). Even the ancients knew the property possessed by rock crystal and glass globes of concentrating sunlight falling upon them on one point and setting alight an inflammable material there. But we find no indications that any scholar of antiquity studied the theory of this phenomenon. Ibn al-Haytham and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.vv.*] investigated this theory very brilliantly. Ibn al-Haytham starts from the values, given in a table of Ptolemy's and collected by himself also, of the angle of incidence, angle of divergence and angle of refraction of a ray of light falling on a smooth surface of glass, and investigates the path of the rays when they strike the surface of the globe at different distances from the axis drawn between the sun and the centre of the ball. It is proved that after refraction they all meet on the opposite surface of the globe in a little section from which they emerge with their direction altered. They cut the axis at different distances from the ball: the majority, however, meet at a point distant less than half the radius of the ball, and this is the burning point. If drawings are placed in the cone of rays formed by the rays coming from it, for example a red circular surface with a black ring upon, it and this is looked at through the front of the ball, remarkable figures are seen; these were also studied very fully by Ibn al-Haytham and Kamāl al-Dīn; they were able even then to reach the same results as Schellbach at a later date.

Bibliography: J. Würschmidt, *Die Brennkugel*, in *Monatshefte für den naturwissenschaftl. Unterricht*, iv (1911), 98-113; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. xix, Über die Brechung des Lichtes in Kugeln nach Ibn al-Haitam und Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlii (1910), 15-58; cf. also the references in the article ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

KŪRA, a term designating, in the geographers and in official documents, an administrative unit within a province. It was felt as being a loan

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word, certain authors giving it an Iranian origin, although a Greek origin (from χώρα) seems more likely. The exact definition of a *kūra* varies according to authors. Thus Ibn Khurradādhbih enumerates, in the same region, that of Ḥimṣ in Syria, *kūra*s and *iḳlīm*s at the same time, so that in this case, the two terms seem to be equivalent [see IḲLIM]. But most of the geographers reserve the term *iḳlīm* for a region or province, call the districts *kūra*s, and distinguish within these districts cantons called *tassūdj*s or *rustāḳ*s; this is distinguished in particular by Ibn al-Faḳīh (*passim*, and tr. Massé, *Abrégé*, index) and al-Muḳaddasī (*passim* and tr. Miquel, index). Usually, the *kūra* has a chef-lieu which is often called a *ḳaṣaba*.

According to Yāḳūt, the *kūra* is the equivalent of the Persian *istān*, with the *istān* comprising several *rustāḳ*s, the *rustāḳ* several *tassūdj*s, and the *tassūdj* several villages; thus Nā'īn is a *tassūdj* belonging to the *rustāḳ* of Yazd, which comes within the *istān* of Iṣṭakhr, in the province of Fārs (W. Juwaideh, *The introductory chapter of Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Leiden 1959, 56-8).

In mediaeval documents relating to Syria, acts of sale or *waḳf*s, the following classification is found: a *kūra* like that forming the Ghūṭa of Damascus comprises cantons (*iḳlīm*) which themselves contain villages (*ḳarya*) (see J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, *Trois actes de vente damascains du début du IV^e/X^e siècle*, in *JESHO*, viii [1965], esp. 169 and n. 4, and also *Biens fonciers constitués waqf en Syrie fāṭimide*, in *JESHO*, xv [1972], 289-91). This usage of the term *iḳlīm* is apparently peculiar to Syria and Upper Mesopotamia, according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī and Yaḳūt (Juwaideh, *op. cit.*, 39-40). It is further used thus in al-Andalus, which is explicable by the influence of Syrian practices in that country.

In al-Andalus, a simple province of the original Islamic empire, there existed, as elsewhere, administrative divisions called *kūra*s, of which certain ones were, in origin, "militarised zones", i.e. they held contingents of soldiers who were maintained on the revenues of land grants; these divisions were therefore termed *kūra mudjannada* (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 47-53).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(D. SOURDEL)

ḴUR'A (A.), in a technical sense designates rhapsodomancy. It is an Islamic divinatory procedure, analogous to bibliomancy; but in current usage the term refers to the drawing of lots, whatever form this may take, and this has been used following the Ḳur'ānic prohibition of *istiḳsām* [*q.v.*] and of *maysir* [*q.v.*], the two principal cleromantic techniques of pagan Arabia.

I. In the usual sense of "the drawing of lots", the term *ḳur'a*, originally applied to "a wineskin with broad base and narrow neck" (*TA*, v, 453, l. 23) which probably served as a receptacle for the shaking of the lots, is still used in the present day in the sense of choosing and electing by lot or by vote. Monks choose among the novices those to whom they propose to give the habit, by *ḳur'a* (the lots used being grains of wheat for "yes" and grains of barley for "no"). The polling station for legislative elections (*intiḵhābāt*) is called *maktab al-iḳtirā'*. In Ottoman Turkish circles, *ḳur'a* was practised in the recruitment of conscripts, whence comes the expression *ḳur'aya girmek* signifying "to reach the age of military service". A. Musil notes that in Arabia Petraea, the term *ḳur'a* refers to a ball serving the function of a lottery ticket, made out of strips of paper bearing the names of the parties which are rolled in a ball of clay or wax and which are drawn out by persons who were not present during the inscription of the names or the rolling of the balls (*Arabia Petraea*, iii, 294).

The permanence of this usage is attested by the fact that the Prophet used to "draw lots" (*ḳāra'a*) in order to decide which of his wives could accompany him in his travels (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1519), a procedure that he also used for the distribution of loot taken in raids (Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 78, 82, 83), and also by the fact that a chieftain chosen by the drawing of lots was called *maḳrū'* (*TA*, *loc. cit.*, l, 8).

The legitimacy of recourse to *ḳur'a* was acknowledged at a very early stage through imitation of the Prophet. *Ḥadīth* describes a number of cases where the latter resorted to *ḳur'a* for a solution to questions of distribution (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Shahādāt*; al-Kasṭallānī, iv, 416 ff.).

In certain cases, where any decision is liable to appear unjust to one party or the other, the judge may resort to *ḳur'a* (cf. al-Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Calcutta 1818, 813-14; tr. Hamilton, 2nd ed. London 1870, 565-6). Of the eleven cases of *ḳur'a* listed in the *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn* (ed. Van den Berg, i, 119-20, 324; ii, 328, 404-5; iii, 99-100, 461-2) only two are considered impermissible.

II. In this list there is confusion between the drawing of lots and rhapsodomancy. On the latter, opinions vary as to its legitimacy. While al-Ḳasṭallānī, in his commentary on al-Bukhārī, concedes its legitimacy, following the Ḥanbalī Ibn Baṭṭa (d. 387/997), other authors like Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-'Arabī (d. 543/1148), in *Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 520-5/1126-31) and Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ḳarafī (d. 684/1405), quoted by al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* (ed. Būlāḳ 1284/1867), ii, 119, oppose the use of the Ḳur'ān for *fa'l* [*q.v.*]. Ibn al-Ḥādjdjī (d. 737/1336) expands on this prohibition in a chapter entitled *Karāhat aḵhdh al-fa'l min al-muṣḥaf* (cf. *Madḵhal*, i, 878).

Of what does Islamic rhapsodomancy consist? Like bibliomancy, it is a divinatory procedure involving the interpretation of verses or parts of verses or prophetic words encountered by chance on opening the Ḳur'ān or the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. This practice is attested as early as the Umayyad period and the beginning of the 'Abbāsid period (cf. accounts relating to the end of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd II, d. 126/744, and to that of Abū Dja'far al-Manṣūr, d. 158/775, in al-Damīrī, ii, 119; Fahd, *Divination*, 215).

This consulting of the two most venerated books in Islam takes place in various forms, as the rhapsodomantic writings that are available to us bear witness:

(1) *Ḳur'at al-Imām Dja'far b. Abī Ṭālib* or *Dja'fariyya* (ms. Aya Sofya 1999, fols. 2-18b, 21.2 × 16 cm., a fine illuminated *naskhī* text dating from 907/1501), containing rhapsodomantic interpretations of Ḳur'ānic verses. Patronage of this art, propagated by the Shī'a, is attributed to Dja'far, the Prophet's cousin, killed at the battle of Mu'ta, in 8/629, because at the time of departure, one of his companions, 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, drew a rhapsodomantic conclusion from a Ḳur'ānic verse relating to Hell (Ḳur'ān, XIX, 71) enunciated by the Prophet, and had a presentiment of the death of Dja'far.

(2) *al-Ḳur'a al-Ma'mūniyya*, attributed to Ya'ḳūb b. Isḥāḳ al-Kindī (d. after 256/870), containing, in the form of tables, 144 questions, followed by 144 chapters, each comprising 12 answers; cf. ms. Aya Sofya 1999, 3, fols. 59-138a: *al-Ḳur'a al-mubāraka*

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al-Maʾmūniyya, a copy dating from 700/1300-1. The same *madjmūʿa* (fols. 19a-58a) contains an opuscule entitled *al-Ḳurʿa al-Dawazdhamradj* (= *maʿrifat istikhrādj al-ḍamīr*) by an anonymous author, but an essay bearing an analogous title (*K. al-daw'ir-hamradj*) in the Library of the University of Istanbul (A 6292, 79 fols., 19 × 13 cm., a poor *naskhī* text from 1179/1765), carries the name of al-Kindī.

Two other works of *ḳurʿa* are attributed to al-Maʾmūn (d. 218/833): *Ḳurʿa li-ikhrādj al-faʾl wa 'l-ḍamīr* (Cairo ms. 7612, dating from 1058/1648) and *Ḳurʿa li 'l-Maʾmūn* (Cairo ms. 7613). These differ from the above and contain at the end some rhapsodomantic poems attributed to various authors.

(3) *al-Ḳurʿa al-Djawhariyya* (ms. Saray, Ahmet, III 1600, 1, fols. 1a-23b, 36.5 × 18 cm., *naskhī*, n.d.) marks a perceptible evolution in the practice of rhapsodomancy. In fact, the use of Ḳurʾānic verses interpreted according to the method of *taʾwīl* or allegorical exegesis, is supplemented by arithmomantic procedures (*ḥisāb al-djummal* or *ḥisāb al-nīm*), which play a part in *djafr* [*q.v.*] and in *ʿilm al-ḥurūf* [*q.v.*] *wa 'l-asmāʾ*. This consists, in the event, of combining the four consonants of the word *djawhar* (*didjw*, *didih*, *didjr*, *dirh*, etc.). Each paragraph contains a prose interpretation of the combination, followed by another in verse, introduced by the formula *ḳāla al-rādjiz*.

In the *Ḳurʿat ḥurūf al-muʿdjam* (ms. Köprülü Fazil P. 164, fols. 57a-65b, 18 × 14 cm., *naskhī*, n.d.), the letters are arranged according to the *abdjad*, on three horizontal lines:

ʾ b dj d h w z ḥ ṭ y
h l m n s ʿ f ṣ
ḳ r sh t th kh dh ḍ ẓ gh

The inquirer selects one of these letters at random and is referred to the paragraph where the meaning of this letter is explained in verse (cf. the examples in Flügel, *Loosbücher*, 59-70).

In the *Ḳurʿat Dāniyāl*, it is numbers, formulated in two phrases, which serve as the *ḳurʿā*. These phrases are arranged in the following manner:

Ḳāraʿtu anā aḥad	*Ḳāraʿta anta aḥad*
Ḳāraʿtu anā ithnayn	*Ḳāraʿta anta ithnayn*
Ḳāraʿtu anā thalāth	*Ḳāraʿta anta thalāth*
Ḳāraʿtu anā ithnayn	*Ḳāraʿta anta aḥad, etc.*

The meaning of these formulae is explained, as in the essay discussed above, in the form of verses introduced by *ḳāla al-rādjiz* (cf. ms. AS 523, fols. 95a-103a, 26 × 17 cm., *naskhī* from 840/1436-7). In the *Fihrist*, 314, a similar essay is attributed to Daniel, to Iskandar Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn (with arrows), to Pythagoras (cf. P. Tannery, *Notices sur des fragments d'onomatomancie arithmétique*, in *Notices et Extraits*, xxxi/2 [1886], 231-60 = *Mémoires scientifiques*, ix, 17-50), to Ibn al-Murtaḍil and to the Christians.

The greatest degree of complexity attained by this type of *ḳurʿa* appears in three works which al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) claims that he translated (from Hindustani?) bearing the following titles: *al-Ḳurʿa al-muṣarriḥa bi 'l-ʿawākib* ("The *ḳurʿa* which gives clear indications of consequences"), *al-Ḳurʿa al-muthammana li'ṣṭinbāt al-ḍamāʾir al-mukhammana* ("The eightfold *ḳurʿa* for the discovery of inner thoughts in the mind") and *Sharḥ mazāmīr al-ḳurʿa al-muthammana* ("Commentary of the reeds of the eightfold *ḳurʿa*") (cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1976, Introd., p. xlv).

(4) Too complicated for popular usage, these *ḳurʿas* have yielded place to a series of much simpler *ḳurʿas*, based essentially on the drawing of lots, such as *ḳurʿat al-anbiyāʾ*, consisting of looking for the answer to the question that one poses in the name of the Prophet on whom the finger falls; *Ḳurʿat al-ṭuyūr* (*ṭayr* to be taken here in the broad sense of "fortune", good or bad) which draws a conclusion from every omen presenting itself at the moment of consultation, including the flight of birds; *ḳurʿa maymūna* ("The *ḳurʿa* crowned with success"), etc. (cf. refs. in *Divination*, 218, n. 4). Thus the term *ḳurʿa* acquires a generic sense and serves to designate various forms of divination by lot (such as *Ḳurʿat al-raml*, *Ḳurʿat li-ikhrādj al-faʾl wa 'l-ḍāmir*, etc.).

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 214-19; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion en Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 376-7; G. Flügel, *Die Loosbücher der Muhammadaner*, in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlichsächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, Phil. Kl. xii-xiii (1860-1), 24-74; G. Weil, *Die Königslose J. G. Wetzteins freie Nachdichtung eines arabischen Loosbüches überarbeitet und eingeleitet*, in *MSOS*, xxxi (1928), 1-69; D. C. Phillot, *Bibliomancy, divination, superstitions amongst the Persians*, in *JASB*, N.S., ii (1906), 339-42; Abdul-Kadir-e-Sarfaraz, Khan Bahadur, *Divination by the Diwan of Ḥāfiẓ*, in *M. P. Kharegat Memorial*, i, 1953, 276-94; H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 245-6. (T. Fahd)

ḲURAMA, according to Radloff (*Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1899, ii, 924) "a Turkish tribe in Turkistan"; the same authority gives the Kirgiz (i.e. Ḳazaḳ) word *ḳurama* (from *ḳura*, "to sew together pieces of cloth") with the meaning "a blanket made of pieces of cloth sewn together". In another passage (*Aus Sibirien*², Leipzig 1893, i, 225) Radloff himself says that the Kurama are "a mixed people of Özbegs and Kirgiz" and their name comes from the fact, asserted by the Kirgiz, that "they are made up of patches from many tribes" (*kura* to "patch together"). He further says that the Kurama are "a settled tribe" between Tashkent and Khodjand, to be more accurate, on the river Angren (a corruption of Āhengerān) south of Tashkent. In Russian sources we find it stated as early as 1875 that the Kurama first arose in the 18th century. But as early as 1045/1635 in the description of the wars between the Ḳazaḳ and Özbegs on the Angren we find the "leaders of the Kurama" (*sardārān-i Ḳūramā*) mentioned (Maḥmūd b. Walī, *Baḥr al-asrār*, India Office ms. 575, f. 119a).

Under the rule of the Khāns of Khoḳand in the 19th century, the word Kurama is used not only as an ethnographic but also as a geographical term and the name of an administrative division. The road from Khoḳand to Tashkent over the Kendir-Dawan pass was called the Kurama road (*Rāh-i Ḳūrama*, e.g. in the *Taʾrīkh-i Shāhrukhī*, ed. Pantusov, Kazan 1885, 238). The Kurama were ruled by a Beg who lived in the fortress of Kercuči (in the written language Kīrāwčī; on Russian maps also Kelyaučī). This use of the word Kurama was retained for some time under Imperial Russian rule. In the division of the territory (*oblast*) of Sīr-Daryā into districts (*uʿezd*), what later (after 1880) became known as the "district of Tashkent" was called the "district of Kurama" (*Kuraminskiy uʿezd*). The centre of government of the district was intended to be the little town of Toy-Tübe founded in the reign of Madali Khān (1822-42; cf. KHOḲAND); but the district headman (*uʿezniy načal'nik*) actually lived at Küylük on the Čirčik. Under Russian as under Khoḳand rule, the district of Kurama was of considerable economic importance as a centre of rice-growing. Russian

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ethnographers put the Kurama in a class by themselves as descendants of nomads (Kirgiz, i.e. Ḳazaḳ) who have become agriculturists (Sarts, *q.v.*). In spite of the adoption of the Sart mode of life, the Kurama never quite lost their particular characteristics inherited from their nomadic ancestors.

This could still be seen in the early 20th century. Unlike the Sarts, the Kurama lived, like the Ḳazaḳ, in yurts; their wives, as with the Ḳazaḳ, were unveiled. In other respects, however, the Kurama had advanced further from their nomadic ancestors than they had at the beginning of Russian rule. At that time, Radloff and other observers could still distinguish among them the division into families. According to Radloff there were five of these Djulayr, Telāu (this name is still borne by a village inhabited by the Kurama), Tama, Djagalbayli and Tarakil. This division is now quite lost; where traces of it still exist, marriages between members of one family are no longer—as among the Ḳazaḳ—considered illegal. The fact that the Kurama are a mixed people can still be recognised; besides the mixture of different stocks among them there has been, according to Zarubin, a mixture of different social ranks. The Kurama themselves do not use this name, although they do with the addition of another ethnic (Kirgiz-Kurama, Sart-Kurama). The number of the Kurama in the district of Tashkent (formerly Kurama) was in 1917 52,335; in 1920 49,697. There were further some 9,330 Kurama in the district of Khodjand. The word with the meaning of "mixed people" is also found in the area where Turkoman languages are spoken, but these Kurama have no connection with those on the Angren.

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AL-ḲUR'ĀN (A.), the Muslim scripture, containing the revelations recited by Muḥammad and preserved in a fixed, written form.

OUTLINE OF THE ARTICLE

1. *Etymology and synonyms*
   a. Derivation and Ḳur'ānic usage
   b. Synonyms in the Ḳur'ān
2. *Muḥammad and the Ḳur'ān*
3. *History of the Ḳur'ān after* 632
   a. The "collection" of the Ḳur'ān
   b. Variant readings and Companion codices
   c. Establishment of the canonical text and readings
4. *Structure*
   a. The *sūra*s and their names
   b. The verses
   c. The *basmala*
   d. The mysterious letters
5. *Chronology of the text*
   a. Historical references in the Ḳur'ān
   b. Traditional Muslim dating
   c. Modern Western dating
6. *Language and style*
   a. Language of the Ḳur'ān
   b. Foreign vocabulary
   c. Rhymes and refrains
   d. Schematic form and multiple accounts
7. *Literary forms and major themes*
   a. Oaths and related forms
   b. Sign-passages
   c. Say-passages
   d. Narratives
   e. Regulations
   f. Liturgical forms
   Others
8. *The Ḳur'ān in Muslim life and thought*
   Bibliography to Sections 1-8
9. *Translation of the Ḳur'ān*
   a. The orthodox doctrine
   b. Translations into specific languages

1. ETYMOLOGY AND SYNONYMS

a. Derivation and Ḳur'ānic usage. The earliest attested usage of the term *ḳur'ān* is in the Ḳur'ān itself, where it occurs about 70 times with a variety of meanings. Most Western scholars have now accepted the view developed by F. Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 33 f.) and others that *ḳur'ān* is derived from the Syriac *ḳeryānā*, "scripture reading, lesson", as used in Christian liturgy (see for example the 6th century Syriac mss., Brit. Museum, Add. 14, 432, e.g. *ḳeryānā d-yōm bā'awātā*, "lection for the Day of Supplications", fol. 43b). See also J. Wellhausen, *ZDMG*, lxvii (1913), 634; J. Horovitz, *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 67; *Foreign vocab.*, 233 f.; Bell-Watt, 136 f. (for works abbreviated in this article, see *Bibl.*). The majority view among Muslim authorities has been that *ḳur'ān* is simply the verbal noun from *ḳara'a*, "he read" or "he recited". Both views find some support in the Ḳur'ān, where the verb *ḳara'a* does occur, but not as frequently as the usual term for reading or reciting, *talā*. In early Kūfic manuscripts we find *ḳurān* without the *hamza*, causing some authorities such as Ḳatāda and Abū 'Ubayda to derive it from *ḳarana*, "he put together" or "he bound together" (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 31 f.). Against this view it should be noted that the omission of the *hamza* was a characteristic of Meccan speech and early Kūfic Ḳur'ānic script, and that the term *ḳur'ān* is closely related to the verb *ḳara'a* in Ḳur'ānic usage. The soundest conclusion seems to be that the term *ḳur'ān* originated in the Ḳur'ān itself to represent the Syriac *ḳeryānā*, but was based on an Arabic *maṣdar* form (*fu'lān*) from *ḳara'a*.

The verb *ḳara'a* occurs in the Ḳur'ān 17 times, usually meaning "recite", but occasionally "read (aloud?)". Where it clearly means "recite", it is always the Ḳur'ān that is recited, usually by Muḥammad (XVI, 98, XVII, 45, 106, etc.). But in one of the earliest contexts it is God who recited the revelation to Muḥammad: "When we recite it, follow its recitation" (LXXV, 18), and in one of the latest contexts (LXXIII, 20) it is the believers (see below). *Ḳara'a* means "read" in four or five verses, always with "book" (*kitāb*). In XVII, 93, Muḥammad is challenged by some unbelievers to ascend to heaven and bring down a book they can read for themselves. Three passages (XVII, 14, 71, and LXIX, 19) refer to the record books to be read at the Last Judgment, and one (X, 94) refers to some of Muḥammad's contemporaries—probably Jews and Christians—as "those who have been reciting [or reading] the Book" before him. Rudi Paret (*Übersetzung, ad locc.*) is no doubt correct in seeing in the Ḳur'ān different nuances in the meaning of *ḳara'a*, which he translates as *lesen, verlesen, rezitieren*, and *vortragen*. But there may not be as much variation in the Ḳur'ānic usage of this verb as these terms suggest, since where it

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means "recite" it could be interpreted "recite (the Ḳur'ān) from written notes", and where it means "read" it could be interpreted "read aloud".

Most occurrences of the term *ḳur'ān* in the Muslim scripture date from a period of about ten years beginning when Muḥammad began to perform the *ṣalāt* publicly and ending around the time of the battle of Badr in 624. It is impossible to date the contexts precisely or determine their exact chronological order, but the general development of the Ḳur'ānic usage of *ḳur'ān* is fairly clear. (Unless otherwise indicated, all statements on dating in this article are the present writer's own conclusions. In most cases these analyses tend to support the conclusions reached by Richard Bell, who also dated individual pericopes rather than entire *sūras*—see section 5 below.)

(1) Among the earliest meanings of *ḳur'ān* is "act of reciting", seen in two passages where God addresses Muḥammad: "Ours is it to put it together and [Ours is] its *ḳur'ān*. When We recite it follow its *ḳur'ān*" (LXXV, 17 f.), and "Observe the *ṣalāt* at the sinking of the sun until the darkening of the night, and [observe] the *ḳur'ān* at the dawn; surely the *ḳur'ān* at the dawn is well attested" (XVII, 78). This last verse provides useful insight into the relationship between the *ṣalāt* and the *ḳur'ān* at the time when both were just being instituted. (2) In some verses *ḳur'ān* means "an individual passage recited [by Muḥammad]". In LXXII, 1 f. the Prophet is informed that "a number of the jinn listened, and said: 'Verily, we have heard a *ḳur'ān*, a wonder, which guides to rectitude, so we have believed in it'." See also X, 61, XIII, 31, and cf. X, 15. (3) In a large majority of contexts, dating mostly from the late Meccan and very early Medinan years, *ḳur'ān*, usually with the definite article, has a complex meaning involving several elements. It is the "revelation" (*tanzīl*) sent down by God upon Muḥammad (XX, 2 ff., LXXVI, 23, etc.). It is sent down at intervals (XVII, 106, XXV, 32), and in some contexts it appears to be something in God's possession that is larger than what has so far been "sent down": "What We send down of *al-ḳur'ān* is a healing and mercy to the believers" (XVII, 82). In other contexts *al-ḳur'ān* refers to a collection of revelations in Muḥammad's possession, which he is commanded to recite (XXVII, 91 f.; cf. XVI, 98, XVII, 45). Its liturgical setting is seen in a number of passages, such as VII, 204: "So when *al-ḳur'ān* is recited [by Muḥammad], listen to it and keep silent" and LXXXIV, 20 f.: "Then what ails them, that they believe not, and when *al-ḳur'ān* is recited to them they do not bow?" Specific references to other Muslims reciting parts of *al-ḳur'ān* occur only in one or two Medinan passages, such as LXXIII, 20, where the believers are told to recite during the night vigil only as much of *al-ḳur'ān* as is convenient or easy (*mā tayassar*) for them. (4) In a number of contexts that appear to be early Medinan, dating from before LXXIII, 20, the *ḳur'ān* (sometimes without the definite article) is said to be an Arabic version of "the Book" (*al-kitāb*): "By the clear Book. Behold We have made it an Arabic *ḳur'ān*" (XLIII, 2 f.; see also XII, 1 f., XLI, 2 f., and other verses quoted below). The closest the Ḳur'ān comes to using the term *al-ḳur'ān* with its present meaning as the name of the Muslim scripture is where it is mentioned with the Torah and the Gospel in IX, 111, in a construction that suggests three parallel scriptures. But it must be remembered that the revelation was not yet complete, and the final scripture was not compiled until after Muḥammad's death.

b. Synonyms in the Ḳur'ān. The meaning of the term *ḳur'ān* and the origin of the Muslim scripture cannot be understood fully without taking into consideration the Ḳur'ānic usage of several other closely related terms, especially *āya*, *kitāb*, and *sūra*, but also *dhikr*, *maṯ̲ānī*, *ḥikma*, and others. Each of these terms has its own distinct, basic meaning in the Ḳur'ān, but in some contexts their usages converge with that of *ḳur'ān*.

The basic meaning of *āya*, like the related Hebrew *ōth* and the Syriac *āthā*, is "sign", in the sense of a token of some unseen reality or truth. Its derivation is uncertain. It would most naturally come from *'-w-ḥ*, corresponding with the Hebrew *'āwāh*, but such a root does not exist in Arabic, and the Arabic form would be difficult to explain as a borrowing from Hebrew or Syriac (see *Foreign vocab.*, 72 f.). *Āya* and its plural *āyāt* occur in the Ḳur'ān almost 400 times, most frequently in reference to natural phenomena that confirm God's power and bounty and call for gratitude from man. These are the so-called "sign-passages", discussed below in 7.b. In other contexts *āya* refers to some extraordinary event or miracle that confirms the truth of the message of a prophet. Then in late Meccan or possibly very early Medinan passages, probably in response to the continuing demands for a miracle from Muḥammad, *āya* takes on a new meaning—"revealed message". And finally in a number of Medinan passages *āya* comes to be used for the basic unit of revelation. Later Muslim scholars interpreted *āya* in these passages to mean "verse", but the Ḳur'ān gives no indication as to the length of these units of revelation, except that in some contexts they are said to be parts of the *ḳur'ān*, the *kitāb*, and possibly of a *sūra*.

Kitāb, literally "book, writing", occurring 255 times in the singular and six times in the plural (*kutub*), is among the most difficult terms in the Ḳur'ān to interpret. Only rarely does it refer to some everyday type of writing, e.g. a letter sent by Solomon to the Queen of Sheba (XXVII, 28 f.), and a document of manumission (XXIV, 33). Sometimes it refers to a record of men's deeds (XVII, 71, XVIII, 49, XXXIX, 69, etc.), events that have been prescribed (XVII, 58, XXXV, 11, etc.), or God's knowledge (VI, 59, X, 61, XI, 6, etc.). The commentators tend to interpret these passages as referring to actual celestial books, a view also adopted by most Western writers on the topic. A. Jeffery (*The Qur'ān as scripture*, in *MW*, XL [1950], 47-50) saw references to the ancient Near Eastern Record Book, Book of Decrees, and Inventory Book, while G. Widengren (*Muḥammad, the apostle of God, and his ascension*, 1955, 115-22) argued that these passages referred to a single "Heavenly Book". There is no conclusive evidence in the Ḳur'ān for either view, and there are serious problems with any literal interpretation of these verses, all of which could just as well be taken as metaphorical references to God's knowledge and decrees. A similar interpretation is possible for those verses usually regarded as referring to the heavenly original of the Ḳur'ān, e.g., "Indeed it is a noble *ḳur'ān* in a treasured *kitāb* touched only by the purified" (LVI, 77-9), "Nay, it is a glorious *ḳur'ān* in a preserved tablet" (LXXXV, 21 f.), and "By the clear *kitāb*. Behold We have made it an Arabic *ḳur'ān* . . . it is in the *umm al-kitāb* with Us" (XLIII, 1-4; cf. III, 7, and XIII, 39, which are even more ambiguous). There is in fact no clear indication in these verses or anywhere in the Ḳur'ān of a heavenly original or archetype of the Muslim scripture. This concept has been read into the text by the

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later commentators. By far the most frequent usage of *kitāb* in the Ḳur'ān is in reference to God's revelation to Muḥammad and to certain religious communities that existed before and during his time, especially the Jews and Christians, who are called "the people of the Book" (*ahl al-kitāb*). This complex series of ideas involving the Ḳur'ān, the Book, Muḥammad, and the People of the Book is discussed in more detail in section 2 below.

The term *sūra*, occurring in the Ḳur'ān nine times in the singular and once in the plural (*suwar*), seems to be derived from the Syriac *ṣūrṭā*, *sūrthā*, "scripture, scripture reading" (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 31; *Foreign vocab.*, 180-2). In the Ḳur'ān *sūra* refers to a unit of revelation and could be translated "scripture" or "revelation". Several verses mention a *sūra* being "sent down" (IX, 64, 86, 124, 127, XLVII, 20, etc.), in contexts that are similar to some Ḳur'ānic usages of *āya*, *ḳur'ān*, and *kitāb*. And Muḥammad's opponents, who are dissatisfied with what he has been reciting, are challenged to "produce a *sūra* like it" (II, 23, X, 38) or "ten *suwar* like it" (XI, 13). Cf. XXVIII, 49, where the challenge is to produce a *kitāb* from God. The Ḳur'ān gives no indication as to how long these units of revelation were. They were most likely only parts of the present *sūra*s.

The Ḳur'ānic usages of *ḳur'ān*, *āya*, *kitāb*, and *sūra* converge at the following points: (1) *Ḳur'ān*, *āya*, and *sūra* are each used sometimes for the basic unit of revelation, a pericope consisting most likely of several verses (e.g. X, 61, II, 106, and X, 38, respectively), and *kitāb* may have the same meaning in XXVIII, 49, and a few other places. (2) *Ḳur'ān* (e.g. XXXIV, 31) and *kitāb* (e.g. II, 89, VI, 92, 155, VII, 2) sometimes mean "a scripture", and *sūra* may have this meaning in XXIV, 1. (3) Occasionally *ḳur'ān* and *kitāb* are used for the revelation of God as a whole, only part of which has been sent down, e.g. XVII, 82, quoted above, and XXXV, 31: "And what We have revealed to you [Muḥammad] of the *kitāb* is the truth, confirming what was before it". (4) Usually, however, there is a distinction. *Kitāb*, when referring to the revelation, usually means the "Book of God", the revelation as a whole, while *ḳur'ān* usually means that part of the revelation that has been sent down to Muḥammad, e.g. X, 37: "This *ḳur'ān* is . . . a distinct setting forth of the *kitāb* in which there is no doubt" and XII, 1 f.: "These are the *āyāt* of the clear *kitāb*. Verily We have sent it down as an Arabic *ḳur'ān*".

Other technical terms used in the Ḳur'ān for the revelation being sent down to Muḥammad include the following. (1) Three nouns from the verb *ḏhakara*, "to remember, to mention", are used for the revelation in the sense of a reminder or warning: *taḏhkira* in LXXIII, 19, LXXVI, 29, etc.; *ḏhikrā* in VI, 90, XI, 120, etc.; and *ḏhikr* in the formula, "It is nothing but a *ḏhikr* to the worlds", at the end of the *sūra*s XXXVIII, LXVIII, LXXXI, etc., in the introductory formula to XXXVIII where it is connected with *al-ḳur'ān*, and in VII, 63, 69, etc. (2) The term *maṯhānī* has puzzled Muslim commentators and given rise to several theories among Western interpreters of the Ḳur'ān. Even if it is a derivative of the Hebrew *mišnāh* (*Koran. Untersuchungen*, 26-8) or the Syriac or Aramaic *maṯnīṯhā* (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 114-16), the term *maṯhānī* must have been influenced by the Arabic *ṯhanā*, "to double, repeat"; cf. *maṯnā*, "by twos", in IV, 3, XXXIV, 46, and XXXV, 1. Thus it is probably best translated as "repetitions" (Bell, *Trans.*, 247; Blachère, *Trad.*, 290). But it refers to the revelation sent down to Muḥammad: "We have given thee seven of the *maṯhānī* and the wondrous *ḳur'ān*" (XV, 87), and "God has sent down the best of accounts, in agreement with itself, *maṯhānī* at which the skins of those who fear their Lord do creep" (XXXIX, 23). The commentators usually take the "seven *maṯhānī*" to be the seven verses of the Fātiḥa [*q.v.*]. A more likely interpretation is that this term refers to the punishment-stories (see 6.d and 7.d below), which Bell suggested may have once formed a collection separate from the Ḳur'ān (Bell-Watt, 134 f., 143 f.). For the literature, see *Foreign vocab.*, 257 f., and Paret, *Kommentar*, 279 f. (3) *Ḥikma*, "wisdom", probably from the Aramaic *ḥeḵḵmā*, is used in several Medinan passages for the revelation or part of it. God sends down the *kitāb* and the *ḥikma* to Muḥammad (II, 231, IV, 113, etc.). Muḥammad recites the *āyāt*, and teaches the *kitāb* and the *ḥikma* (LXII, 2). And the *āyāt* and the *ḥikma* are recited in the Muslims' homes (XXXIII, 34). These verses should probably be interpreted in the light of IV, 105, where it is said that Muḥammad is to judge (*taḥkum*) mankind on the basis of the Book sent down to him. For the literature, see *Foreign vocab.*, 111, and Paret, *Kommentar*, 68. The term *ḳur'ān* as the name of the Muslim scripture acquired connotations of these terms and others used for the revelation "sent down" to Muḥammad; see also Bell-Watt, 145-7, and Paret, *Kommentar*, 19, on *furḳān*.

2. Muḥammad and the Ḳur'ān

The Muslim scripture and Muḥammad's prophetic experience are so closely linked that one cannot be fully understood without the other. The orthodox view of the dramatic form of the Ḳur'ān is that God is the speaker throughout, Muḥammad is the recipient, and Gabriel is the intermediary agent of revelation—regardless of who may appear to be the speaker and addressee. An analysis of the text shows that the situation is considerably more complex than this. In what appear to be the oldest parts of the Ḳur'ān, the speaker and the source of the revelation are not indicated. In some passages (XCI, 1-10, CI, CII, CIII, etc.) there is not even any indication that the message is from a deity (on this, cf. Muir, *Mohammed*, 39 ff.), and in some (LXXXI, 15-21, LXXXIV, 16-19, XCII, 14-21, etc.) Muḥammad seems to be the speaker. In the earliest passages that mention Muḥammad's God, he is not named but is spoken of in the third person, usually as "my Lord", "your Lord", etc. (LI, 1-23, LII, 1-16, LXXIV, 1-10, LXXX, 1-32, LXXXIV, 1-19, LXXXVIII, 1-22, XCVI, 1-8, etc.). From LIII, 10, LXXXI, 23, and other verses it is clear that Muḥammad had visions of God, and at least in the Meccan years it was the voice of God himself, and not some intermediary, that Muḥammad heard. In the earliest passages to indicate the source of the revelation, God is the speaker and the direct source, e.g., "We shall cast upon thee [Muḥammad] a mighty word" (LXXIII, 5) and "We shall cause thee to recite without forgetting" (LXXXVII, 6). And a number of late Meccan and early Medinan passages speak of God reciting the *āyāt*, the *ḳur'ān*, and the *kitāb* to Muḥammad (II, 252, III, 108, XLV, 6, etc.).

But during the same period a series of passages have the effect of elevating God from direct revelation. This is done in two ways: the message is said to be brought down by certain intermediaries, and it is connected in some way with "the Book" (*al-kitāb*). Both of these concepts occur in XLII, 51 ff., where it is explicitly denied that God speaks directly to Muḥammad: "It is not fitting that God should

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speak to any mortal except by inspiration (*waḥy*), or from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger to inspire whatever He wills . . . . Thus have We inspired you [Muḥammad] with a spirit of Our bidding (*rūḥᵃⁿ min amrinā*); you did not know [before] what the Book and faith were". The role of this spirit as the agent of revelation is seen more clearly in XXVI, 192 f.: "Surely it is the revelation of the Lord of all beings, brought down by the faithful spirit (*al-rūḥ al-amīn*)" and XVI, 102: "The spirit of holiness (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*) has brought it down from your Lord in truth". Then in the fairly early Medinan passage, II, 97, the agent of revelation for the first and only time in the Ḳur'ān is said to be Gabriel. On the basis of this verse and a number of *ḥadīth* accounts, the commentators have identified the "spirit" in the earlier passages as Gabriel, and have placed Gabriel at the very beginning of Muḥammad's ministry as the agent of revelation. Also, contrary to popular belief, Gabriel is never identified in the Ḳur'ān as one of the angels, and the angels are never said to be agents of revelation (XVI, 2, comes the closest). The angels may be the speakers in a few passages such as XIX, 64 ff. and XXXVII, 161-6, just as Muḥammad or Abraham is sometimes the speaker; but there is no need to interpret the plural "we" as referring to the angels in the numerous passages that also refer to God in the third person. On the "say" passages, in which Muḥammad is sometimes the speaker, see 7.c below.

The Ḳur'ān also speaks of Muḥammad's human informants, at first in contexts involving accusations made against the Prophet by his opponents: "The unbelievers say: 'This is nothing but a fraud [Muḥammad] has devised, and others have helped him with it' . . . 'Tales of the ancients he has written down; they are recited to him morning and evening'" (XXV, 4f.). Except for the element of fraud, the Ḳur'ān does not deny what is reported in this passage. The response given in XVI, 103, to a similar charge seems to concede that Muḥammad had a foreign informant: "We know very well that they are saying: 'It is only a mortal who is teaching him'. But the language of him whom they suggest is foreign, and this is clear Arabic speech". Here again the accusation is not denied; there is simply insistence that the actual wording of the Ḳur'ān did not come from the informant. Several Medinan passages give the impression that Muḥammad actively sought information from the scriptures of the Jews, since they are condemned for concealing their Book from him. Some mention written copies that were shown to Muḥammad or his followers, e.g. VI, 91: "the Book Moses brought . . . you have put on parchments you show, but you hide much of it". Others such as II, 79, accuse the Jews of writing out passages of their own and then saying "This is from God". See also II, 77, 140, 174, III, 71, and V, 15. In these passages it is not difficult to see Muḥammad receiving stories and other information from various informants, including Jews and Christians, and then in moments of inspiration reworking the material into its Ḳur'ānic form. Such a view, although considered unorthodox today, is not inconsistent with some reports found in the *ḥadīth* collections and other early Muslim sources.

This raises the question of the relationship between the Ḳur'ān and the scriptures of the Jews and Christians. Meccan and very early Medinan parts of the Ḳur'ān speak of a single revelation or Book, sometimes called the Book of God (*kitāb Allāh*), and specify those to whom it had been "given" previously: the prophets (II, 213), the seed of Abraham (XXIX, 27, LVII, 25 f., etc.), the Children of Israel (XL, 53, XLV, 16), Moses (II, 53, 87, VI, 154, etc.), John the Baptist (XIX, 12) and Jesus (XIX, 30, etc.). In II, 101 and III, 23 (cf. III, 93) the *kitāb Allāh* is specifically identified with the scriptures of the *ahl al-kitāb*, "people of the Book". This expression, which occurs over thirty times (II, 105, 109, III, 64 f., IV, 123, 153, etc.—all Medinan), is often interpreted as "the people who have a scripture". But it more likely means "the people who have (previously) been given the Book of God", since it is synonymous with the Ḳur'ānic expressions *alladhīna ūtū 'l-kitāb*, "those who have been given the Book", in II, 101, 144, 145, III, 19 f., IV, 131, etc., and *alladhīna ātaynāhumu 'l-kitāb*, "those to whom We have given the Book", in II, 121, VI, 20, 114, XIII, 36, etc. The often-discussed term *ummiyyūn* (II, 78, III, 20, 75, LXII, 2) seems to be the antithesis of these three expressions, thus meaning "those who have not been given the Book previously". And this is almost certainly the sense of the singular, *ummī*, which is applied to Muḥammad in VII, 157 f. That is, instead of sending to the Arabs and the world a missionary from among those who had already been given the Book (the *ahl al-kitāb*), God chose to send a prophet, Muḥammad, from among those who previously had not been given the Book (*al-nabī al-ummī*). There is no basis in the Ḳur'ān for the traditional view that *ummī* means "illiterate" (see UMMĪ; *Gesch. des Qor.* i, 14-17; Bell-Watt, 33 f.; and Blachère, *Introd.*, 6-12). After the so-called "break with the Jews" in Medina around the time of the battle of Badr, the Book came to be distinguished from the Torah and the Gospel (III, 48, V, 110, etc.) and identified more closely with the revelation being sent down to Muḥammad (see, e.g., the Medinan formulas, XII, 1 f., XLI, 3, XLIII, 2 f., etc.). And the expression "those who have been given the Book" became "those who have been given a portion (*naṣīb*) of the Book" (III, 23, IV, 44, 51, etc.). About the same time the plural "scriptures" (*kutub*) was introduced in two credal statements in II, 285 and IV, 136 (cf. LXVI, 12, XCVIII, 3).

In late Meccan and early Medinan passages Muḥammad is said to have been challenged to produce a book the people could read for themselves (e.g. XVII, 93), and his followers complained that they did not have a scripture like those of the Jews and Christians (VI, 155 ff.), The establishment of an independent, Muslim community in Medina, distinct from the *ahl al-kitāb*, was marked by the granting of a separate Islamic scripture that was to serve as a criterion (cf. *furḳān*) for confirming the truth of previous scriptures (III, 3, IV, 105, V, 48, etc.). The evidence seems to indicate that Muḥammad began to compile a written scripture some time in the early Medinan years, but that the responsibilities of leading the rapidly growing Muslim community forced him to leave the task unfinished (see Bell-Watt, 141-4). That Muḥammad participated in and directed the task of preparing a written scripture seems certain. This is to some extent supported by the *ḥadīth*, where we are told that he dictated to scribes and instructed them on how to arrange the revelations, sometimes inserting a new passage into an older one (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān, bāb* 2 f., Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣalāt, bāb* 2, Ibn Sa'd, iii/2, 59). The Prophet most likely did not do the actual writing and editing himself, especially in Medina where he had scribes to perform these menial tasks (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 46 f.). But it is not unlikely that Muḥammad did occasionally write out the revelations himself (see e.g. XXV, 4-6, quoted in part above, and Bell-Watt, 36, on this passage). The task

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of preparing the written scripture included some revision and alteration of earlier revelations (see Bell-Watt, 89-101). The Ḳur'ān itself acknowledges that changes were made in the revelation: "For whatever *āya* We abrogate or cause [you, i.e. Muḥammad] to forget, We bring [another that is] better or like it" (II, 106), and "When We substitute one *āya* for another—and God knows best what He is sending down—they say: 'You [Muḥammad] are a mere forger' " (XVI, 101). A similar verse, XXII, 52, gives another explanation for changes in the revelation: "We have never sent any messenger or prophet before you [Muḥammad], but Satan cast [something] into his thoughts when he was yearning [for a message from God]. But God abrogates what Satan casts in, and then God adjusts his *āyāt*". These verses seem to be responses to complaints or accusations about changes in the revelation. The Ḳur'ān gives three explanations: that Muḥammad sometimes forgot parts, that Satan inserted something into the revelation, and that God simply replaced some parts with others as good or better. The term *āya* in these passages came to be interpreted as "verse", but the Ḳur'ān gives no indication as to the length of these units of revelation that were withdrawn and replaced by others.

In his commentary on XXII, 52, and in his *Annales* (i, 1192 f.), al-Ṭabarī records several versions of a curious story in which Muḥammad is said to have recited the two short verses, "These are the exalted ones (*al-gharānīḳ* = cranes), Whose intercession is to be hoped for", just after LIII, 19 f., which mention the Arabian goddesses, al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt [*q.vv.*]. The Ḳuraysh [*q.v.*], who were in the mosque listening to Muḥammad, then prostrated with the Muslims at the *sadjda* at the end of the *sūra*, and some of Muḥammad's followers who immigrated to Abyssinia to avoid persecution returned to Mecca. But before they arrived, Gabriel informed Muḥammad that these two verses had been inserted into the revelation by Satan. God then revealed XXII, 52, to comfort Muḥammad, and then LIII, 21-7, to abrogate the two *gharānīḳ* verses. Hostility between Muḥammad and the Ḳuraysh resumed, and the immigrants had to arrange for protection before re-entering Mecca. This story of the "Satanic verses" has been accepted as historical by most Western writers who mention it, since they find it unthinkable that it could have been invented (e.g. *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 101-3; Watt, *Mecca*, 103; A. Guillaume, *Islam*, 189 f.). Although there could be some historical basis for the story, in its present form it is certainly a later, exegetical fabrication. Sūra LIII, 1-20 and the end of the *sūra* are not a unity, as is claimed by the story; XXII, 52, is later than LIII, 21-7, and is almost certainly Medinan (see Bell, *Trans.*, 316, 322); and several details of the story—the mosque, the *sadjda*, and others not mentioned in the short summary above—do not belong to a Meccan setting. Caetani (*Annali*, i, 279-81) and J. Burton ("*Those are the high-flying cranes*", in *JSS*, xv [1970], 246-65) have argued against the historicity of the story on other grounds, Caetani on the basis of weak *isnāds*. Burton concluded that the story was invented by jurists so that XXII, 52, could serve as a Ḳur'ānic proof-text for their abrogation theories.

3. History of the Ḳur'ān after 632

The history of the text and the recitation of the Ḳur'ān after the death of Muḥammad in 632 is still far from clear. The development of the canon involved three main stages, each of which is difficult to reconstruct and date: the collection and arrangement of the text from oral and written sources, the establishment of the final consonantal text, and the process by which several readings, i.e., different ways of vocalising the text, came to be accepted as canonical or "revealed". According to the orthodox view, the Ḳur'ān was perfectly preserved in oral form from the beginning and was written down during Muḥammad's lifetime or shortly thereafter when it was "collected" and arranged for the first time by his Companions. The complete consonantal text is believed to have been established during the reign of the third caliph, ʿUthmān (644-56), and the final vocalised text in the early 4th/10th century. Most Western scholars have accepted the main points of this traditional view. But there are problems here. In addition to the usual difficulties of evaluating Muslim sources that were regulated by the science of *ḥadīth*, the task of reconstructing the history of the Ḳur'ān is further complicated by the fact that the classical literature records thousands of textual variants, which, however, are not found in any extant manuscripts known to Western scholars. Several valuable works on the history of the Ḳur'ān were written during the 4th/10th century (see below), but later Muslim scholars, with just a few exceptions, have shown little interest in the problem of reconstructing the history of the canon. The basic European works continue to be the second edition of Th. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns*, especially Part II, *Die Sammlung des Qorāns* (1919), ed. and revised by F. Schwally, and Part III, *Die Geschichte des Korantexts* (1938), by G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl, and A. Jeffery's *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'ān* (1937).

a. The "collection" of the Ḳur'ān. The most widely accepted story of the "first collection" of the Ḳur'ān places an official, written copy of the entire text in the reign of the first caliph, Abū Bakr (632-4), thus within two years of the Prophet's death. According to the dominant version of this story (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, *bāb* 3; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, ix, 9), ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*] became concerned that so many Ḳur'ān reciters (*ḳurrā'* [*q.v.*]) had been killed at the battle of al-Yamāma. So he suggested to the caliph that a complete, written text of the Ḳur'ān be prepared so none of the revelation would be lost. Abū Bakr hesitated, saying "How dare I do something the Prophet did not do?", but ʿUmar convinced him of the need. Abū Bakr then sent for Zayd b. Thābit [*q.v.*], one of the Prophet's secretaries, and said: "You are a wise young man, and we trust you. And you used to write down the revelations for the Prophet, so go and find [all the fragments of] the Ḳur'ān and assemble it together". Zayd also hesitated, saying "How dare I do something the Prophet did not do?" But Abū Bakr convinced him of the need, and Zayd collected all the fragments of the Ḳur'ān "whether written on palm branches or thin stones or preserved in the hearts of men", and he wrote it out on "sheets" (*ṣuḥuf*) of equal size and gave them to Abū Bakr. When ʿUmar became caliph in 634 he acquired the "sheets", and on his death they passed to his daughter, Ḥafṣa, a widow of the Prophet.

This story makes several key points, either explicitly or by implication, that would be of considerable significance for our understanding of the history of the Ḳur'ān if they could be accepted: that Muḥammad did not leave a complete written text, that nothing of the Ḳur'ān was lost, that it was preserved primarily in oral form and that any written fragments were on crude materials, that the first

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official recension, authorised by the first caliph, was also the first complete collection, etc. Muslim tradition came to accept this story as a historical account, and these points as facts. But there are serious problems with this account. For one thing, most of the key points in this story are contradicted by alternative accounts in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections and other early Muslim sources (see Wensinck, *Handbook*, 131; *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 15-18; Burton, *Collection*, 120-8). According to one *ḥadīth*, ʿUmar once asked about a verse and was told that it had been in the possession of someone who was killed at Yamāma, so he gave the command and the Ḳurʾān was collected, and "ʿUmar was the first to collect the Ḳurʾān" (*Maṣāḥif*, 10; *Itḳān*, i, 58). Other accounts say that Abū Bakr began the collection and ʿUmar completed it, or that Abū Bakr was the first to collect the Ḳurʾān on sheets (*ṣuḥuf*), while ʿUmar was the first to collect the Ḳurʾān into a single volume (*muṣḥaf*). Others say ʿUmar ordered the compilation, but died before it was completed (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 212). In fact, each of the first four caliphs is reported to have been the first person to collect the Ḳurʾān (*Maṣāḥif*, 10; *Itḳān*, i, 57-9). And several alternative accounts state explicitly that no official collection of the Ḳurʾān existed prior to ʿUthmān's. Caetani (*Annali*, ii/1, 713) and Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 20) have questioned the significance of the al-Yamāma battles as an occasion for an official collection of the Ḳurʾān, pointing out that very few men distinguished for their knowledge of the Ḳurʾān are mentioned in the lists of those who died there (Schwally found two). Even more significant is the fact that there is no evidence that the alleged collection under Abū Bakr was ever accepted as authoritative. Finally, this story fails to acknowledge the role of written copies of parts of the Ḳurʾān left by Muḥammad. These important documents for the history of the Ḳurʾān, alluded to in the statement that Zayd "used to write down the revelations for the Prophet", must have played a significant role in the preparation of an official text. There are thus sufficient grounds for rejecting the historicity of this story, the most likely purposes of which were to obscure Muḥammad's role in the preparation of a written Ḳurʾān, to reduce ʿUthmān's role in establishing an official text, and to attempt to establish the priority of the ʿUthmānic text over those of the (pre-ʿUthmānic) Companion codices. All three purposes would be accomplished by establishing the belief that the first official collection of the Ḳurʾān was prepared during the short reign of Abū Bakr and served as the basis for ʿUthmān's rescension. See *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 11-27; Bell-Watt, 40-2; Blachère, *Introd.*, 27-34; also Burton, *Collection*, 117-37 (on Burton's view, see below).

The accounts of the collection of the Ḳurʾān under ʿUthmān assert that the final consonantal text was established during the last half of his reign, or about twenty years after Muḥammad's death. According to the dominant version (al-Bukhārī, *loc. cit.*; *Maṣāḥif*, 18 f.; *Itḳān*, i, 58 f.; *Fatḥ al-bārī*, ix, 14 f.; *Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 47-50), the occasion for the final collection of the Ḳurʾān was a dispute between Muslim forces from ʿIrāḳ and Syria over the correct way of reciting it during communal prayers while on an expedition to Armenia and Ādharbāydjān. The general, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yaman, reported this problem to the caliph and asked him to establish a unified text. ʿUthmān obtained the "sheets" from Ḥafṣa and appointed a commission consisting of Zayd b. Thābit and three prominent Meccans, and instructed them to copy the sheets into several volumes following the dialect of Ḳuraysh, the main tribe of Mecca. When the task was finished ʿUthmān kept one copy in Medina and sent others to Kūfa, Baṣra, Damascus, and, according to some accounts, Mecca (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 112 f.), with an order that all other copies of the Ḳurʾān were to be destroyed. This was done everywhere except in Kūfa, where Ibn Masʿūd and his followers refused. The details differ in various versions of this story (*ibid.*, 50-4), mainly on the number and identity of the commissioners and the cities that received official copies.

This second collection story stands up to critical analysis no better than the first. Western scholars now accept the view argued by Schwally (*ibid.*, 57-62) and others that the Ḳurʾān is not in the dialect of the Ḳuraysh (see 6.a below). If this is so, one of the two main points of the story is discredited, and it is difficult to see what role the commission might have played. Schwally also showed (54-7) that those named in the various accounts are unlikely candidates for such a commission appointed by ʿUthmān, and he gave good reasons for doubting that the caliph would have ordered all extant copies of the Ḳurʾān to be destroyed. It also seems unlikely that differences in the way the Ḳurʾān was recited during the daily prayers would have caused serious dissension among Muslim forces involved in the initial conquests. These parts of the story all hint of a later historical setting. The Ḥafṣa element seems to be simply a device for tying the two collection stories together, while establishing an authoritative chain of custody for an official text going back almost to the time of the death of the Prophet, and explaining why this official text was not generally known (see Bell-Watt, 41 f.). For several alternative accounts that give completely different reasons and circumstances for ʿUthmān's order for an authorised text, see Burton, *Collection*, 138-59.

We thus have before us another story whose particulars cannot be accepted. But this does not mean necessarily that the story has no historical basis at all. The unanimity with which an official text is attributed to ʿUthmān, in the face of a lack of convincing evidence to the contrary, leads most Western scholars to accept one central point of this story: that the Ḳurʾān we have today, at least in terms of the number and arrangement of the *sūras* and the basic structure of the consonantal text, goes back to the time of ʿUthmān, under whose authority the official text was produced. This was, however, certainly not a *textus receptus ne varietur*, even in terms of its consonantal form (see below). Most Western scholars also accept one other element of the story: that Zayd played some role in establishing the ʿUthmānic text. Just what that role might have been is difficult to say; alternative accounts give several possibilities (see Burton, *Collection*, 117-26, 141-6, 150, 165-7, etc.). Burton contends that both collection stories are completely fictitious and that Zayd's prominence in the various accounts is due solely to the fact that he had been a young secretary to the Prophet and an early Ḳurʾān specialist who happened also to be one of the latest surviving Companions, dying *ca.* 45/665 (*Collection*, 120-4, 228, etc.). Burton has raised serious doubts about the role of Zayd in establishing the official text, and he has shown that the sciences of *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* influenced the proliferation of Ḳurʾān collection stories; but he has not demonstrated the likelihood of his main contention, that the collection stories were fabricated by later jurists to provide support for their abrogation theories by hiding the fact that the final text of the

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Ḳur'ān was produced, not by ʿUthmān, but by the Prophet himself.

b. Variant readings and Companion codices. The ʿUthmānic text tradition was only one of several that existed during the first four centuries A.H. The general view is that ʿUthmān canonised the Medinan text tradition and that this one was most likely the closest to the original revelation. Other text traditions, attributed to several Companions of the Prophet, are said to have flourished in Kūfa, Baṣra and Syria. The sources speak sometimes of various "readings" (*ḳirā'āt*, sing. *ḳirā'a*), i.e. different ways of reading or reciting the text, sometimes of "codices" (*maṣāḥif*, sing. *muṣḥaf*). On the usage of these two terms, see ḲIRĀ'A and *Materials*, 13 f. A number of works on the "disagreement of the codices" (*iḵhtilāf al-maṣāḥif*) are said to have been written by Muslim scholars of the first four centuries. Ibn al-Nadīm lists eleven such works (*Fihrist*, 16; tr. Dodge, 79, which is incomplete), including the *K. Iḵhtilāf maṣāḥif al-Sḥām wa 'l-Ḥidjāz wa 'l-ʿIrāḳ* by Ibn ʿĀmir al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 118/736), *K. Iḵhtilāf maṣāḥif ahl al-Madīna wa-ahl al-Kūfa wa-ahl al-Baṣra* by al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/805), *K. Iḵhtilāf ahl al-Kūfa wa 'l-Baṣra wa 'l-Sḥām fi 'l-maṣāḥif* by Abū Zakariyā al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), *K. Iḵhtilāf al-maṣāḥif wa-djamʿ al-ḳirā'āt* by al-Madā'inī (d. *ca.* 231/845), and three works each called simply *K. al-Maṣāḥif* by Ibn Abī Dāwūd (d. 316/928), Ibn al-Anbarī (d. 328/939), and Ibn Ashta al-Iṣfahānī (d. 360/970). Of these works, most of which have not survived, the last two seem to have been the most complete and the most highly regarded by later scholars. The shorter and somewhat earlier work by Ibn Abī Dāwūd, son of the famous traditionist, was edited by A. Jeffery and published with his *Materials*, which lists several thousand variants taken from over thirty "main sources" (see 17 f.), including the classical commentaries by al-Ṭabarī, al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍāwī, and al-Rāzī, and various works on *ḳirā'āt*, *shawādhdh*, *gharīb al-Ḳur'ān*, grammar, etc., including the *Maʿānī* by al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), the *Muḵhtaṣar* by Ibn Ḵhālawayh (d. 370/979), and the *Muḥtasab* by Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002) (see *Bibl.*). The comments made by al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) on variants (e.g. on XXIII, 106) show that the text of the Ḳur'ān was not fixed *ne varietur* in his day.

Most often mentioned in the sources are the "readings" or "codices" of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy, and Abū Mūsā, said to have been dominant in Kūfa, Syria and Baṣra respectively. All three codices are said to have been begun during Muḥammad's lifetime. ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd [see IBN MASʿŪD] (d. *ca.* 33/653), an early convert who became a personal servant to Muḥammad and accompanied him on many major occasions, is reported to have learned some seventy *sūras* directly from the Prophet, who appointed him as one of the first teachers of Ḳur'ān recitation (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 107). Later he was appointed to an administrative post in Kūfa by the caliph ʿUmar, and there he became a leading authority on the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*. Ibn Masʿūd is consistently reported to have refused to destroy his copy of the Ḳur'ān or stop teaching it when the ʿUthmānic recension was made official. Also, there are reports that many Muslims in Kūfa continued to follow his reading for some time after his death, thus dividing the community there. Ubayy b. Kaʿb [*q.v.*] (d. 18/639 or 29/649 or later), a Medinan Muslim who served as a secretary for the Prophet, seems to have been even more prominent as a Ḳur'ān specialist than Ibn Masʿūd during Muḥammad's lifetime. There are reports that he was responsible for retaining verbatim certain important revelations, apparently on legal matters, which from time to time the Prophet asked him to recite. Ubayy appears frequently and in a variety of roles in the various collection stories. For instance, the "sheets" of Ubayy are sometimes mentioned instead of those of Ḥafṣa, and he sometimes appears in place of Zayd, dictating the Ḳur'ān to a corps of scribes (see *Materials*, 114; Burton, *Collection*, 124 ff.). The accounts saying that when the ʿUthmānic text was made official, Ubayy destroyed his codex while Ibn Masʿūd refused to do so may be examples of historical telescoping, meaning that the people of Syria (possibly over a period of many years) gave up their distinctive reading (i.e. that of Ubayy), while the people of Kūfa refused to give up theirs (i.e. that of Ibn Masʿūd). This would explain the later dates sometimes given for Ubayy's death and the conflicting reports regarding his role in compiling the official text. Abū Mūsā ʿAbd Allāh al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*] (d. 42/662 or later) was a Yemenite famed for his eloquent recitation of the Ḳur'ān. His codex is said to have been accepted in Baṣra, where he served as governor under ʿUmar, and there are reports that his reading continued to be remembered and studied there for some time after ʿUthmān's text was made official. According to one account, when the messenger from ʿUthmān delivered the Baṣra copy of the new standard text, Abū Mūsā said to his followers: "Whatever you find in my codex that is not in his, do not remove it; but whatever you find missing [in mine], write it in" (*Maṣāḥif*, 13). This is consistent with other reports saying Abū Mūsā's codex was large and that it contained the two extra *sūras* of Ubayy's codex (see below) and other verses not found in other codices (*Materials*, 209-11).

In addition to these three codices, two of which are discussed in more detail below, Jeffery classified as "primary" the codices attributed to twelve other Companions of the Prophet: the second and fourth caliphs, ʿUmar and ʿAlī; three of Muḥammad's widows, Ḥafṣa bint ʿUmar, ʿĀ'isha bint Abī Bakr, and Umm Salama; four whose readings seem to have been variations of the Medinan text tradition, Zayd b. Thābit, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, Anas b. Mālik, and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr; and three others, Sālim the Client of Abū Ḥudhayfa, ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr, and Ibn ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [*q.v.*] (d. 40/661), cousin and son-in-law of Muḥammad, is often said to have been the first to collect the Ḳur'ān after the Prophet's death (e.g. *Fihrist*, 28; tr. Dodge, 62 f.). He is reported to have arranged the *sūras* in some sort of chronological order, e.g. XCVI, LXXIV, LXVIII, LXXIII, etc., and to have given up his codex to be burned when ʿUthmān's text was made official. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 68/688), also a cousin of Muḥammad, later gained fame as the doyen of early Ḳur'ān exegetes. He is said to have included in his codex the two extra *sūras* of Ubayy's text (see below), and several later scholars are said to have taken their readings from him. Sālim b. Muʿḳib (d. 12/633), sometimes called Sālim b. Maʿḳil (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 11, 20, etc.), one of the Ḳur'ān reciters killed in the battle of Yamāma, was one of four to whom Muḥammad is reported to have advised his followers to turn for guidance concerning the Ḳur'ān. ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr (d. 74/693) was an early Ḳur'ān reciter in Mecca; his codex may have been the basis for the Meccan text tradition, which seems not to have been as strong as those of Ḳūfa, Baṣra and Damascus (or Syria). Compared with the large number of variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd

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and Ubayy, relatively few are mentioned in the literature for these other codices. Jeffery also collected variants attributed to a number of Muslims of the second generation: al-Aswad b. Yazīd, ʿAlḳama, Ḥaṭṭān, Saʿīd b. Djubayr, Ṭalḥa, ʿIkrima, Mudjāhid, ʿAṭāʾ b. Rabāḥ, al-Rabīʿ b. al-Khuthaym, al-Aʿmash, Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ, Ṣāliḥ b. Ḳaysān, and al-Ḥārith b. Suwayd. More variants are attributed to some of these "secondary codices" than to most of the "primary" ones. In some cases, Jeffery was able to determine the primary codex from which a secondary one was derived.

Ibn Masʿūd's codex is said to have differed from the ʿUthmānic text in several important respects. The sources are fairly consistent in saying it did not contain the *Fātiḥa* and the two charms that became *sūras* I, CXIII, and CXIV of the ʿUthmānic text (see 4.a below). Variants in the *Fātiḥa* are, however, attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (*Materials*, 25), and Ibn al-Nadīm reported in 377/987 that he saw a number of Ibn Masʿūd Ḳurʾān manuscripts and that one that was about 200 years old included the *Fātiḥa* (*Fihrist*, 26; Dodge tr., 57 *f.*). Of the many variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 60-83; *Materials*, 25-113), some involve only different vowels with the same consonantal text, and some are purely orthographic, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd is said to have written *kulla mā* as two words rather than one in a number of places. But the vast majority of variants listed by Bergsträsser and Jeffery for Ibn Masʿūd involve differences in the consonantal text that would also show up in recitation. Of these, many may be regarded as explanatory glosses on the ʿUthmānic text; but in some cases it is the ʿUthmānic text that seems to contain an "expansion" or "improvement", sometimes apparently for theological reasons (see *Materials*, 17). Among the most questionable of the variants attributed to Ibn Masʿūd are the "Shīʿa readings", e.g. in V, 67, XXIV, 35, XXVI, 215, XXXIII, 25, 33, 56, XLII, 23, XLVII, 29, LVI, 10, LIX, 7, LX, 3, LXXV, 17-19 (see *ibid.*, 40, 65, 68, etc.). More difficult to evaluate are the numerous "synonym variants", as for example the following found in Sūra XXV, where, instead of the ʿUthmānic terms given in parentheses, Ibn Masʿūd is reported to have read *djaʿala*, "makes, brings about", in verse 48: "and He it is Who sends (*arsala*) the winds"; *li-nunshira*, "give life", in 49: "that We may give life (*li-nuḥyiya*) thereby to a dead land"; *ḳuṣūr*, "castles", in 61: "Blessed is He Who has placed in the heavens constellations (*burūdj*)"; *yatafakkara*, "ponder, consider", in 62: "for him who desires to remember (*yaḏḏḏakkara*)"; and *al-djanna*, "the Garden, Paradise", in 75: "They will be awarded the high place (*al-ghurfa*) inasmuch as they were steadfast". Just as frequent are cases where an entire phrase is different, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd's reading in III, 39: "Then Gabriel called to him, 'O Zachariah' ", instead of the ʿUthmānic reading, "Then the angels called to him as he stood praying in the sanctuary". Some variants may have significance for the early history of Islam or the history of the Ḳurʾān, e.g. Ibn Masʿūd's well-known reading *al-ḥanīfiyya*, "the way of the Ḥanīfs" [*q.v.*] instead of *al-islām* in III, 19: "Behold, the [true] religion (*dīn*) of God is Islam", and the fact that he is said to have included the *basmala* at the beginning of Sūra IX (see 4.c below). Also, the order of the *sūras* in Ibn Masʿūd's codex is said to have differed considerably from that of the ʿUthmānic text. Two slightly different, incomplete lists are recorded, the earlier one by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 26; Dodge tr., 53-7) and a later one by al-Suyūṭī (*Itḳān*, i, 64). The missing *sūras* in each list are included in the other, and it is possible to reconstruct a single list. The principle of arranging the *sūras* in order of descending length is followed more closely than in the ʿUthmānic text, but there is still considerable variation from this criterion (see Bauer, *Anordnung der Suren*, Table IV). Following the assumption that the longer *sūras* were not put together until the ʿUthmānic text was compiled, some scholars have concluded that the Ibn Masʿūd lists are "post-ʿUthmānic" and have little validity (e.g. *Materials*, 23 f.). But if most of the *sūras* were written down and put into approximately their final form during Muḥammad's lifetime, then there would be no strong reason for rejecting the validity of these reports outright.

Ubayy's codex seems according to the extant evidence to have been less important than Ibn Masʿūd's. It appears not to have been the source of any secondary codices, and very few unique variants are attributed to it. Most variants attributed to Ubayy are attributed also to either Ibn Masʿūd or Ibn ʿAbbās. Probably the best known feature of Ubayy's codex is that it is said to have included two short *sūras* not in the ʿUthmānic and Ibn Masʿūd texts, Sūrat al-Khalʿ, with three verses, and Sūrat al-Ḥafd, with six (see *Materials*, 180 f.). The order of *sūras* in Ubayy's codex is said to have differed from that of ʿUthmān's and Ibn Masʿūd's, and again we have two slightly different lists (*Fihrist*, 27; Dodge tr., 58-61; and *Itḳān*, i, 64). These lists are, however, less complete and less reliable than those given for Ibn Masʿūd, and some *sūras* are difficult to identify. Dodge (60) is probably correct in identifying *al-nabī* as Sūra LXVI, and Jeffery (*Materials*, 115) is no doubt mistaken in saying it is Sūra LXV. But Dodge is certainly wrong in reading *al-dīn* (one of the titles for Sūra CVII—see Paret, *Kommentar*, 554) as *al-līn* (the title of Sūra XCV), and in failing to recognise Ubayy's two famous extra *sūras* mentioned above. Ibn al-Nadīm states at the end of his list in the *Fihrist* that Ubayy's codex contained 116 *sūras*, and he reports that his source of information, al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, saw a copy of an Ubayy codex in a village near Baṣra in the middle of the 3rd century A.H.

Western scholarship has not reached a consensus on what value this mass of allegedly pre-ʿUthmānic variants has for our knowledge of the history of the Ḳurʾān. Confidence in the variants declined during the 1930s as they were being collected and analysed. Bergsträsser (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 77-83, 92-6) still gave a fairly positive appraisal, but Jeffery (*Materials*, 16) wrote: "With the increase of material one feels less inclined to venture on such a judgment of value", a view that came to be shared by O. Pretzl. Then after the project to prepare a critical edition of the Ḳurʾān came to a halt, A. Fischer (*Isl.*, xxviii [1948], 5) concluded that most of the allegedly pre-ʿUthmānic variants were later attempts by philologers to emend the ʿUthmānic text. Recently J. Burton (*Collection*, 199-212, etc.) and J. Wansbrough (*Quranic studies*, 44-6, 202-7, etc.) have concluded that, not just some, but all of the accounts about Companion codices, metropolitan codices, and individual variants were fabricated by later Muslim jurists and philologers; but they reach opposite conclusions on the reason for this hoax. Burton argues that the Companion codices were invented in order to provide a setting for the ʿUthmān collection story, which in turn was invented to hide the fact that Muḥammad himself had already collected and edited the final edition of the Ḳurʾān (211 f., 239 f.). Wansbrough, on the other

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hand, asserts that the collection stories and the accounts of the Companion codices arose in order to give ancient authority for a text that was not even compiled until the 3rd/9th century or later. He claims, without providing any convincing evidence, that the text of the Ḳur'ān was so fluid that the multiple accounts (e.g. of the punishment-stories) represent "variant traditions" of different metropolitan centres (Kūfa, Baṣra, Medina, etc.). Each writer has stressed a valid point, i.e., that Muḥammad played a larger role in compiling and editing the Ḳur'ān than is admitted by the traditional accounts (Burton), and that as late as the 3rd/9th century a consonantal *textus receptus ne varietur* still had not been achieved (Wansbrough). But both writers seem to have overstated their cases. Neither has given convincing reasons for his own hypothesis, or for the shared assertion that the Muslim accounts should be rejected altogether.

c. Establishment of the canonical text and readings. Historically, it is better to speak of the ʿUthmānic text and the oral tradition that accompanied it as evolving gradually over a period of about three centuries. The process by which this text came to prevail over its rivals and then became the foundation for several sets of accepted or "canonical" readings is far from clear, and the issues involved are complex. They include the difficult task of reconstructing the stages in the development of Ḳur'ānic orthography, the relationship between the written text and the oral tradition, and the tension between a critical evaluation of the historical evidence and the orthodox views on the Ḳur'ān.

From the beginning there were variations in the copies of the ʿUthmānic text. Even the official copies of the Medina standard codex (*al-imām*) sent to the main centres are said not to have been identical. Bergsträsser (*Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 6-19) lists and discusses a number of variations in the Medina, Damascus, Baṣra, Kūfa and Mecca copies of the ʿUthmānic text, reported in the *Muḥkam* of Abū ʿAmr al-Dānī (d. 444/1052) and in other works. E.g. the Damascus copy is said to have had *wa-bi 'l-zubur* and *wa-bi 'l-kitāb* instead of *wa 'l-zubur* and *wa 'l-kitāb* in III, 184, and *minkum* instead of *minhum* in XL, 21; and the Kūfa copy is said to have had *ʿamilat* instead of *ʿamilat-hu* in XXXVI, 35, and *aw an* (which occurs in the Egyptian standard edition) instead of *wa 'an* in XL, 26. These differences are of course minor, but they do involve changes in the consonantal forms. Such variations can best be explained as resulting from carelessness on the part of the scribes or lack of concern for exact uniformity among the authorities.

Deficiencies in the Arabic script used in the earliest copies of the Ḳur'ān led to further differences, in the oral tradition as well as the text tradition. During the first Islamic century, Arabic was written in a so-called *scriptio defectiva* in which only the consonants were given, and in several instances the same form was used for two or more consonants, e.g. *d* and *dh*, *ḥ* and *kh*, and even very different phonemes such as *r* and *z*, and in some positions *b*, *t*, *th*, *n*, and *y*. Since no diacritical points or vowel signs were included, the vocalisation was moreover left to the reader. This meant that even when there was agreement on the consonants, some verbs could be read as active or passive, some nouns could be read with different case endings, and some forms could be read as either nouns or verbs. The lists compiled by Jeffery in his *Materials* contain many examples of canonical and non-canonical variants based on forms that are indistinguishable in the *scriptio defectiva* of early Ḳur'ān manuscripts. In most cases the meaning is affected very little, as for example whether *kabīr* or *kathīr* is read in II, 219 (the latter was read by Ibn Masʿūd and two of the Seven, Ḥamza and al-Kisā'ī—see below), or *ḥadab*, "mound", or *djadath*, "tomb", is read in XXI, 96 (the latter was read by Ibn Masʿūd and others). In some instances the alteration of a case ending or some other slight change in the vowelling does significantly affect the meaning (see KHATT and Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 122 ff.).

During the Umayyad period (41-132/661-750) the ʿUthmānic text tradition became more and more diverse, and new readings arose combining elements of the ʿUthmānic and Companion oral and text traditions, especially those of Ibn Masʿūd and Ubayy. By early ʿAbbāsid times there was such a confusion of readings that it became impossible to distinguish ʿUthmānic from non-ʿUthmānic ones, or to recover with confidence the "original" ʿUthmānic text. Some order was brought to this confusion by the establishment of a *scriptio plena*, a fully vowelled and pointed text. Muslim accounts of the introduction of this improved script are unreliable because they vary so much and are not consistent with palaeographical evidence (Blachère, *Introd.*, 78-90). A popular view is that al-Ḥadjdjādj was responsible for introducing vowel signs and dots for the consonants when he was governor of ʿIrāḳ (74-95/694-714). But Ḳur'ān manuscripts from the first three or four Islamic centuries show that a *scriptio plena* came to be accepted very slowly. Dots of different colours or in different positions (above, below, and beside the consonants) were used to indicate the three short vowels in some fairly early manuscripts, and in some, but not all, later ones. Strokes or dots for distinguishing consonants, as well as other signs for doubled consonants, pauses, and even the finer points of recitation, were introduced later (see KHATT, *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 19-57 and N. Abbott, *Rise of the North Arabic script*, 17-44; on the difficulty of dating these early manuscripts, see A. Grohmann, *The problem of dating early Qur'āns*, in *Isl.*, xxxiii [1958], 213-31).

By the early 4th/10th century the improved Arabic script was widely, although not universally, accepted by Ḳur'ān scholars. One result of the general use of the more precise script was that the differences in the texts became more pronounced, and this caused heated disputes as to which reading was the correct one. Another result was that it became possible for the authorities to enforce a greater measure of uniformity. The central figure in what became the most important Ḳur'ān reform since the time of ʿUthmān was Abū Bakr b. Mudjāhid (d. 324/936). His aim was to restrict the number of acceptable readings, accept only those based on a fairly uniform consonantal text, renounce the attempts of some scholars to achieve absolute uniformity (something which he realised was impossible), and at least ameliorate if not bring to an end the rivalry among scholars, each of whom claimed to possess the one correct reading. With a stroke of genius he chose seven well-known Ḳur'ān teachers of the 2nd/8th century and declared that their readings all had divine authority, which the others lacked. He based this on the popular *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet says the Ḳur'ān was revealed to him in "seven *aḥruf*" (al-Bukhārī, *Faḍā'il al-Ḳur'ān*, *bāb* 4; Muslim, *Ṣalāt al-musāfirīn*, trads. 270-4, etc.). The meaning of this expression in the *ḥadīth* is uncertain, the term *aḥruf* being the plural of *ḥarf*, "letter" (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 48-51, iii, 106 f.). Ibn Mudjāhid interpreted the ex-

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pression to mean "seven readings". His view, worked out in a book called *al-Ḳirā'āt al-sab'a*, "The Seven Readings", came at just the right time. It was adopted by the *wazīrs* Ibn Muḳla and 'Alī b. 'Īsā [*q.vv.*] and made official in the year 322/934 when the scholar Ibn Mīḳsam was forced to retract his view that the consonantal text could be read in any manner that was grammatically correct. The following year another Ḳur'ān scholar, Ibn Shanabūdh [*q.v.*], was similarly condemned and forced to renounce his view that it was permissible to use the readings of Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy.

Selecting several rival systems and declaring them equally authoritative was of course the same method used elsewhere by Muslims to avert endless disputes, e.g. the four Sunnī legal schools. But Ibn Mudjāhid's system of seven readings was not completely arbitrary. Strong Ḳur'ān traditions existed in Kūfa, Baṣra, Medina and Damascus; and Mecca also had its own tradition. Kūfa stood out above the others as the leading centre for Ḳur'ān studies and the seat of several rival traditions. So Ibn Mudjāhid selected one reading each for Medina, Mecca, Baṣra and Damascus—those of Nāfi' (d. 169/785), Ibn Kathīr (d. 120/737), Abū 'Amr (d. 154/770), and Ibn 'Āmir (d. 118/736), respectively—and three for Kūfa, those of 'Āṣim (d. 127/744), Ḥamza (d. 156/772), and al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/804). His attempt to limit the number of canonical readings to seven was not acceptable to all, and there was strong support for alternative readings in most of the five cities. Eventually scholars began to speak of the Ten readings, and even the Fourteen. The most widely accepted of these, the so-called "three after the seven" are the readings of Abū Ja'far (d. 130/747), Ya'ḳūb al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 205/820), and Khalaf (d. 229/843). Among the "four after the ten", two deserve special notice, the readings of the famous al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728) and al-A'mash (d. 148/765), of Baṣra and Kūfa respectively. For each of the Ten, two slightly different "versions" (sing. *riwāya*) came to be accepted according to scholars of a generation or two later, e.g. the "versions" of Warsh (d. 197/812) and Ḳālūn (d. 220/835) for the reading (*ḳirā'a*) of Nāfi', those of Ḥafṣ (d. 190/805) and Shu'ba (d. 194/809) for 'Āṣim, and those of Khalaf (mentioned above) and Khallād (d. 220/835) for Ḥamza. For complete lists and discussion of this development, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 169-90, and Blachère, *Introd.*, 116-35.

During the 5th/11th century the exclusive authority of the Seven began to prevail, and several works were written on them, e.g., the *K. al-Taysīr* by al-Dānī (d. 444/1053) (see *Bibl.*), which replaced Ibn Mudjāhid's work. The seven came to be followed exclusively in public readings, while the others continued to be used in Ḳur'ān commentaries and works on philology, grammar, etc. The Ḳur'ān readers (*ḳurrā'*), who maintained a lively tradition, continued at least a scholarly interest in the "three after the seven", and further refinements were made in all of the Ten readings. Two "ways" (*turuḳ*, sing. *ṭarīḳ*) of reciting each "version" (*riwāya*) came to be accepted, and then two more "ways" for each *ṭarīḳ*, making altogether eighty "ways" of reciting ten "readings". See Labīb as-Said, *The recited Koran*, Princeton 1975, including a complete list of the eighty, 127-30; on the readings, see ḲIRĀ'A, and on methods of reciting, TADJWĪD.

At the present, only two "versions" are in general use, that of Ḥafṣ *'an* 'Āṣim, which for centuries has been followed in most regions and in 1924 was given a kind of official sanction by being adopted in the Egyptian standard edition of the Ḳur'ān, and that of Warsh *'an* Nāfi', followed in parts of Africa other than Egypt. The latter was used by the Yemenite scholar al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), in the manuscript of his Ḳur'ān commentary (see *Bibl.*), but in the printed edition the Ḥafṣ *'an* 'Āṣim reading was substituted. The Egyptian standard edition is now regarded as the best of the Ḳur'ān so far available, although it was based on oral tradition and late *ḳirā'āt* literature and is not always consistent with the oldest and best sources (see G. Bergsträsser, *Koranlesung in Kairo*, in *Isl.*, xx [1932], and O. Pretzl, "Anmerkungen" to *Orthographie und Punktierung des Korans*, 1932).

The history of the text of the Ḳur'ān is yet to be written. One aspect of this task is a thorough analysis of the relationship between the Seven or the Ten and all the other readings, including the Companion codices. Until such an analysis is undertaken it will not be possible to give a final evaluation of the sources. The variants found in the "four after the ten" often involve a consonantal text that differs from that of the majority among the Ten (i.e., the "'Uthmānic text"), and they sometimes have completely different words—see, e.g., the references to the readings of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and al-A'mash in *Materials*, especially in the listings for Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubayy. A rough survey of Jeffery's lists shows that Ibn Mas'ūd's variants agree fairly frequently with those of two of the Seven from Kūfa, Ḥamza and al-Kisā'ī, as is to be expected, and even more frequently with those of al-Ḥasan and al-A'mash (the latter was also a Kūfan reader). Ubayy's variants agree fairly frequently with those of two others among the Seven, Ibn Kathīr and Abū 'Amr (from Mecca and Baṣra), and also with those of al-Ḥasan and al-A'mash, but somewhat surprisingly not with those of Ibn 'Āmir, the only reader from Damascus among the Fourteen. This important aspect of the history of the Ḳur'ān deserves a thorough scientific study, preferably with the use of a computer. On the question of the completeness and authenticity of the Ḳur'ān, see Bell-Watt, 50-6; for a clear statement and defence of the modern orthodox position, Labīb as-Said, *op. cit.*, 19-41.

4. Structure

a. The *sūras* and their names. The Ḳur'ān consists of 114 sections of widely varying length and form called *sūras*, which are divided into a number of verses (*āyāt*), ranging from three to 286 or 287. As shown above, the terms *sūra* and *āya* both occur within the text of the Ḳur'ān, but it is not certain that either has its present meaning there, i.e., refers to the present *sūras* and verses. *Sūra* is sometimes translated "chapter", but this is misleading. The first *sūra*, *al-Fātiḥa*, "The Opening" [*q.v.*], is a prayer, and the last two, known as *al-mu'awwidhatān*, "the two [*sūras*] of taking refuge", are charms or incantations. These three serve as a kind of introduction and two-part conclusion to the Ḳur'ān. Except for a few other very short *sūras* near the end (e.g. CIX, CXI, CXII), very few treat a single topic (XII, on the story of Joseph, and LXXI, on Noah, are notable exceptions) or otherwise appear to be structured entities (e.g. XXVI and LV). Most of the *sūras* consist of several segments or pericopes that are only loosely connected, often with little or no apparent connection of thought. Some short *sūras* (e.g. CIII, CVIII) seem to be isolated fragments; and it is not unlikely that some of the present *sūras* or parts of them were once joined with others. For instance,

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Ubayy b. Ka'b and other early authorities are reported to have regarded CV and CVI as a single *sūra* (see *Itḳān*, i, 186 f.; *Materials*, 179; Birkeland, *The Lord guideth*, 100-30).

After the *Fātiḥa*, the *sūra*s are arranged roughly in order of descending length, beginning with "The Cow" (II), with over 700 lines (60 pages) in a modern printed copy of the Egyptian standard edition, and ending with several *sūra*s with just two or three lines. Actually, the *sūra* called "Abundance" (CVIII), mentioned above as a possible fragment, has the distinction of being the shortest, having only ten words. The length of the *sūra*s was only one of several factors affecting the arrangement of the Ḳur'ān. If the *sūra*s were exactly in order of length, the first thirty would be: II, IV, III, VII, VI, V, IX, XI, XVI, X, XII, XVII, XVIII, XXVI, XXVIII, XX, XXIV, XXXIII, XXII, VIII, XXI, XL, XXXIX, XXVII, XXIII, XXXVII, XIX, XXV, XLIII, and XXXIV. Note that Sūra VIII (which is 20th in order of length) and XIII, XIV, and XV (not in this list) are much too short for their positions, while XXXIX, XL, and XLIII are too long. The explanation for these last two groups is clear: XIII, XIV, and XV begin with the "mysterious letters" *al(m)r* and were kept with the other *alr sūra*s, X-XII, while XL and XLIII begin with *ḥm* and were kept with the other *ḥm sūra*s, a group to which XXXIX also belongs (see 4.d below). Other factors that influenced the order of the *sūra*s include their dates, main topics, and introductions. For instance, LVII-LXVI are a group of Medinan *sūra*s kept together in spite of varying lengths (see also their introductory formulas); X-XV, besides being *alr sūra*s, all feature prophet stories and are named after prophets, except for XIII, which has *almr*; and XXXIV and XXXV begin with the same formula, as do LXV and LXVI, and several groups of *sūra*s with the same mysterious letters (see below); cf. also LXXIII and LXXIV, LXXXV and LXXXVI, and others that begin with oaths. For complete lists of the *sūra*s and their relative lengths, see Bell-Watt, 206-12, and Bauer, *Anordnung der Suren* (see *Bibl.*).

Muslim writers normally refer to the *sūra*s by their names rather than their numbers. Since the names were not established during Muḥammad's lifetime and did not come to be regarded as parts of the text, most *sūra*s came to be known by more than one name. The Egyptian standard edition has had a considerable impact in establishing uniform names, and most of the alternative ones are no longer used. Notable exceptions are the continued use by Indo-Pakistani writers (and also Pickthall's translation of the names *Banī Isrā'īl* for Sūra XVII, *al-malā'ika* for XXXV, *al-mu'min* for XL, *al-ṣaffāt* for LXXXIII, *al-inshirāḥ* for XCIV, *al-zilzāl* for XCIX, and most also use *ḥā'mīm* for XLI, *al-dahr* for LXXVI, and *al-lahab* for CXI. Flügel and thus Bell and other European writers use *al-malā'ika* for XXXV, *al-mu'min* for XL, *alam nashraḥ* for XCIV, and *tabbat* for CXI. A complete list of the *sūra* names and abbreviations found most often in the literature on the Ḳur'ān is given in Paret, *Kommentar*, 551-9. Most of the *sūra* names do not indicate the subject-matter, as would normally be expected of a title. Instead they are taken from a key term or catchword that would identify the *sūra* for those who had them memorised, showing that the names arose within the oral rather than the written tradition.

The *sūra* names used in the Egyptian standard edition can be classified as follows: (1) Just over half of the *sūra*s take their names from key words at or near the beginning of the *sūra*s. The method most often used is to name the *sūra* for the first rhyme-word, i.e., the last word of the first verse. This is done in 30 *sūra*s: XX**, XXIII, XXX, XXXVI**, LII*, LIV, LVI, LXIX*, LXXIII-V, LXXXIII, LXXXV-VIII, LXXXIX*, XC, XCIII*, XCVII-VIII, CI*, CII, CIII*, CV-VI, CVIII-IX and CXIII-XIV. In the eight marked with asterisks, the first rhyme-word is also the first word of the *sūra*, a method used in 14 other *sūra*s: XXXVII, XXXVIII**, L**, LI, LIII, LV, LXVIII, LXXVII, LXXIX, LXXX, XCI-II, XCV and C. The four marked with two asterisks are named for their mysterious letters. A further 18 are named for other key words in the first or second verse: VIII, XXV, XXXV, XLI, XLVII-VIII, LIX, LXIII, LXVII, LXX-LXXII, LXXVI, LXXVIII, XCVI, XCIX, CIX and CX. (2) In about one-third of the *sūra*s the name is a key term or catchword that occurs elsewhere in the *sūra*. In 16 of these this is the only occurrence of the term in the Ḳur'ān (given here without the definite article): Cow in II, 67-71; Table, V, 112-14; Heights, VII, 46-8; Ḥijr, XV, 80; Bee, XVI, 68; Cave, XVIII, 9 ff.; Poets, XXVI, 224; Ant, XXVII, 18; Spider, XXIX, 41; Luḳmān, XXXI, 12 f.; Troops, XXXIX, 71-3; Counsel, XLII, 38; Hobbling, XLV, 28; Sand-dunes, XLVI, 21; Apartments, XLIX, 4; and Mutual Fraud, LXIV, 9 (some first-word and first rhyme-word names listed above are also only occurrences). Only two of the narrative *sūra*s are named for a key term in the *sūra* that designates the single theme: Joseph (XII) and Noah (LXXI). Twelve are named for a key term that designates one of several themes or stories: Family of 'Imrān (III), Women (IV), Jonah (X), Hūd (XI), Abraham (XIV), Mary (XIX), Pilgrimage (XXII), Confederates (XXXIII), Sheba (XXXIV), and three listed above—Ḥijr, Cave, and Luḳmān. Seven are named for other striking terms that occur also in other *sūra*s: Cattle (VI), Thunder (XIII), Light (XXIV), Ornaments (XLIII), Smoke (XLIV), Iron (LVII) and Ranks (LXI). (3) The names of 14 *sūra*s do not occur in these *sūra*s, and most do not occur anywhere in the Ḳur'ān. Most of these names are based on verbs that do occur, usually near the beginning of the *sūra*: Night Journey (XVII), Prostration (XXXII), Disputer (LVIII), Woman Tested (LX), Congregation (LXII), Divorce* (LXV), Prohibition (LXVI), Veiling (LXXXI), Splitting (LXXXII), Rending (LXXXIV), and Expanding (XCIV). The names of the other three were chosen to indicate the function of the *sūra*, The Opening (I), or the main theme, Prophets* (XXI) and Unity (of God) (CXII). Only the two terms with asterisks occur elsewhere in the Ḳur'ān. On the names and abbreviations used for the *sūra*s, see Paret, *Kommentar*, 545-50.

b. The verses. Like the *sūra*s, the verses vary considerably in length and style. In some *sūra*s, which tend to be short and early, the verses are short and often rhythmic. Sometimes there even seems to be an element of metre (LXXIV, 1-7, XCI, 1-10; cf. XCIX, CIV), but this is caused by the repetition of certain grammatical forms and not by an effort to carry through a strict metre of either syllables or stresses. These short, rhythmic verses are often also difficult to translate or interpret because of their use of rare terms, symbolism, metaphor, and other "poetic" features. Most longer *sūra*s, and some short Medinan ones (e.g. LX, LXV), have longer, more prosaic verses, often with short statements or formulas attached to the ends in order to provide the rhyme. The one feature that all the verses have in

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common is that they end in an irregular rhyme or assonance (discussed in 6.c below). Because of the rhyme the verses form the most natural divisions of the text, and yet we cannot be certain where some verses originally ended. Verse divisions are not indicated in the oldest manuscripts, and they vary somewhat when they are marked, possibly reflecting differences in the early oral tradition that go back to revisions made in the text during the Prophet's lifetime. There is clear evidence that the rhyme and the verse divisions were altered in some *sūra*s, where passages originally in one rhyme were inserted into passages in another rhyme (see Bell-Watt, 89 ff.). But the main reason for the variation in the verse divisions is that the rhyme or assonance is usually formed by certain grammatical forms and endings that occur frequently in Arabic, and thus within many of the longer verses.

Several different systems of verse division and numbering arose within the Muslim community. In his English translation M. Pickthall followed an Indian text tradition in which VI, 73 of the Egyptian standard text is divided into two verses, so that 74-165 become 75-166, XVIII, 18 is divided so that 19-110 become 20-111, and XXXVI, 34 and 35 are combined so that 36-83 become 35-82. The editors of the 1976 Festival edition (see *Bibl.*) adopted the Egyptian verse divisions and numbering throughout. Even where the verse divisions are the same, there are variations in the numbering in various Muslim editions of the Arabic text and translations, depending on whether or not the *basmala* and the mysterious letters are counted. The Egyptian standard edition counts the *basmala* (see below) as verse 1 only in the *Fātiḥa*, and is inconsistent in counting the mysterious letters, counting them as a separate verse (verse 1) in *sūra*s II, III, VII, XIX, XX, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXVI and XL-XLVI, except that in XLII *ḥm* and *'sḳ* are counted as two verses. In all other cases the mysterious letters are regarded as the beginning of verse 1. Pickthall counted these letters as a separate verse in the same *sūra*s as in the Egyptian edition and also in X and XXXVIII. Some Indo-Pakistani Arabic texts and translations of the Ḳur'ān, e.g., those of Pir Salahaddin, M. Zafrulla Khan and M. G. Farid, always count the *basmala* as verse 1.

The Arabic text of the Ḳur'ān most widely used in the West until recently is that of Gustav Flügel (1834), which does not follow any one Oriental text tradition. In an effort to establish an improved text, Flügel made many changes in the verse divisions, altering the numbering in slightly over half the *sūra*s. The verse divisions and numbering are the same in the Egyptian and Flügel editions only in *sūra*s XV, XLVIII-IX, LI-II, LIV, LIX-LXX, LXXIII, LXXV-VII, LXXIX, LXXXI-VIII, XC-XCVII, XCIX, C, CII-V and CVII-XIV. The Flügel text never counts the *basmala* as a verse, and never counts the mysterious letters as a separate verse, but always as the beginning of verse 1. The English translations by R. Bell and A. J. Arberry follow the Flügel numbering. The Italian translation by A. Bausani and the English by A. H. Siddiqui follow the Egyptian numbering, as does Yusuf Ali, usually but not always. The German translation by R. Paret and the French by R. Blachère give both numberings, Paret giving the Egyptian first, Blachère the Flügel first. For a complete list of the differences in these two numbering systems and a table for converting the Flügel numbers to Egyptian, see Bell-Watt, 202 f. The standard work on the various Islamic numbering systems is A. Spitaler, *Die Verszählung des Koran nach islamischer Überlieferung*, Munich 1935.

c. The *basmala*. At the beginning of each *sūra* except IX stands the *basmala*, the formula, *bismi 'llāhi 'l-raḥmāni 'l-raḥīm*, which can be interpreted or translated at least three ways: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate" (e.g., Bell, Arberry); "In the name of God, the compassionate Merciful (One)" (cf. Blachère); or "In the name of the merciful and compassionate God" (cf. Paret). This formula occurs one other time in the Ḳur'ān, in XXVII, 30, as the opening of Solomon's letter to the queen of Sheba. The elements of the *basmala* also occur separately: *bismi 'llāh* (without the *alif* in *bismi*, as in the *basmala*) occurs once, in XI, 41, and the twin attributes, *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, occur together four more times, in I, 3, II, 163, XLI, 2 and LIX, 22. It may be significant that whenever these attributes appear together, including in I, 1 and XXVII, 30, *al-raḥīm* always serves as a rhymeword. *Al-raḥmān*, always with the definite article, occurs within the text 57 times altogether—i.e. counting I, 1, but not the other occurrences of the *basmala* at the head of the *sūra*s. *Al-raḥīm* occurs 33 times with the definite article, and frequently without. The fact that the last two terms of the *basmala* occur together elsewhere in the Ḳur'ān following the same pattern as many other pairs of divine attributes (see 6.c below) suggests that the first of the three interpretations given above is the best (cf. Jomier, *Le nom divin "al-Raḥmān" dans le Coran* [see *Bibl.*]).

On the origin of the *basmala* and its placement at the head of the *sūra*s there is difference of opinion. Some Muslims believe that this formula was part of the revelation and was included at the head of the *sūra*s from the beginning. Textual evidence within the Ḳur'ān, supported by other early historical evidence, suggests that this is not the case. "Allāh" in the *basmala* is clearly the preferred name for God, and *al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm*, according to their Ḳur'ānic usage, are either names or epithets for God. Yet these names are conspicuously absent in earlier parts of the Ḳur'ān, where Muḥammad's Lord is referred to as *rabb*, "Lord", and the Ḳur'ānic formula that occurs during this early period is *bi 'smi rabbika*, "in the name of thy Lord", occuring in LVI, 74, 96, LXIX, 52, and XCVI, 1 (in this formula *bi 'smi* has the *alif*). Then, possibly as much as two years or even more after the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry, the names al-Raḥmān and Allāh were introduced into the revelation. For a while the name al-Raḥmān was preferred; see, e.g., XIII, 30, XXV, 60 and sixteen times in XIX. Ḳur'ānic evidence supports the testimony of early Muslim scholars who report that the Meccans refused to accept al-Raḥmān as the name of God, while they did know Allāh as a type of "High God" (see W. M. Watt, *Belief in a "High God"*, in *JSS*, xvi [1971], 35-40). The next stage in this development is seen in XVII, 110, a key verse that says Muslims may use either name, Allāh or al-Raḥmān; but the effect of this verse was to replace al-Raḥmān with Allāh as the primary or preferred name for God, as is seen in XIII, 16, XXXIV, 24 and many other verses that parallel the earlier al-Raḥmān contexts. After the revelation of XVII, 110 the term *al-raḥmān* seldom if ever occurs in the Ḳur'ān alone, and it loses its significance as a proper name for God, partly by being connected with *al-raḥīm* and the Arabic root *r-ḥ-m*. Further evidence for the conclusions stated here are given in Welch, *Allāh and other supernatural beings* (see *Bibl.*); on the foreign origin of *al-raḥmān* and its

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use in Arabia as a proper name for God before and during the time of Muḥammad, see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 112 f.; Horovitz, *Jewish proper names*, 57-9; *Foreign vocab.*, 140 f.; and BASMALA.

The evidence seems to indicate that the *basmala* came into use as a result of this controversy over divine names, probably a short time after the revelation of XVII, 110. It is possible that the *basmala* was formed from existing Ḳur'ānic expressions, i.e. *bismi 'llāh* in XI, 41 and *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* in what is now I, 3; but it seems much more likely that the *Fātiḥa* and all Ḳur'ānic occurrences of these twin attributes date from after XVII, 110. It also seems likely that the *basmala* was not originally part of the Fātiḥa; note that the Ḳur'ān scholars of Medina, Baṣra, and Syria did not count it as a verse in the *Fātiḥa*, and that this *sūra* without the *basmala* is often referred to as *al-ḥamd*, which may have been its original title [see BASMALA]. As soon as the *basmala* came into use, Muḥammad no doubt used it to introduce each recitation of a portion of the Ḳur'ān. Since many *sūras* contain passages from different periods (see 5.c below), Muḥammad must have recited the *basmala* before many segments that are now in the middle of the *sūras*. Only when the *sūras* reached their final, written form, in some cases after Muḥammad's death, was the *basmala* placed at the beginning of each *sūra* as we have it today.

d. The mysterious letters. At the beginning of 29 *sūras* just after the *basmala* stands a letter or group of letters called in Arabic *fawātiḥ al-suwar*, "the openers of the *sūras*", *awā'il al-suwar*, "the beginnings of the *sūras*", *al-ḥurūf al-muḳaṭṭa'a/āt*, "the disconnected letters", etc., but generally referred to in European languages as "the mysterious letters". They are recited as letters of the alphabet, and for 14 centuries they have intrigued and baffled Muslim scholars. Some saw them as abbreviations, e.g. *alr* for *al-raḥmān*, *alm* for *al-raḥīm*, *ḥm* for *al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*, *ṣ* for *ṣādi yā muḥammad*, *ys* for *yā sayyid al-mursalīn*, etc. ʿIkrima and others relate from Ibn ʿAbbās the view that *alr*, *ḥm*, and *n* together stand for *al-raḥmān* (*Itḳān*, ii, 9). Others concluded that the letters are not abbreviations, but offered a variety of alternative explanations, that they are sounds meant to arouse the attention of the Prophet or to captivate his audience so they would be more attentive, mystical signs with symbolic meaning based on the numerical value of the Arabic letters, (written) signs of separation (*fawāṣil*) between the *sūras*, simply Arabic letters attesting that the revelation is in the familiar language of the people, etc. Al-Suyūṭī (*ibid.*, 10) mentions, for instance, a tradition related by Ibn Isḥāḳ on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās in which a group of Jews tell Muḥammad that the numerical value of the letters would indicate the number of years his community would last. At first they heard him recite *alm* (1 + 30 + 40 = 71), and said it would last 71 years. Then they heard *almṣ* (1 + 30 + 40 + 60) suggesting 131 years, then *alr* (1 + 30 + 200) or 231 years, and then *almr* or 271 years. In the end they concluded that the matter was ambiguous. Al-Suyūṭī discusses these and many other possibilities (*ibid.*, 8-13) and concludes that the *fawātiḥ* are simply mysterious letters or symbols known fully only to God. Later Muslim scholars have tended to accept this view, although the abbreviation theory has remained popular. A few modern Muslims have put forward new variations of mediaeval suggestions, e.g. Hashim Amir Alī (see *Bibl.*) argues that all of the groups of letters, not just some of them, are vocatives addressed to the Prophet, and ʿAlī Nāṣūḥ al-Ṭāhir (see *Bibl.*) proposes that the numerical value of the letters represents the number of verses in the "original" (in most cases, Meccan) versions of the *sūras* or groups of *sūras* concerned. Citing the same examples as al-Suyūṭī (but not always the same values), al-Ṭāhir says, for instance, that Sūra VII, which has 205 verses and begins with *almṣ* (1 + 30 + 40 + 90 = 161), originally consisted of only the first 161 verses. In other cases he has to combine various groups of *sūras* in order to obtain the required number of verses. Thus, adding the 111 verses of XII and the "120 Meccan verses" of XI gives him 231, the value of the letters *alr* which occur at the beginning of these two *sūras* (and also X, XIV, and XV, which he does not mention). Sūra XIII, with *almr* (1 + 30 + 40 + 200 = 271), he argues has 40 Meccan verse which when added to the 231 of XI and XII gives the required 271. In response, it is sufficient to note that no *sūra* with the letters now has the same number of verses as the value of the letters, and in no case does al-Ṭāhir's suggested number of original or Meccan verses agree with the view given in the Egyptian standard edition, much less a critical view of the chronology of the *sūras* involved. This theory is a prime example of the way arbitrary speculation has been applied to these letters.

A number of Western scholars have taken up the challenge to explain these letters since the publication of Th. Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Qorāns* in 1860. Nöldeke suggested (215 f.) that they are the initials or monograms of the owners of the manuscripts used by Zayd when he first compiled the Ḳur'ān, e.g. *alr*[*z*] for al-Zubayr, *almr* for al-Mughīra and *ḥm* for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. These monograms, he said, got into the text by accident when later Muslims no longer knew their meaning. This view was widely accepted for a while in Europe and was taken up again and defended in 1901 by H. Hirschfeld (*New researches*, 141-3) who however regarded each letter as the initial of a different owner, *r*[*z*] for al-Zubayr, *m* for al-Mughīra, *ḥ* for Ḥudhayfa, etc. Hirschfeld's reason for rejecting the view that the letters went back to Muḥammad was that if they did "he must have had an important share in the arrangement of the *sūras*, and this would contradict all we know of the compilation of the Qorān" (141). But by the time Hirschfeld's book was published, Nöldeke had reversed his position, on the basis of a brief but insightful discussion on the subject by O. Loth (*Tabari's Korancommentar*, in *ZDMG*, xxxv [1881], 603 f.). According to Loth, the letters occur only in "late Meccan and early Medinan *sūras*" when Muḥammad was "drawing near to Judaism", and in some cases the beginning verses contain an allusion to the letters (i.e. "these are the signs (*āyāt*) of the Book"). He concluded that the letters are Cabalistic symbols standing for certain key words and phrases in the *sūras* before which they stand. Loth's arguments were sufficient to cause Nöldeke to abandon his earlier view and conclude that the letters are part of the revelation, having however no special meaning other than as mystical allusions to the heavenly Book (*Orientalische Skizzen*, 1892, 50 f., also stated in *Ency. Brit.*, 9th ed., xvi, 597 f.). F. Schwally, in a perceptive survey of the literature up to 1919 (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 68-78), wisely rejected Loth's abbreviation suggestions as being too arbitrary (73), while commending him on his main argument (73-5). Schwally could not, however, accept Nöldeke's later view, calling it "doubtful" and insisting that "the symbols are still somehow connected with the redaction of the *sūras*" (76). Leaving open the

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possibility that the letters are part of the revelation, Schwally made the following important statement: "If Muḥammad was indeed the originator of the symbols, then he must also have been the editor of the ciphered *sūras*. This would indeed contradict earlier prevailing views, but would agree with our earlier statements that the Prophet relied on secretaries to whom he dictated his revelations, that already his object was to produce a special book of revelation, and that the manner in which pieces from various periods but of similar content are strung together in certain *sūras* produces the impression that this editing originates from the Prophet himself" (77). Schwally was thus a harbinger of the work of Bell in the 1930s.

In the meanwhile, two more attempts were made to follow up on Loth's version of the abbreviation theory. In 1921 Hans Bauer (*Anordnung der Suren*) provided statistical evidence for Schwally's first point, that the letters are connected with the redaction of the *sūras*, but failed to follow up on the second. Instead, he offered an unconvincing list of catchwords for which the letters are said to be old abbreviations: *ys* for *yasʿā*, "he who runs", in XXXVI, 20; *ṣ* for *ṣāfināt*, "chargers", in XXXVIII, 31; *ḳ* for *ḳarīnuhu*, "he who is at his side", in L, 23 and 27, etc. For the groups of *sūras* with the same letters he sought some "inner or outer connection among the *sūras*", and suggested that *ṯs(m)* in XXVI-VIII stood for *ṭūr sīnīn*, "Mount Sinai", and Moses, and that *alm* stood for *al-maṯ̲ānī* (see 1.b above). Independently E. Goossens proposed a similar view in a 1923 *Isl.* article (see *Bibl.*), that the letters are abbreviations for discarded *sūra* titles: *ḳ* for *ḳur'ān*, *n* for *al-nūn*, "the fish", or *ḏ̲u 'l-nūn*, one of Jonah's titles, etc. The *alr sūras*, now named after individual messengers, he said once formed a *sūra*-group called *al-rusul*, "the messengers", and the *alm sūras* formed a similar group called *al-maṯ̲al*, "the parable". His most innovative suggestion was that some letters are remnants of titles that were discarded or abbreviated when some *sūras* were rearranged, e.g. *ys* (XXXVI) is the remnant of *al-yās* or *al-yāsīn* (two names for Elias in XXXVII, 123, 130), the title of an earlier *sūra* consisting of XXXVI + XXXVII, 1-182, and *ṣ* (XXXVIII) is the remnant of *al-ṣāffāt* (the first word and title of what is now XXXVII), the title of an earlier *sūra* consisting of XXXVII, 1-11 + XXXVIII. Bauer and Goossens inspired another abbreviation theory, that of Morris Seale (see *Bibl.*) who suggested that the letters served as mnemonics of the contents of the *sūras* involved. Seale accepted Bauer's Mount Sinai and Moses for *ṯs(m)* and Goossens' *al-rusul* for *alr*, but preferred *al-mawʿiẓa*, "admonition", for *alm* and *Yūnus* (Jonah) for *ys*. The diversity of these proposals and the fact that several alternative suggestions are often equally plausible demonstrate the futility of this approach, which also fails to respond to some of the textual evidence. In the end, what Schwally said of Loth's abbreviation suggestions applies also to those of Bauer, Goossens, and Seale.

James A. Bellamy in a 1973 *JAOS* article (see *Bibl.*) has proposed an abbreviation theory that attempts to avoid the arbitrariness of the others. Starting with the views recorded by the classical commentators that *alr*, *alm*, *almr*, *ḥm*, and *n* (letters that occur at the beginning of all but ten of the affected *sūras*) are abbreviations for *al-raḥmān* or *al-raḥīm* or both, Bellamy proposes that these letters stand for these terms in the *basmala*, and that all the other mysterious letters are also abbreviations for this formula. In order to accomplish this he suggests a number of emendations, so that *ṯ* and *ḵ* > *ba*, *ṣ* and *ḍ̲* > *m*, *y* > *b*, and *ʿ* > *bs* or *s*. Thus with the change of only one letter, *ṯsm*, *ṯs*, *ṯh*, *ys*, *almṣ*, *ṣ*, and *ḵ*, become *basm*, *bas*, *bah*, *bs*, *almm*, *m*, and *m*, all suitable abbreviations for the *basmala*. This leaves only *ḥmʿsḵ* and *khyʿṣ*, which with two and four changes respectively become *ḥm bsm* and *bah bsm*. Bellamy suggests that when the *basmala* was first introduced (in the "middle and late Meccan" *sūras*) it was abbreviated variously by the Prophet's scribes at the beginning of these 29 *sūras*, and that the later compilers, failing to recognise these abbreviations, gave them a permanent place in the text by writing the *basmala* out in full just before them. Most of Bellamy's suggested emendations are indeed plausible, but his theory as a whole is not consistent with some of the textual evidence (e.g. the letters are almost certainly not Meccan, but Medinan), does not answer some crucial questions (e.g. the relationship of the letters to their immediate contexts), and is based on several very unlikely assumptions (e.g. that a new formula was abbreviated a dozen different ways by unknown scribes in Mecca who died without revealing their meaning, that the well-known scribes in Medina knew nothing about the abbreviations, etc.).

Any solution to the puzzle of the mysterious letters must provide a reasonable theory that is consistent with all of the textual evidence, and the place to begin is the immediate contexts of the letters, which provide some important clues. The following list gives the *sūra* number, the position the *sūra* would have if all the *sūras* (except the Fātiḥa) were arranged exactly according to length (based on Bauer, *op. cit.*, Table II; see also Bell-Watt, 206-12, for the length of each *sūra*), the letters, and the opening formula or phrase:

2 (2)	*alm*	That is the Book, wherein is no doubt
3 (4)	*alm*	... He has sent down on thee the Book
7 (5)	*almṣ*	A Book sent down to thee
10 (11)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the Wise Book
11 (10)	*alr*	A Book whose signs are made clear
12 (12)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the clear Book; We have sent it down as an Arabic Ḳur'ān
13 (34)	*almr*	Those are the signs of the Book
14 (33)	*alr*	A Book We have sent down to thee
15 (41)	*alr*	Those are the signs of the Book and a clear Ḳur'ān
19 (29)	*khyʿṣ*	Mention of thy Lord's mercy to His servant Zechariah
20 (17)	*ṯh*	We have sent down the Ḳur'ān upon thee
26 (15)	*ṯsm*	Those are the signs of the clear Book
27 (25)	*ṯs*	Those are the signs of the Ḳur'ān and a clear Book
28 (16)	*ṯsm*	Those are the signs of the clear Book
29 (27)	*alm*	Do the people reckon that they ... will not be tried?
30 (36)	*alm*	The Romans have been vanquished
31 (46)	*alm*	Those are the signs of the wise Book
32 (54)	*alm*	The sending down of the Book wherein is no doubt
36 (40)	*ys*	By the wise Ḳur'ān ... the sending down of the Almighty
38 (39)	*ṣ*	By the Ḳur'ān, containing the remembrance
40 (23)	*ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God the Almighty
41 (37)	*ḥm*	A sending down from the Merciful, the Compassionate. A Book whose signs

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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	have been distinguished as an Arabic Ḳur'ān.
42 (35) *ḥmʿsḳ*	So reveals to thee and to those before thee God, the Almighty
43 (31) *ḥm*	By the clear Book. Behold, We have made it an Arabic Ḳur'ān
44 (55) *ḥm*	By the clear Book. We have sent it down in a blessed night
45 (47) *ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God, the Almighty
46 (42) *ḥm*	The sending down of the Book is from God, the Almighty
50 (52) *ḳ*	By the glorious Ḳur'ān
68 (62) *n*	By the Pen and what they inscribe

Two points, stressed by Schwally, Bauer, Loth and others but largely disregarded by all the abbreviation theories, stand out in this list: the mysterious letters influenced the final arrangement of the Ḳur'ān, and they are closely related to the introductory formulas and to the Book. Groups of *sūra*s with the same letters but with widely varying lengths have been kept together even though this violates the principle of arranging the *sūra*s according to length. This suggests that separate collections of *sūra*s with the same letters existed at the time of the compilation of the Ḳur'ān and that the redactors were hesitant to break them up. The most likely reason for this hesitancy is that they regarded the letters as part of the revelation, and the groups of *sūra*s as going back to the Prophet. In nearly every case the letters are followed immediately by a reference to some form of the revelation, usually a distinctive revelation formula or oath that mentions the Book or the Ḳur'ān or both (XXIX and XXX being obvious exceptions). In III this formula occurs in verse 2, which Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 75) says was probably the original beginning of the *sūra*. In XIX a Book formula, "Mention in the Book Mary (Abraham, etc.)", introduces five other accounts (verses 16, 41, 51, etc.), but what appears to be an older formula is retained at the beginning of the first (verse 2). The close connection between the mysterious letters and the Book is proved by the fact that, although many *sūra*s begin with formulas or oaths, only one other *sūra* opens with the same type of revelation formula, namely, XXXIX, which belongs with the *ḥm sūra*s. It begins exactly the same as three of them (XL, XLV and XLVI), it shares the same themes, and it is placed with them despite its length (see Bauer, Table II). Ubayy and others are in fact said to have read *ḥm* at the beginning of this *sūra* (*Materials*, 160). Revelation is mentioned in a few other *sūra* introductions, but they are different, e.g. XVIII and XXV begin with praise formulas (*al-ḥamdu li 'llāh* and *tabāraka*), XCVII with a *wa-mā adrāka* formula (see 7a below) and LV mentions *al-ḳur'ān* in verse 2, but is in a completely different style. There is also some correlation between specific formulas and groups of *sūra*s with the same mysterious letters, e.g. the *ṭsm sūra*s have the same formula, three of the *ḥm sūra*s have the same formula, and four with unique letters (*ys*, *ṣ*, *ḳ*, and *n*) begin with oaths.

Whether or not Loth is correct in saying that several of the introductory formulas contain allusions to the mysterious letters, there is other evidence that these letters are part of the revelation and were recited as separate letters from the beginning. For one thing, most of the groups of letters when recited as letters of the alphabet introduce the rhyme of their respective *sūra*s. The 17 *sūra*s with groups of letters ending in *īm*, *īn*, or *ūn* (i.e. six with *alif lām mīm*, six with *ḥā' mīm*, two with *ṭā' sīn mīm*, and one each with *ṭā' sīn*, *yā' sīn*, and *nūn*) all have this rhyme, with one partial exception. Sūra XX, on the other hand, with *ṭā' hā'*, has the *ā* rhyme (in verses 1-24); XXXVIII, with *ṣād*, has the rhyme *āḳ*, *āṣ*, etc.; XI, with *alif lām rā'*, has *īr*, *ūr* in verses 1-5; and XIII, with *alif lām mīm rā'*, and XLII, with *ḥā' mīm*, *ʿayn sīn ḳāf*, both have *īn*, *ūn* in verses 1-5, and then change to *āb*, *ār* and *īl*, *īr*, respectively. The correspondence is not exact, and there are exceptions, but this close relationship between the letters and the rhyme or assonance of the *sūra*s must be more than a coincidence.

Another striking fact that must be more than coincidental is that the mysterious letters represent every consonantal form in Arabic, while no form occurs for more than one letter. Thus we have *y* but no *b*, *t*, or *th*; *ḥ* but no *dj* or *ḵẖ*; *r* but no *z*; *s* but no *sh*; *ṣ* but no *ḍ*; *f* but no *ṯ*; *ʿ* but no *gẖ*; *ḳ* but no *f* or *w*; and *k* but no *d* or *dẖ*—along with each of the forms that represent only one letter, *'*, *l*, *m*, *n*, and *h* (note that in Kūfic Arabic *w* was written like *ḳ* and *f*, and *d* and *dẖ* were written like *k*, except that letters were not attached to the ends of *w*, *d*, and *dẖ*). The most reasonable explanation of the fact that these 14 letters, and no others, occur is that they were intended to represent the Arabic alphabet. If this is so, then the statements in the introductory formulas saying that the revelation was being sent down as a "clear Book" (*kitāb mubīn*) in Arabic take on new significance; other passages (XVI, 103, XXVI, 195) speak of the revelation being in "plain Arabic speech" (*lisān ʿarabī mubīn*). The fact that the literature on variant readings does not record differences in the way the 14 consonantal forms were recited seems to indicate that there was a strong oral tradition supporting the mysterious letters.

A number of questions still remain, but the evidence seems to support Loth, the later Nöldeke, Schwally, Bell, and Alan Jones (see *Bibl.*) in regarding the mysterious letters as part of the revelation. Moreover, Bell seems to have been correct in seeing the letters and the introductory formulas as part of the early Medinan revisions adapting the *sūra*s for inclusion in the written scripture Muḥammad was preparing. It is not unlikely that the *sūra*s with the letters are the ones Muḥammad prepared for the Book. The letters are significant for understanding the history of the text, and the chronology of the text is important for understanding the letters.

5. Chronology of the Text

The Ḳur'ān responds constantly and often explicitly to Muḥammad's historical situation, giving encouragement in times of persecution, answering questions from his followers and opponents, commenting on current events, etc. Major doctrines and regulations for the Muslim community, which are never stated systematically in the Ḳur'ān, are introduced gradually and in stages that are not always clear. There are apparent contradictions and inconsistencies in the presentation of both the beliefs and the regulations, and the latter are sometimes altered to fit new situations. Thus it is essential to know the approximate dates or historical settings of some passages, and at least the chronological order of others, if they are to be understood fully. This problem was recognised by early Muslim scholars who devoted much attention to it in the first few centuries, until a fairly rigid system of dating was established and given the imprimatur of orthodoxy. In modern times the study of the chronology of the Ḳur'ān has been almost exclusively a domain of

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Western scholars, who have not however been able to reach a consensus on a dating system, or even on the possibility of establishing one.

a. Historical references and allusions in the Ḳur'ān. The Ḳur'ān mentions specifically or alludes to a number of historical events in the life of Muḥammad and his contemporaries, but it gives no dates or other indications as to exactly when these events occurred. In most cases, the specific occasions alluded to and the dates of the passages involved cannot be determined. This is especially true for the period before the Hidjra in 622, for which there are only a few references to dateable historical events, and even if the events could be identified with certainty this would be of little help in dating the passages that refer to them, e.g. XXX, 2-5, mentions a military defeat of the Byzantines, presumably their loss of Jerusalem to the Persians in 614 (cf. also CV, believed to refer to a military expedition against Mecca in the middle years of the 6th century). There are many allusions to Muḥammad's personal situation in Mecca (e.g. the persecution he suffered, accusations made by his opponents, his early life and orphanhood) and to specific practices of the Meccans, but the passages that contain these allusions cannot be dated with any precision. It is only in the Medinan period that we have a number of passages that can be dated fairly precisely on the basis of references or allusions to specific historical events that can be dated from other sources. For instance, the battle of Badr (spring 624) and the battle of Ḥunayn (early 630) are mentioned by name in III, 123, and IX, 25, respectively. The change of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*] (direction one faces when performing the ritual prayer) from Jerusalem to Mecca in late 623 or early 624 is discussed in II, 142-50. The adoption of the ancient pilgrimage rituals about the time of the battle of Badr is discussed in II, 158, 198, V, 95 ff., etc., where the Ka'ba, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa (two ancient holy places in Mecca), Mount 'Arafāt, and al-Mash'ar al-Ḥarām (the sanctuary in Muzdalifa) are all mentioned by name. Muḥammad's adopted son, Zayd (b. Ḥāritha), is mentioned by name in XXXIII, 37 in connection with an episode that occurred in the spring of 627. And many other events are alluded to, although not by name: the battle of Uḥud (625) in III, 155-74; the expulsion of the Jewish tribe of al-Naḍīr (625) in LIX, 2-5; the Day of the Trench (627) in XXXIII, 9-27; the expedition to Khaybar (628) in XLVIII, 15; the expedition to Tabūk (630) in IX, 29-35, etc. All Ḳur'ānic dating systems, Muslim and non-Muslim, take these historical references and allusions in Medinan contexts as their starting-point.

b. Traditional Muslim dating. During the early Islamic centuries a number of passages in the Ḳur'ān came to be connected with stories that arose in the attempts to reconstruct the life of the Prophet, especially for the period in Mecca before the Hidjra: LIII, 1-18, and LXXX, 15-29, came to be interpreted as Muḥammad's call visions, while XCIV came to be associated with a story about the miraculous opening of his breast and purification of his heart, XCVI and LXXIV with his call to public prophethood, XVII, 1, with his Night Journey, etc. (see, e.g., al-Ṭabarī and al-Zamakhsharī, *ad locc.*; for the European literature, Paret, *Kommentar*, 460 f., 513-15, 493 and 295 f.). Other passages came to be connected with certain events in the life of the Muslim community: XIX is said to have been recited to the Negus of Abyssinia by Muḥammad's followers who were forced to emigrate from Mecca to escape persecution around 615; and a written copy of XX is said to have been involved in the conversion of 'Umar at about the same time. Early Ḳur'ān scholars also attempted to identify and explain vague allusions in the Ḳur'ān, e.g. they explained that the blind man alluded to in LXXX was a certain 'Abd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm, and that the man involved in a divorce dispute in LVIII was Aws b. al-Ṣāmit. And episodes related to IX, 40, XXIV, 11-20, XXXIII, 37-40, LXVI, 3-5, CXI, 1-5, and many others were similarly explained. From these stories and explanations there arose a separate genre of Islamic literature called *asbāb al-nuzūl*, "the occasions of the revelation", the prime example being a work of the same title by al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1075-6). This literature does not attempt to provide a complete system for dating the various parts of the Ḳur'ān, and only a small proportion of the text is treated. Also, there are a number of inconsistencies, e.g. whether XCVI or LXXIV was the "first revelation" (see *Itḳān*, i, 23 f.). Some of the stories and other explanations found in this literature and in the Ḳur'ān commentaries are obviously legendary, and in some cases the process by which these accounts came to be attached to Ḳur'ānic passages can be reconstructed (see, e.g., H. Birkeland, *The legend of the opening of Muhammad's breast*, Oslo 1955, and *The Lord guideth*, Oslo 1956, 38-55). Others probably have some historical validity, but there is often good reason to suspect elaborate embellishment. These accounts—historical, semi-historical, and legendary—came to be accepted, often without discrimination, as the basis for the traditional Muslim dating of the Ḳur'ān.

The adoption of the Ḳur'ān as a primary source for Islamic law played an important role in the establishment of a chronological order for the text. Rather than attempting to explain away the inconsistencies in passages giving regulations for the Muslim community, Ḳur'ān scholars and jurists came to acknowledge the differences, while arguing that the latest verse on any subject "abrogated" all earlier verses that contradicted it. A classic example involves the Ḳur'ānic teaching or regulation on drinking wine, where V, 90, which has a strong statement against the practice, came to be interpreted as a prohibition, abrogating II, 219, and IV, 43, which appear to allow it. This theory or doctrine of abrogation (*naskh*) has only limited support in the Ḳur'ān itself, since the verses on which it is based, especially II, 106, involve passages that are no longer in the Ḳur'ān. But a number of treatises on the subject influenced the development of the traditional dating of the Ḳur'ān by establishing a widespread belief in the chronological order of certain groups of isolated verses. Eventually, long lists of "abrogating and abrogated (verses)" (*al-nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh*) were drawn up, as jurists and others, in efforts to support their own views, sought out all possible inconsistencies and claimed that the "earlier" verses involved had been abrogated. See NASKH and TAFSĪR; *Itḳān*, ii, 20-7; Bell-Watt, 86-9; Burton, *Collection*, 46-104.

The task of dating parts of the Ḳur'ān and determining its chronological order was further complicated by the assumption that the present *sūras* were the original units of revelation, i.e. that except for a few verses in some *sūras*, each *sūra* was revealed all at once or during a short period of time before the next *sūra* was begun. This assumption led to the practice of designating each *sūra* as "Meccan" or "Medinan" (i.e. revealed before or after the Hidjra) and to attempts to determine the exact chronological order of all the *sūras* as wholes—rather than dealing with

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separate parts as in the *asbāb al-nuzūl* and *al-nāsiḵh wa 'l-mansūḵh* literature. But al-Suyūṭī's lists of *sūras* attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (d. *ca.* 68/688), Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma (d. *ca.* 112/730), and others show that the schools of these early Ḳur'ān scholars could not agree even on whether some *sūras* were "Meccan" or "Medinan", much less on their exact chronological order (*Itḳān*, i, 10 f.). Al-Bayḍāwī (d. 716/1316) classified the *sūras* as "Meccan", "Medinan", or "disputed", and included 17 in this last category: XIII, XLVII, LV, LVII, LXI, LXIV, LXXXIII, XCV, XCVII-C, CII, CVII and CXII-CXIV. The lists given by al-Suyūṭī show that there was also difference of opinion on six others: XLIX, LXII-LXIII, LXXVII, LXXXIX and XCII. The chronological order attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās (*ibid.*) came to be widely accepted, and with a few changes was adopted by the editors of the Egyptian standard edition of the Ḳur'ān (1322/1924), who indicated in the heading to each *sūra* the *sūra* revealed just before it and any verses that belong to a different period. Thus the heading for XIV reads: "Sūra of Abraham, Meccan, except verses 28 and 29 which are Medinan; it has 52 verses; it was revealed after Sūra of Noah".

The Egyptian standard edition gives the following chronological order of the *sūras*, with the verses said to date from a different period given in parentheses: XCVI, LXVIII (17-33, 48-50 Med.), LXXIII (10 f., 20 Med.), LXXIV, I, CXI, LXXXI, LXXXVII, XCII, LXXXIX, XCIII, XCIV, CIII, C, CVIII, CII, CVII, CIX, CV, CXIII, CXIV, CXII, LIII, LXXX, XCVII, XCI, LXXXV, CVI, CI, LXXV, CIV, LXXVII (48 Med.), L (38 Med.), XC, LXXXVI, LIV (54-6 Med.), XXXVIII, VII (163-70 Med.), LXXII, XXXVI (45 Med.), XXV (68-70 Med.), XXXV, XIX (58, 71 Med.), XX (130 f. Med.), LVI (71 f. Med.), XXVI (197, 224-7 Med.), XXVII, XXVIII (52-5 Med., 85 during Hidjra), XVII (26, 32 f., 57, 73-80 Med.), X (40, 94-6 Med.), XI (12, 17, 114 Med.), XII (1-3, 7 Med.), XV, VI (20, 23, 91, 114, 141, 151-3 Med.), XXXVII, XXXI (27-9 Med.), XXXIV (6 Med.), XXXIX (52-4 Med.), XL (56 f. Med.), XLI, XLII (23-5, 27 Med.), XLIII (54 Med.), XLIV, XLV (14 Med.), XLVI (10, 15, 35 Med.), LI, LXXXVIII, XVIII (28, 83-101 Med.), XVI (126-8 Med.), LXXI, XIV (28 f. Med.), XXI, XXIII, XXXII (16-20 Med.), LII, LXVII, LXX, LXXVIII, LXXIX, LXXXII, LXXXIV, XXX (17 Med.), XXIX (1-11 Med.), LXXXIII—Hidjra—II (281 later), VIII (30-6 Mec.), III, XXXIII, LX, IV, XCIX, LVII, XLVII (13 during Hidjra), XIII, LV, LXXVI, LXV, XCVIII, LIX, XXIV, XXII, LXIII, LVIII, XLIX, LXVI, LXIV, LXI, LXII, XLVIII, V, IX (128 f. Mec.), CX. Sūra II is the only one said to have an addition later in the same period. Sūras VIII, XLVII, and IX, all Medinan, are the only ones said to have earlier verses inserted into later *sūras*. Of the 86 Meccan *sūras*, 33 are said to have some Medinan verses. The traditional dating seen here is based on three assumptions: (1) that the present *sūras* were the original units of revelation, (2) that it is possible to determine their chronological order, and (3) that Tradition (including the *ḥadīṯ*, *sīra*, *asbāb al-nuzūl*, *al-nāsiḵh wa 'l-mansūḵh*, and *tafsīr bi 'l-maʾṯūr* literature) provides a valid basis for dating the *sūras*.

c. Modern Western dating. Since the mid-19th century, Western scholars have been applying critical methods to the Ḳur'ān in varying degrees, and have proposed a variety of dating systems. The one that has gained the most acceptance is that of what might be called the Four-period School, founded by Gustav Weil in his *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in der Koran* (1844, 1878). Weil reassessed the dating of the Ḳur'ān and offered his own chronological order of the *sūras* using three criteria: (1) references to historical events known from other sources, (2) the character of the revelation as reflecting Muḥammad's changing situation and roles, and (3) the outward appearance or form of the revelation (1st ed., 54 f.). His most notable contribution was his division of the "Meccan *sūras*" into three groups, thus establishing altogether four periods of revelation, with the dividing points at about the time of the emigration to Abyssinia (*ca.* 615), Muḥammad's return from al-Ṭāʾif (*ca.* 620), and the Hidjra (September 622). Weil's four-period dating system and his three criteria were then adopted, with some changes in the order of the *sūras*, by Th. Nöldeke in 1860 and F. Schwally in 1909 in their monumental *Gesch. des Qor.*, and then by R. Blachère in his *Introd.* (1947, 1959) and translation, *Le Coran* (1949-50, 1966). In the 1st ed. of his translation, Blachère arranged the *sūras* in what he took to be their chronological order; in the 2nd ed. the *sūras* were put in the traditional order (this 2nd ed. was meant for a wider public; but Blachère may also have felt, after deeper acquaintanceship with Bell's work, that it was not possible to arrange the *sūras* in an exact chronological order). In order to show the similarities and differences among the three versions of this four-period system, and to facilitate a comparison of this system with the traditional dating, the three European versions are all given below. The few verses in some *sūras* that are said to date from a different period are not indicated here, except where Blachère divided two *sūras* in the first edition of his translation.

The *sūras* of the First or Early Meccan Period tend to be short, with short, rhythmic verses. They often begin with a series of *kāhin*-style oaths, and the language is said to be full of "poetic imagery and power". Assuming a progressive deterioration of style, Weil placed in the First Period the *sūras* he felt have the most exalted poetic style, along with others that share the same themes and general style. The chronological order of the *sūras* of the First Period according to the three versions is as follows:
Weil: 96, 74, 73, 106, 111, 53, 81, 68, 87, 92, 89, 93, 94, 103, 100, 108, 102, 107, 109, 105, 113, 114, 112, 80, 97, 91, 85, 90, 95, 101, 75, 104, 77, 86, 70, 78, 79, 82, 84, 56, 88, 52, 69, 83, 99.
Nöldeke: 96, 74, 111, 106, 108, 104, 107, 102, 105, 92, 90, 94, 93, 97, 86, 91, 80, 68, 87, 95, 103, 85, 73, 101, 99, 82, 81, 53, 84, 100, 79, 77, 78, 88, 89, 75, 83, 69, 51, 52, 56, 70, 55, 112, 109, 113, 114, 1.
Blachère: 96^{1-5}, 74^{1-7}, 106, 93, 94, 103, 91, 107, 86, 95, 99, 101, 100, 92, 82, 87, 80, 81, 84, 79, 88, 52, 56, 69, 77, 78, 75, 55, 97, 53, 102, 96^{6-19}, 70, 73, 76, 83, 74^{7-55}, 111, 108, 104, 90, 105, 89, 112, 109, 1, 113, 114.

The *sūras* of the Second or Middle Meccan Period are longer and "more prosaic", but still with "poetic" qualities. In style they are said to form a transition between the *sūras* of the First and Third periods. The signs of God in nature and the divine attributes such as mercy (*raḥma*) are emphasised, and God is often called the Merciful One (*al-raḥmān*). There are vivid descriptions of paradise and the hellfire, and here too the punishment-stories are introduced. The *sūras* of the Second Period are (italics = Nöldeke only; parentheses = Blachère only):
Weil: 1, 51, 36, 50, 54, 44, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 67, 37, 38, 43, 71, 55, 15, 76.

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Nöldeke and Blachère: (51), 54, (68), 37, 71, 76, 44, 50, 20, 26, 15, 19, 38, 36, 43, 72, 67, 23, 21, 25, 17, 27, 18.

The *sūra*s of the Third or Late Meccan Period are even longer and "more prosaic", and Weil says the "poetic power" has been lost altogether. The revelation often takes the form of sermons or speeches, and the prophet stories and punishment-stories are retold in more and more detail. Nöldeke emphasises changes in vocabulary, but similarity of form, in Late Meccan and Medinan *sūra*s. The *sūra*s of the Third Period are:

Weil: 7, 72, 35, 27, 28, 17, 10, 11, 12, 6, 31, 34, 39, 40, 32, 42, 45, 46, 18, 16, 14, 41, 30, 29, 13, 64.

Nöldeke and Blachère: 32, 41, 45, (17), 16, 30, 11, 14, 12, 40, 28, 39, 29, 31, 42, 10, 34, 35, 7, 46, 6, 13.

The Medinan *sūra*s and their chronological order are determined by the subject matter of these revelations that reflect Muḥammad's growing political power and the general development of events in Medina after the Hidjra. New themes and key terms are said to help distinguish these *sūra*s from certain Late Meccan ones. The Medinan *sūra*s are:

Weil: 2, 98, 62, 65, 22, 4, 8, 47, 57, 3, 59, 24, 63, 33, 48, 110, 61, 60, 58, 49, 66, 9, 5.

Nöldeke and Blachère: 2, 98, 64, 62, 8, 47, 3, 61, 57, 4, 65, 59, 33, 63, 24, 58, 22, 48, 66, 60, 110, 49, 9, 5.

Here we see a combination of excessive dependence on traditional Muslim dating and on matters of form and style, e.g. in Weil's First Period the first 34 *sūra*s, with just a few exceptions, are in almost exactly the same order as in the traditional Muslim dating (*cf.* the Egyptian list above). Weil then closed this period with eleven *sūra*s that have the same "poetic style", but are dated considerably later by Muslims (note the exact order of LXX-LXXXIV). Nöldeke then accepted all of Weil's First Period *sūra*s, and added three more (I, LI, LV); and Blachère accepted all of Nöldeke's except for two (LI, LXVIII), and added one (LXXVI)—these differences involve mainly the dividing points between the periods. Also, the traditional stories involving certain *sūra*s—Muḥammad's call (XCVI, LXXIV), an incident involving Muḥammad's uncle, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā (CXI), the emigration to Abyssinia (XIX, XX), etc.—seem to have been accepted as historical. But the Tradition, especially on the Meccan period, is not this trustworthy. Weil, Nöldeke, and Blachère have accepted the three assumptions of the traditional Muslim dating stated above; their four-period system is essentially little more than a European variation of the traditional dating. On the question of style, it is true that there were changes through the years; but there is no reason to assume that all *sūra*s with the same style belong to the same period. The Four-period School have not demonstrated the validity of the historical framework or the development of ideas and key terms assumed by their system, which has been widely accepted in the West with much more confidence than is justified. It should be emphasised, however, that this system is often used by others in a rigid way not intended by its founders (Weil and Nöldeke), e.g. giving the exact chronological order of several verses, or the exact number of occurrences of a term in each period. Schwally in particular emphasised that the order proposed by Nöldeke was only approximate.

Three other dating systems were proposed by Europeans within a span of ten years around the turn of the 20th century. That of H. Grimme, presented in his *Mohammed* (1892-5), ii, 25 ff., was basically a variation of Nöldeke's, with more emphasis on stages in the development of doctrinal themes. Grimme's analysis of groups of ideas that occur together in the Ḳur'ān was useful, but his view of the overall sequence of ideas (monotheism, resurrection, the Last Day, etc.) was not widely accepted, and has since been discredited. Sir William Muir, in his *The Coran: its composition and teaching* (1896), 43-7, offered an arrangement of the *sūra*s in six periods (five Meccan and one Medinan). His most significant and innovative suggestion was that the first period in the composition of the Ḳur'ān comprised eighteen short *sūra*s, which he called "rhapsodies", dating from before Muḥammad's call: CIII, C, XCIX, XCI, CVI, I, CI, XCV, CII, CIV, LXXXII, XCII, CV, LXXXIX, XC, XCIII, XCIV and CVIII. Muir pointed out that none of these is in the form of a message from a deity. His second period has four *sūra*s (XCVI, CXIII, LXXIV, CXI) treating "the opening of Muḥammad's ministry", presumably *ca.* 610. The other dividing points are the beginning of Muḥammad's public ministry (*ca.* 613), the Abyssinian emigration (*ca.* 615), the Year of Sorrow (*ca.* 619), and the Hidjra. Muir is no doubt correct in dating some *sūra*s before XCVI and LXXIV, but I and others he lists are almost certainly later. In general, the criticisms stated above of the four-period system apply also to Muir's. In 1902 H. Hirschfeld, in his *New researches* (see *Bibl.*), proposed a chronological arrangement of the Ḳur'ān based on the character or function of individual passages. After the "first proclamation", XCVI, 1-5, Hirschfeld's arrangement also has six periods, in which the revelations are classified as "confirmatory" (LXXXVII, LXVIII, 1-33, XCII, LXIX, 40-52, etc.), "declamatory" (LXXXI, LXXXII, LXXXIV, etc.), "narrative" (LXVIII, 34-52, LI, XXVI, 1-220, LIV, etc.), "descriptive" (LXXIX, 27-46, LXXI, LV, etc.), "legislative" (VI, 1-73, XCIII, 9-11, XXV, 63-72, etc.), and Medinan, grouped together but discussed separately as those up to the battle of Badr, political speeches, revelations on Muḥammad's domestic affairs, and preparations for the Pilgrimage to Mecca. This system has a number of obvious flaws, but Hirschfeld's work was valuable for its preliminary analysis of Ḳur'ānic literary types and its recognition of the fact that in dating parts of the Ḳur'ān we must deal with individual pericopes rather than entire *sūra*s.

This insight became a guiding principle in the most elaborate attempt so far to identify and date the original units of revelation, Richard Bell's *The Qur'ān, translated, with a critical re-arrangement of the surahs*, 2 vols. (1937-9). Over a decade earlier he became convinced that Nöldeke's dating was inadequate (*ibid.*, 689 f.). Bell's verse-by-verse analysis of the entire Ḳur'ān led him to conclude that the *sūra*s are far more complex than is assumed by the traditional Muslim and European dating, that the revelations underwent considerable revision, including expansion, replacement of older passages with new material, changes in the rhyme, etc., that this revision involved written documents and was done during Muḥammad's lifetime under his supervision, and that the material for most of the *sūra*s was compiled, but not put into its final form, under Muḥammad's supervision. Bell did not present a rigid dating system, but concluded "provisionally" (vi f.) that the composition of the Ḳur'ān fell into three main periods: an early one from which only some sign-passages and exhortations to worship God survive; a "Ḳur'ān period", covering the latter part of the Meccan period and the first year or two in

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Medina, during which Muḥammad's task was to produce a *ḳur'ān*, a collection of lessons for liturgical use; and a "Book period", beginning about the end of the year 2 A.H., during which Muḥammad began to produce a written scripture. According to Bell, the present Ḳur'ān is not to be divided into these three periods, since a number of sign-passages were incorporated into the liturgical *ḳur'ān*, and in Medina this collection of oral materials was revised to form part of the Book. Bell attempted to date some Medinan passages fairly precisely—"early Medinan, revised after Badr", "shortly after Uḥud", "year VII", etc. But for most passages he gave very general and often tentative suggestions, especially for the Meccan material, e.g. "early, revised in Mecca (?), "Meccan, with Medinan additions", and very often "Meccan" and "late Meccan or early Medinan". A survey of Bell's provisional dating of the individual passages shows that he regarded fewer than twenty *sūra*s as being probably completely Meccan: L, LIII, LV, LXIX, LXXV, LXXIX, LXXX, LXXXII, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII-LXXXIX, XCI-XCIII, XCV-XCVI, XCIX, CIV and CXIII, all of which are said to have material from different dates. Of the other short *sūra*s, some of which he regarded as possible unities, Bell said CII, CV, CXII and CXIV seem to be Medinan; I, XCIV, CIII and CVI-CVIII could be either Meccan or Medinan; and on C, CI, CIX and CXI he gave no opinion. He regarded as completely Medinan the same 24 *sūra*s said to be Medinan by Nöldeke, but saw them as having significant amounts of material from several different dates, thus making it impossible to put the *sūra*s as wholes in chronological order. This leaves exactly half of the *sūra*s (57) which Bell regarded as having significant amounts of material from both before and after the Hidjra: 33 said to be mostly Meccan, with Medinan revisions and additions—VI, VII, XII, XIII, XV, XVII, XVIII, XXI, XXV-XXVI, XXXIV, XXXVI-XXXVIII, XLI, XLIV, LI-LII, LIV, LVI, LXVIII, LXX-LXXIV, LXXVI-LXXVIII, LXXXI, LXXXIV, LXXXVII and XC; and 24 said to be mostly Medinan, with some Meccan passages, or based on Meccan material—X, XI, XIV, XVI, XIX, XX, XXIII, XXVII-XXXII, XXXV, XXXIX, XL, XLII-XLIII, XLV-XLVI, LXVII, LXXXIII, LXXXV and XCVII. He thus distinguished between dates of original revelation (or earliest recitation) and dates of later editing and composition during Muḥammad's lifetime. The fact that he indicated breaks in the text and identified older components, e.g. Meccan passages in *sūra*s that were completed in Medina, does not mean he failed to recognise that some longer *sūra*s (e.g. XII, XIX, XXVI) and many shorter ones (e.g. LXXXVII, CIV) are carefully composed, unified works in their final form.

Bell's analysis of the Ḳur'ān has often been misunderstood or ignored by later writers, partly because the extensive notes to his translation, giving the arguments for his reconstructions, were never published. Nor has any thorough study and critique of Bell's work yet appeared. The review articles by J. E. Merill and W. M. Watt (see *Bibl.*) and Watt's remarks in Bell-Watt (113 f., 101-7, 137-41, etc.) are useful introductions. Watt has expressed reservations about Bell's hypothesis on the disjointedness of the Ḳur'ān. Bell suggested that when some passages were being revised Muḥammad instructed the scribes to write the new versions on the backs of the sheets on which the verses being replaced were written, and that the later editors, not wanting to discard any of the revelation, inserted the old verses just before or after the new ones. E.g. II, 185, was written on the back of 184, 186 (on fasting), II, 196, on the back of 197-9 (on the Pilgrimage), XXIV, 2-9, on the back of 10-18 (on fornication), and XVIII, 6-9 (a new introduction to the story of the Seven Sleepers), on the back of 10-12, which was replaced by a longer version of the story in 13-21a. In other cases the scribes simply used the backs of sheets on which older, discarded material was written, e.g. IV, 11-14, on the back of 2-10, IV, 19-21, on the back of 15-18, and VII, 3-5, on the back of 6 9. This hypothesis provides a feasible explanation and solution to textual problems in some cases, but not in others. It now seems that Bell was sometimes too quick to designate a passage as "discarded" material or a "scrap" that got into the Ḳur'ān by mistake; and he seems to have failed to recognise some literary forms, e.g. the *wa-mā adrāka* formula (see 7.a below). But it must be remembered that Bell was a pioneer in this field, and that he attempted to locate all possible breaks in the text, acknowledging that many of his suggestions were uncertain or tentative and that some would be proved untenable by later research. On the whole, his dating and reconstructions have been supported by later studies, e.g. K. Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran* (Leiden 1968), 47-81, on II, 183 ff.; see also Welch, *Allah and other supernatural beings* (see *Bibl.*) on the emergence of the doctrine of *tawḥīd*, and idem, in W. M. Watt and A. T. Welch, *Der Islam*, i (Stuttgart 1980), 264-71, 300-3, on the origin and early development of the *ṣalāt* and *zakāt*. Careful studies of a number of passages and topics are needed before a final judgment of Bell's work can be made.

There is room for disagreement on specifics, but there can now be little doubt that Schwally was correct in concluding that passages from different dates were put together to form the present *sūra*s, that written documents were involved, and that this revision was done under Muḥammad's supervision (*Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 45 ff., ii, 1 f., 77, etc.). Furthermore, Bell seems to have been right in his main conclusions, which went beyond Schwally's position. Most *sūra*s have significant amounts of material from different dates, and nearly all of the longer *sūra*s with Meccan material were revised or expanded in Medina, so that we can no longer speak of "middle Meccan" or "late Meccan" *sūra*s. We can speak with more confidence of "early Meccan" *sūra*s, although we cannot be certain as to which ones belong to this group. And we can speak of "Medinan *sūra*s", i.e. those that are made up completely of Medinan material (of various dates). It is not possible to put the *sūra*s as wholes in chronological order, or to determine the exact order of the passages on any major teaching—the creation, God and other supernatural beings, the nature and destiny of man, etc. This does not mean that nothing can be said on the development of ideas in the Ḳur'ān. On the major teachings and other subjects on which the Ḳur'ān has much to say, it is possible to reconstruct the sequence of the main stages of development, and sometimes the approximate dates of these stages. It now seems certain that the most important single turning point in the development of the Muslim scripture was not the Hidjra, dividing the Ḳur'ān into "Meccan" and "Medinan" *sūra*s, but a series of events surrounding the battle of Badr and Muḥammad's so-called "break with the Jews". Late Meccan and very early Medinan material is difficult to distinguish; there are many passages that could just as well date from Muḥam-

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mad's last year in Mecca or his first in Medina.

6. Language and Style

a. Language of the Ḳur'ān. Most mediaeval Muslim scholars believed that the Ḳur'ān was in the spoken language of the Prophet, the dialect of the Ḳuraysh, which was also the language of the "Classical Arabic" poetry of Muḥammad's day. It was assumed that the Ḳuraysh and the classical poets retained the pure language of the Bedouins (*al-aʿrāb*). Support for this view, more a theological doctrine than a linguistic theory, was found in the Ḳur'ān in the statements that the revelation was in "clear Arabic speech" (*lisān ʿarabī mubīn*) (XVI, 103, XXVI, 195; cf. XLI, 44), which came to be interpreted as "pure Arabic". This Ḳuraysh dialect theory was attacked by Karl Vollers in a series of well-documented articles beginning in 1894 and culminating in his classic *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (1906), in which he argues that the Ḳur'ān was first recited by Muḥammad in a colloquial Arabic without case-endings (*iʿrāb*) (thus distinguishing it from the Classical Arabic of the poets), that the language of the Ḳur'ān as we now have it was a fabrication of later philologists who attempted to put the revelations into Classical Arabic, and that the original language of the Ḳur'ān survives only in a few orthographic peculiarities (e.g. the omission of the *alif* in some words) and in the non-canonical readings. Voller's theory gave rise to much discussion of the language of the Ḳur'ān, but it found little support outside of Germany, except for several articles by Paul Kahle (e.g. *The Arabic readers of the Koran*, in *JNES*, viii [1949], 65-71), who presented evidence to show that at least during the 2nd century the Ḳur'ān was indeed recited without *iʿrāb*, a characteristic of colloquial Arabic. Kahle's arguments also failed to convince others, and the earlier refutations of Vollers' thesis given in a lengthy review by R. Geyer (*Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen*, clxxi [1909], 10-56) and by Nöldeke (*Neue Beiträge*, 1-5) have been generally accepted (on the views of Vollers, Kahle, Geyer, and Nöldeke, see Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 112-30). Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*) and Schwally (*Gesch. des Qor.*, ii, 59) argued that the language of the Ḳur'ān was not the spoken language of any tribe, but was a somewhat artificial *Hochsprache* that was understood throughout the Ḥiḏjāz. On the other side, it has come to be generally agreed that the Classical Arabic of the poetry of Muḥammad's time was not the spoken language of the poets or the dialect of any one tribe, but a literary language that was understood by all the tribes. This language has come to be called the "poetic *koinē*" or the *ʿarabiyya*. In the late 1940s three European writers, H. Fleisch, R. Blachère, and C. Rabin, reached the conclusion, apparently independently, that the language of the Ḳur'ān, far from being the spoken dialect of the Ḳuraysh or a *Hochsprache* of the entire Ḥiḏjāz, was simply the "poetic *koinē*" of the Classical Arabic poetry, with some adaptation to the Meccan speech, e.g. the omission of the *hamza* (for references and discussion, see C. Rabin, *The beginnings of Classical Arabic*, in *Stud. Isl.*, iv [1955], 19-37, and Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 130-72). This view has been accepted by most Western Arabists. One notable exception is J. Wansbrough (*Quranic studies*, 85-118) who rejects the *koinē* or *ʿarabiyya* concept, without offering any clear alternative. He asserts that very little can be known about the text of the Ḳur'ān or about Classical Arabic prior to the "literary stabilisation" of both in the 3rd/9th century. There is nothing in the Ḳur'ānic usage of *ʿarabī* and its cognate forms to support the suggestion of J. Fück (*ʿArabīya*, Berlin 1950, 1-5) that *ʿarabī* in the expression "clear Arabic speech" refers to the *ʿarabiyya*, the literary language of the Bedouins.

b. Foreign vocabulary. The earliest exegetes recognised and discussed freely a large number of non-Arabic words in the Ḳur'ān, and Tradition credits Ibn ʿAbbās and his school with having a special interest in seeking their origin and meaning. Then when the dogma of the eternity and perfection of the Ḳur'ān was elaborated (see 8. below) some jurists and theologians, such as al-Shāfiʿī (d. 205/820), came to believe that it was in pure Arabic and thus denied that any of its vocabulary was borrowed from other languages. But prominent philologists such as Abū ʿUbayd (d. 224/838) continued to argue that the Ḳur'ān contained foreign words. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 311/923) and others, attempting to reconcile the two views, asserted that the alleged foreign elements in the Ḳur'ān were simply words that Arabic and other languages had in common. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaʿālibī (d. 873/1468) explained in his *Kitāb al-Djawāhir* (Algiers 1905, i, 17) that these words came into Arabic through the ancient Arabs' contacts with other languages in foreign travel and commercial affairs, but that they had been thoroughly Arabised by the time of the Prophet. Other writers seem to have freed themselves altogether from religious considerations, e.g. al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who gave special attention to foreign loan-words in the Ḳur'ān. In his *Itḳān* he has a chapter on words that are not in the language of the Ḥiḏjāz (i, 133-5) and another on words that are not in the language of the Arabs (135-41). In a separate treatise, the *Mutawakkilī* (ed. and tr. Wm. Y. Bell, Cairo 1924), he classifies a large number of terms as words borrowed from Ethiopic, Persian, Greek, Indian, Syriac, Hebrew, Nabataean, Coptic, Turkish, Negro, and Berber (for a discussion of these, see *Foreign vocab.*, 12-32). Jeffery indicates surprise that al-Suyūṭī was able to gather from the older authorities so many words "whose Arabic origin to us is obvious, but which they regarded as foreign", and he says that some of these are simply rare Arabic words, while others are variant forms used in the Ḳur'ān to establish the rhyme. He then concludes that the foreign elements in the Ḳur'ānic vocabulary are of three distant types: (1) words that are entirely non-Arabic and cannot possibly be traced to Arabic roots, e.g. *istabraḳ* (silk brocade), *zandjabīl* (ginger), *firdaws* (paradise); (2) Semitic words that, although their triliteral root is found in Arabic, occur in the Ḳur'ān in a sense used in another language but not in Arabic, e.g. *fāṭir* (creator), *ṣawāmiʿ* (cloisters), *darasa* (to study [the scriptures] earnestly); and (3) words that are genuinely Arabic and commonly used, but are used in the Ḳur'ān with technical or theological meanings influenced by other languages, e.g. *nūr*, "light", used in the sense of "religion"; *rūḥ*, "spirit", and especially *rūḥ al-ḳudus*, "the spirit of holiness"; and *kalima*, "a word", when used of Jesus (*ibid.*, 39 f.). Jeffery then discusses about 275 words, other than proper names, that have been regarded as foreign, and he summarises the views of earlier European scholars as to their origin, and sometimes gives his own views. For the Arabic and European literature on this topic, see *ibid.*, xi-xix, to which should be added two studies by L. Kopf, *Religious influences on medieval Arabic philology*, in *Stud. Isl.*, v (1956), esp. 40-5, and *The treatment of foreign words in mediaeval Arabic lexicology*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix (1961), 191-205 (both reprinted

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in Kopf, *Studies in Arabic and Hebrew lexicography*, Jerusalem 1976) and other works cited by him.

c. Rhymes and refrains. A distinctive feature of Ḳur'ānic style, closely related to its oral nature and liturgical function, is that it is all rhymed or assonanced prose. There is no attempt to produce the strict rhyme of Arabic poetry (see Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 103-10). Some short *sūra*s, and segments of longer *sūra*s, do have a fairly consistent rhyme if the short inflectional vowels at the ends of the verses are disregarded. For instance, the three verses of CVIII end in *-ar*, the four verses of CXII end in *-ad*, CV has *-īl* except for the last verse with *-ūl*, CXI has *-ab* except for the last verse with *-ad*, and the 55 verses of LIV end in *r* (or *rr*) preceded by a short vowel. But in most *sūra*s there is a loose rhyme or assonance formed by common grammatical endings and word forms. By far the most frequent assonance in the Ḳur'ān is *-ūn/-īn* (considered interchangeable), which is formed by the plural endings of nouns and verbs. And even this form, which occurs frequently in Arabic, is often varied with words ending with one of these vowels but a different consonant. The feminine singular endings *-at* and *-hā* occur in CIX, XLVII, XCI and XCIX; the dual ending *-ān* occurs in LV; the accusative ending *-an* occurs in XVIII, LXXII, and C; and the form *-ā(l)*, a long *a* followed by a variable consonant, occurs in parts of longer *sūra*s such as II, III, XIV, XXXVIII and XL. On the various rhyme forms in the Ḳur'ān (technically known as *faʿīl*, *fiʿʿāl*, *fāʿilat*, *ifʿāl*, *tafʿīl*, etc.), see *Itḳān*, ii, 96-105, and F. R. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Reimprosa im Koran* (Bonn 1969), who presents a systematic compilation of the evidence that peculiarities in Ḳur'ānic style and vocabulary were brought about by the imposition of rhyme.

The whole of the Ḳur'ān is often said to be in *sadj*ʿ, the rhythmic, rhymed utterance of the *kāhin* (soothsayer) [*q.v.*], which, like the Ḳur'ān, does not have a fixed metre or proper rhyme and is thus distinct from both poetry and prose. But those who have insisted that the Ḳur'ān is not in *sadj*ʿ seem on the whole to be on sounder ground (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, i, 36 ff.; Blachère, *Litt.*, 212; Zwettler, *Oral tradition*, 157 ff.). Some of the shorter *sūra*s do have short, rhythmic, rhymed verses of the *sadj*ʿ type, often beginning with oaths, e.g. XC to XCIII (see 7.a below); and parts of a few somewhat longer *sūra*s, e.g. the beginning of LXXV and LXXXII-LXXXV can be described as being "*sadj*ʿ-like". But most *sūra*s have longer, prosaic verses that are simply made to fit a loose rhyme or assonance pattern. In some a distinctive, fairly consistent rhyme is formed by words that are integral to a context and its meaning, giving the impression of being carefully constructed compositions, e.g. XVIII-XX. But in others, especially some of the *sūra*s that are completely Medinan, the rhyme is formed by set formulas that are attached loosely to the ends of the verses, often with little or no connection of thought with the contexts. For instance, in II, the longest *sūra* in the Ḳur'ān, the rhyme in about three-fourths of the 286 verses is formed by divine epithets, aphorisms, and other formulas that often have little relevance for the meaning of the narrative. In verses 127-268 double divine epithets occur over 30 times, e.g. God is *samīʿ ʿalīm* (Hearer, Knower) occurs seven times; *ʿazīz ḥakīm* (Mighty, Wise), six times; *ghafūr raḥīm* (Forgiving, Compassionate), six times, etc. Theological aphorisms occur even more often, and some are repeated several times: "God is not heedless of the things you do", in verses 74, 140, 144, 149, etc.; "God sees the things you do", in 110, 233, 237, 265, etc.; "God has knowledge of everything", in 29, 231, 282; and "God is powerful over everything", in 20, 106, 259 and 284, etc.

A special type of rhyme-formula that occurs in a number of *sūra*s is the refrain, i.e. an entire verse or more repeated verbatim at more or less regular intervals. The most striking example is the rhetorical question, "Then which of the benefits of your Lord will you two deny?", which occurs as LV, 13, 16, 18 and 21 and then almost every other verse to the end of the *sūra* in verse 78. A similar refrain, "Woe is that day to those who deny it!", occurs in LXXVII, 15, 19, 24, 28, 34, 37, 40, 45, 47 and 49. In both of these cases the refrain has little connection with the meaning of the other verses, and it is difficult to tell whether the latter should be read as an introduction (see Bell, *Trans.*, 627 f.) or a conclusion (e.g., Arberry trans., ii, 318 f.) to the ten segments ranging in length from two to five verses. Each of the seven punishment-stories in XXVI ends with the two verses, "Lo, in that is a sign, but most of them have not believed" and "But, lo, thy Lord is the Sublime, the Compassionate", which appear to be separate refrains, the latter being later. Four punishment-stories in LIV end with "We have made the Ḳur'ān as the Reminder (*dhikr*), but is there anyone who takes heed?", and the first three also have what appears to be an earlier refrain, "Of what nature, then, was My punishment and My warning?" Similar formulas occur frequently in the Ḳur'ān, but usually not as refrains. On internal rhymes and the possibility that there are strophes within the Ḳur'ān, see Bell-Watt, 70-5.

d. Schematic form and multiple accounts. The last two examples of refrains occur in stories that also share another characteristic of Ḳur'ānic style, schematic form, i.e. the repetition of certain verses, or formulas that are woven into the narrative in a regular pattern in different stories presented together as a group. A good example of one type of schematic form occurs in XXVI, where five punishment-stories have the same five-verse introduction, as well as the refrains mentioned above and other repeated verses. The introduction of the first story reads: "The people of Noah denied the envoys. / When their brother Noah said to them: 'Will you not show piety? / Lo, I am to you a faithful messenger. / So show piety towards God, and obey me. / I ask you for no reward for it; my reward rests only upon the Lord of the worlds' ". The only difference in the five-verse introductions of the other four accounts is the name of the people (the tribes of ʿĀd, Thamūd, etc.) and the prophet (Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Lot, etc.). Another type of schematic form occurs in the Sūra VII versions of the same five punishment-stories, where about two-thirds of the Noah story is repeated in the Hūd story (a smaller percentage is repeated in the others), but the repeated parts are interspersed with statements, phrases, and individual words that are distinctive to each story. To show the first stage in the development of this group of schematic accounts, the Noah story is given here with the elements that also occur in the Hūd story put in italics: "We sent Noah to his people, and *he said 'O my people, serve God. There is no god for you other than He.* Verily I fear for you the punishment of a mighty day'. *Said the nobility of his people: 'Verily we think you are in* manifest error'. *He said 'O my people, there is no* error *in me; I am but a messenger from the Lord of the worlds. I deliver to you the messages of my Lord, and* give you *sincere* advice; I have knowledge from

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God which you have not. *Does it astonish you that a reminder from your Lord should come to you upon a man from among yourselves, in order that he may warn* you and that you may show piety? Perhaps mercy will be shown you'. But they denied him; *so We rescued him and those with him* in the ark, and We drowned *those who denied Our signs*. Verily they were a blind people." Part of the Noah story and other parts of the Hūd story are then repeated in the Ṣāliḥ, Lot, and Shu'ayb stories. Other groups of parallel accounts in the Ḳur'ān have one of these two types of schematic form. The extent of the repetition in these parallel accounts has important implications for understanding their nature and purpose, e.g. they are not intended as historical accounts.

These groups of punishment-stories also illustrate another feature of the Ḳur'ān: the complex development of its multiple accounts and their changing relationships with other accounts. Many stories are repeated in different versions in two or more *sūras*, and these multiple accounts of the same story differ not only in length and details, but also in their purpose and their relationship to other stories. For instance, different versions of the punishment-stories or brief references to them occur in 16 different *sūras*. Longer versions of the Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Lot stories occur in LIV, XXVI, VII and XI; the first three also occur in XXV, LI and LIII; they are referred to in IX, XIV and XXIX; and they occur separately in still other *sūras*. There are two different Lot punishment stories: the first occurs in LIV, XXVI and VII (mentioned above) and also in XXVII and XXXVII; the second, involving the visit of celestial messengers, occurs in XI and XV. Then in XXIX both appear together separated by a brief version of an Abraham story, which also occurs in earlier, longer versions in LI, XV and XI. On the punishment-stories, see 7.d below, Bell-Watt, 127-35, and bibliography given there. A similar development can be seen in the creation stories: the story of (the fallen angel?) Iblīs occurs as a complete, independent story in XV and XXXVIII and is repeated in shorter versions in XVII and XVIII; then it occurs with an account of the temptation and fall of Adam in VII, XX, and finally II. In the last two the Iblīs story is reduced to a single verse, and in II these two story segments are preceded by the only Ḳur'ānic version of a third creation story, about God consulting the angels before creating man. A third example, of a somewhat different type, involves the two parallel accounts of the miraculous births and childhood of John (the Baptist) and Jesus in XIX, 2-34 and III, 38-51. In XIX the stories of John and Jesus are the first two in a series of separate accounts; in III they are woven together as part of a longer account that begins with the birth and early life of Mary. Among the significant patterns seen in the development of these and other multiple accounts in the Ḳur'ān is that the earlier groups of stories tend to be ahistorical in their arrangement, e.g. in XXVI we have Moses, Abraham, Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Lot, and then Shu'ayb (who came to be identified with Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses), while the later versions are put in "historical order", e.g. in XI we have Noah, Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, Abraham, Lot, Shu'ayb, and Moses. The ahistorical groups are typical of what Bell calls the Ḳur'ān period, while the "historical" ones reflect the Book period, where we see stories combined to form longer multi-episodic narratives that constitute the beginning of a Muslim sacred history going back to the creation.

7. Literary forms and Major Themes

The nature and arrangement of the Ḳur'ān make it difficult to classify its literary forms or systematise its main themes. Any attempt to classify the parts of the Ḳur'ān according to the standard literary types—myth, legend, saga, short story, parable, etc.—very soon founders. A few examples can be given for each of these types, but altogether they comprise a very small percentage of the text. Also, they have been adapted so much to conform to the style and message of the Ḳur'ān that they have little significance as distinct types. Bell has argued that since the Ḳur'ān disclaims that Muḥammad was a poet and since his function as a prophet was to convey messages from God to his contemporaries, we should seek "didactic rather than poetic or artistic forms" (Bell-Watt, 75). This is true, except that only parts of the Ḳur'ān can be described as "didactic" in purpose. Other parts are hortatory, rhetorical, legislative, etc., and some parts addressed to Muḥammad and his family can only be described as personal (Bell questioned whether some of these, e.g. CXI and parts of LXVI, were "intended for publication"). Thus it seems best to discuss the literary forms of the Ḳur'ān in terms of its own distinctive types of material. What follows is not a complete, systematic classification, but brief descriptions of the main literary forms found in the Ḳur'ān, which at the same time provide summaries of some of its major themes.

a. Oaths and related forms. An interesting variety of oaths and related forms occur in the shorter *sūras*, usually at the beginning. The assumption that most (but certainly not all) of these oaths are among the earliest parts of the Ḳur'ān seems to be justified. Some oaths that are cryptic and difficult to interpret or translate are generally thought to be typical of the ancient Arabian soothsayer utterances. In other cases, the oath form has simply been used to convey Ḳur'ānic (and sometimes Biblical) themes. The oath form that occurs most often consists of one or more verses beginning with *wa*, "By", followed by a noun in the genitive case, and ending with one or more verses beginning with an asseverative particle, usually *inna* but sometimes *ḳad*, both meaning "verily, surely". A fairly typical example occurs at the beginning of XCII: "By the night when it veils, / By the day when it shines out in splendour, / By what created the male and the female, / Verily your course is diverse" (Bell tr.). Here the first three verses begin with *wa*, and the assertion closing the oath begins with *inna*. Sometimes the intervening verses between the opening *wa* verse and the closing *inna* begin with *fa-* instead of *wa*, as in XXXVII, 1-4: "By those who dress the ranks, / By those who scare by shouting, / By those who recite the warning, / Verily your God is One" (Bell). The *wa* and the *fa-* in the intervening verses can be interpreted as conjunctions (see, e.g., Arberry's tr. of these two passages), but this seems to weaken the impact of the oath. Some *wa/inna* oaths have only two elements (e.g. XXXVI, 2 ff., CIII, 1 ff.), while others have several, including additional *inna* assertions, e.g. LI begins with a six-verse oath, the verses beginning with *wa*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *inna-mā*, *wa-inna*; and C has *wa*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *fa-*, *inna*, *wa-inna*, *wa-inna* (other variations occur in XLIII, XLIV, LII, LIII, etc.). A fairly typical example of a *wa/ḳad* oath occurs at the beginning of XCV: "By the fig and the olive, / By Mount Sinai, / By this land secure, / Surely We have created man most beautifully erect" (Bell)—with *wa*, *wa*, *wa*, *la-ḳad*. The ten-verse oath at the beginning

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of XCI, the longest in the Ḳur'ān is also of this type, with *wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, wa, fa-, ḳad, wa-ḳad* (the *wa* before the asseverative particles in these examples is the conjunction "and"). Other types of oaths also occur in the Ḳur'ān, e.g. the stronger *lā uḳsimu bi-*, "No! I swear by", oath, at the beginning of LXXV: "No! I swear by the Day of Resurrection", also in LXXV, 2, XC, 1, and within other *sūras*.

Related to the Ḳur'ānic oaths are several other formulaic usages that are typical of soothsayer or prophetic utterances. One is the *iḏhā*, "When", passage, which has the same force, if not the same meaning, as an oath. A good example occurs at the beginning of LXXXII: "When the heaven shall be rent, / When the stars shall be scattered, / When the seas shall be made to boil up, / When the graves shall be ransacked, / A soul shall know what it has sent forward, and what kept back" (Bell). The longest "when" passage is LXXXI, 1-14, culminating in "A soul shall know what it has presented". See also LVI, 1 ff., LXXXIV, 1 ff., XCIX, etc. Other passages, especially at the beginning of some of the other shorter *sūras*, feature rhetorical questions, such as "Have you seen him who denies the Judgment?" (CVII, 1 ff.; cf. XCIV, CV), or a modified type of curse or threat, such as "Woe to every maligner, scoffer, / Who gathers wealth and counts it over . . ." (CIV, 1 ff.; cf. LXXXIII, 1 ff., 10 ff., CVII, 4 ff., etc. and a different type in CXI). This last example of a "Woe" (*wayl*) passage continues with another distinctive Ḳur'ānic form, consisting of at least three verses the second of which is the rhetorical question *wa-mā adrāka mā* ———?, "And what has let you know what ——— is?"; see XCVII, 1 ff., CI, 1 ff., CIV, 4 ff., and LXXXVI, 1 ff., which begins with an oath.

The fact that the Ḳur'ān itself affirms that Muḥammad was accused of being a soothsayer (*kāhin*) suggests that his contemporaries saw a similarity between what he recited and what they heard from the soothsayers. Bell identified five passages in the Ḳur'ān as having "*kāhin*-form": XXXVII, 1-4, LI, 1-6, and C, 1-6, mentioned above, and also LXXVII, 1-7, and LXXIX, 1-14. But most of the Ḳur'ānic oaths and related forms are more in the nature of prophetic than soothsayer utterances.

b. Sign-passages. Meccan and early Medinan parts of the Ḳur'ān often speak of certain phenomena of nature and human life as "signs" (*āyāt*) of God's omnipotence and benevolence towards man, calling for gratitude and worship of Him alone. Most often mentioned are the creation of the heavens and the earth, the creation or procreation of man, the shining of the sun, moon, and stars, the alteration of day and night, the sending of the rain, and the permanence and stability of nature. Thunder, lightning, fire, and other natural phenomena are also mentioned, as are human understanding and relationships, the variety of languages and colours, hearing, sight, etc. The "sign-passages" treating these themes have no distinctive form, but are recognised by their content. An example of an early sign-passage is seen in LXXX, 24-32: "Let man look at his food; / Lo, We have poured out water in showers, / Then have broken up the earth in cracks, / And have caused to sprout up in it grain, / And grapes and green shoots, / And olives and palms, / And orchards luxuriant, / And fruits and herbage ——— / A provision for you and for your flocks" (Bell). See also XXIII, 17-22, 78-80, LXXVIII, 6-16. An example of a late, more structured sign-passage is XXX, 20-5, which begins: "And of His signs is that He created you of dust; then lo, you are mortals, all scattered abroad. / And of His signs is that He created for you of your own species spouses that you may dwell with them, and has set love and mercy between you. Surely in that are signs (*āyāt*) for those who consider. / And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the variety of your tongues and hues. Surely in that are signs for all living beings". The next three verses also begin with "And of His signs is . . .", and the first two of these end with "Surely in that are signs for those who ———" ("hear" in verse 23; "understand" in 24). A similar sign-passage in XVI, 10-18, begins: "It is He who sends down to you out of heaven water of which you have to drink, . . . / And thereby He brings forth for you crops, and olives, and palms, and vines, and all manner of fruit. Surely in that is a sign (*āya*) for those who reflect". And a similar formula closes the next two verses. These last two examples are typical of most sign-passages in consisting of separate sign-verses grouped together in no particular order; but they are somewhat unusual in having set introductory phrases and concluding formulas (cf. VI, 97-9, XIII, 2-4, XVI, 65, 67, 69, 79, XXXVI, 33, 37, 41, XLI, 37, 39, XLV, 3-5). The singular, *āya*, is used occasionally in sign-passages, either with one verse treating one sign (as in XVI, 11, quoted above; also XVI, 13, 65, 67, etc.), or with two or more verses treating a single sign (XVI, 10 f., 68 f., etc.). The plural, *āyāt*, occurs much more often, usually with two or more signs mentioned in a single verse (as in XXX, 20-2, quoted above; also X, 6, 67, XIII, 3 f., XXX, 23 f., etc.). This analysis provides no clue as to how *āya* came to mean "verse". In many sign-passages that are otherwise like those cited above the term "sign" does not occur (e.g. VI, 141 f., XIII, 12-15, XVI, 3-8, 80 f., XXX, 48-51, XXXII, 4-9). On the other hand, the term "sign" occurs many times in contexts that are not "sign-passages". See 1.b above and Bell-Watt, 122-7.

c. Say-passages. Scattered throughout the Ḳur'ān are a number of passages in which the main element is a short statement or question introduced by the imperative verb, "Say", usually the singular, *ḳul*, but occasionally the plural, *ḳūlū*. Most say-passages, i.e. the immediate contexts in which the say-statements occur, have two main parts: (1) a statement or question indicating the setting, and (2) the say-statement, which is sometimes followed by a comment or two on 1 or 2. The setting statement occasionally involves Muḥammad's followers, but usually is a report of something said or done by the unbelievers. One frequently occurring form is "They say: . . . Say: . . .", e.g. X, 20: "They say: 'If only a sign had been sent down to him from his Lord'. Say: 'The unseen belongs to God' " (see also II, 80, 91, 93, 111, 135, etc.). Sometimes the setting statement has two or more parts, and the say-statement either has two or more parts or is followed by one or more comments. A good example of this more complex form is seen in X, 18: "They serve apart from God what neither injures them nor profits them, and they say: 'These are our intercessors with God'. Say: 'Will you inform God of what He knows not either in the heavens or in the earth?' Glory be to Him, and exalted be He far from what they associate with Him!" Here the setting statement has two parts, involving something the unbelievers do and something they say; and the say-statement, a rhetorical question, is followed by a praise formula (cf. II, 80-2). In X, 68 f. a praise formula, "Glory be to Him", and

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a comment on the setting statement come between the "They say" and "Say" elements. Another common form is "They will ask you [Muḥammad] ... Say: ...", e.g. II, 220: "They will ask you about the orphans. Say: 'To set right their affairs is good'." Sometimes one *ḳul* introduces a question, and a second one gives an answer, e.g. VI, 12: "Say: 'To whom belongs what is in the heavens and the earth?' Say: 'To God ...'" (also VI, 63 f., 71, etc.). Some say-statements are formulas that can be classified as maxims or slogans, e.g. "To God belongs the East and the West" (II, 142), "The guidance of God is the guidance" (II, 120, III, 73, VI, 71), "God guides to the truth" (X, 35), "Those who invent falsehood about God will not prosper" (X, 69), and "Intercession belongs to God alone" (XXXIX, 44), and some of these (e.g. the first two mentioned here) occur elsewhere in the Ḳur'ān. On maxims and slogans, see Bell-Watt, 75-7. Others are credal statements, e.g. II, 136: "Say (*ḳūlū*): "We believe in God and what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham ... and what Moses and Jesus received ... and to Him we have surrendered'" (cf. XXIX, 46). Still others are prayers, e.g. III, 26 f.: "Say (*ḳul*): 'O God, owner of sovereignty, Thou givest sovereignty to whom Thou wilt, and seizest sovereignty from whom Thou wilt ... Thou bringest forth the living from the dead, and the dead from the living; Thou providest for whom Thou wilt without reckoning'." This last example is unlike the say-passages described above, since it is not preceded by a setting statement. Thus it is best classified with a second group of say-statements, some of which are in the first person singular and seem to be spoken by Muḥammad, e.g. a group of four in LXXII, 20-8, beginning: "Say: 'I call only upon my Lord, and I do not associate with Him anyone'. / Say: 'Surely I possess no power over you, either for hurt or for rectitude'" (Arberry); see also XXXIV, 36, 39, 46-50, CIX, etc. Other isolated say-statements occur in LXVII, 23 f., 28-30, CXII-XIV, etc., the first of these being two short say-statements in the form of the sign-passages. Say-passages and separate say-statements are often grouped together, e.g. VI, 11-19, 56-8, 63-6, 161-4, and the groups mentioned above.

d. Narratives. If the term "narrative" is taken in the broader sense to include any story or description of actual or fictional events, then many parts of the Ḳur'ān can be classified as narratives. There is virtually no historical narrative, even though as mentioned above (see 5.a) there are many references and allusions to historical events. Most Ḳur'ānic narratives are versions of traditional stories found in other Near Eastern cultures, which have been adapted to conform to the world-view and teachings of the Ḳur'ān. Several versions of ancient Near Eastern myths and many mythic motifs occur. The creation of the world in six days and the Throne from which the universe is controlled are mentioned several times, as in VII, 54: "Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days, then seated Himself upon the Throne causing the night to cover the day" and the well-known "Throne verse", II, 255: "God, there is no god but He, the Living, the Eternal. Slumber overtakes Him not nor sleep .... His Throne extends over the heavens and the earth, and He is never weary of preserving them" (cf. X, 3, XXV, 59, XXXII, 4, and on the Throne, IX, 129, XIII, 2, XX, 5, XXI, 22, etc.). But there is no six-day creation story, and no account of what was created on each day (a partial explanation is given in XLI, 9-12; see Paret, *Kommentar*, 433). The seven heavens are mentioned (XVII, 44, XXIII, 86, etc.), as is the Trumpet that signals the Last Day (VI, 73, XVIII, 99, XX, 102, etc.), but there are no stories or complete descriptions. Brief accounts of the fall of Iblīs (Lucifer?), the fall of man, and the naming of the animals (not so specified) do occur (II, 30-9, VII, 11-25, XV, 28-44, XVII, 61-5, XX, 115-26, etc.). There are several versions of the ancient Near Eastern shooting-star myth (XV, 16-18, XXXVII, 6-10, etc.), and several accounts of Noah and the Flood (XI, 36-48, XXV, 37, XXIX, 14 f., LIV, 9-17). which however is not a world-wide deluge.

The prophet stories, some of which are also punishment-stories, make up the largest category of Ḳur'ānic narratives. The longest single story, which could be classified as a "short story", is that of Joseph, taking up nearly all 111 verses of Sūra XII. It follows the Biblical account more closely than do most Ḳur'ānic stories, and it shows evidence of revision, including what appear to be two introductions. There are two parallel accounts of the births of John (the Baptist) and Jesus, III, 33-51 and XIX, 1-36, which have some significant differences in details, reflecting the development of ideas in the Ḳur'ān. Both accounts have elements from apocryphal Christian writings and oral tradition, e.g. Mary's stay in a convent or temple until the time of the conception of Jesus, and his miracles of speaking from the cradle and forming a bird out of clay that became alive when he breathed on it. Abraham, Moses, and Solomon have major roles in Ḳur'ānic narrative in that there are several different stories about each, as well as several versions of some stories. Also, there are non-Biblical stories about each of these three: Abraham destroying the idols of his people (XXI, 51-72, etc.) and building the Ka'ba in Mecca (II, 122-9, etc.), Moses and his servant on a journey (XVIII, 60-82), and Solomon building the Temple with the jinn and demons (XXXIV, 12-14, XXXVIII, 36-40) and dealing with his army of jinn, men, and birds (XXVII, 15-21). There are also stories about Adam and Noah (mentioned above) and Lot, Ishmael, David, Elijah, Jonah, and Job; and several others are mentioned, including Isaac, Jacob, Elisha, Aaron (in some Moses stories), Saul, Ezra, and Haman, who however is an associate of the Pharaoh. The heroes of these stories are generally referred to as "messengers" (*rusul*, sing. *rasūl*), but sometimes as "envoys" (*mursalūn*, sing. *mursal*) or "prophets" (*nabiyyūn*, sing. *nabī*). The latter seems to occur only in Medinan passages and is applied specifically only to Muḥammad and certain "messengers" mentioned above from the Hebrew and Christian traditions, while the other two terms occur earlier and have broader usages. But in later parts of the Ḳur'ān *rasūl* and *nabī* are synonymous, although not exactly interchangeable. Note, for instance, the consistent usage, "God and His Messenger", but "the Prophet", for Muḥammad throughout XXXIII. This no doubt explains why *rusul* occurs in the credal statements in II, 285 and IV, 136, which require belief in "His angels, His books, and His messengers (*rusulihi*)", while *al-nabiyyīn* occurs in II, 177, which requires belief in "the angels, the Book, and the prophets". Among the non-Biblical characters, the most prominent are Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Shu'ayb (see below), but there are also stories about Luḳmān, an Arabian sage (XXXI, 12-19), and Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, generally regarded as Alexander the Great (XVIII, 83-98), and brief references to Dhu 'l-Kifl and Idrīs (XIX, 56, XXI, 85, XXXVIII, 48), sometimes said to be Elijah and Enoch. The story of the Men of the Cave (XVIII,

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10-26) is usually identified with the legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. On these stories, see the commentaries and Paret, *Kommentar, ad locc.*

Several forms are used indiscriminately for introducing prophet stories and some of the stories about non-Biblical characters, e.g. "Recite to them the story (*naba'*) of ..." (V, 27, VII, 175, X, 71, XXVI, 69; cf. XVIII, 27, XXIX, 45); "We recite to you [Muḥammad] part of the story (*naba'*) of ..." (XXVIII, 3; cf. III, 58); "Has there come to you the story (*ḥadīth*) of ... ?" (XX, 9, LI, 24, LXXIX, 15, etc.); "Has there come to you the story (*naba'*) of ... ?" (IX, 70, XIV, 9, XXXVIII, 21, etc.); and "Mention in the Book ..." (XIX, 16, 41, 51, 54, 56). All of these are addressed to Muḥammad. Far more frequent are two simple forms, *idh ḳāla*, "(Recall) when ——— said", said of Moses (V, 20, XIV, 6, XVIII, 60, XXVII, 7, etc.), Abraham (VI, 74, XIV, 35, etc.), Joseph (XII, 4), God (V, 110, 116, XV, 28, XVII, 61, XVIII, 50, etc.), and others, and *wa-laḳad arsalnā*, "And We sent", said of Noah (XI, 25, XXIII, 23, XXIX, 14, etc.; cf. VII, 59), Moses (XI, 96, XIV, 5, etc.; cf. XXIII, 45), and others. Cf. *wa-laḳad ātaynā*, "And We gave" (e.g. "And We gave Moses the Book") in XVII, 101, XXI, 48, 51, XXXI, 12, XXXIV, 10, etc.

One special type of Ḳur'ānic narrative that made up a major part of the revelation during the Meccan years is the punishment-story, discussed above for its use of refrains and schematic form in some versions. Five punishment-stories stand out from the others, those of Noah, Hūd and the tribe of ʿĀd, Ṣāliḥ and the tribe of Thamūd, Lot, and Shuʿayb and the people of Midian. And two others are prominent in some *sūras*, the story of Moses and the drowning of Pharaoh's army, and the story of Arabham rejecting the idols of his people. These seven occur together in XXVI, 10-191, and are mentioned together in XXII, 42-4. Fairly complete versions of some of these stories also occur in VII, 59-93 (all but Abraham and Moses), XI, 25-95 (all but Moses), XXXVII, 75-148 (only the Biblical ones), and LIV, 9-42 (all but Abraham and Shuʿayb). Shorter versions of some of these seven and references to these and some others (Jonah, the people of Sheba, the men of al-Rass, and the people of Tubbaʿ) occur in IX, 70, XIV, 9, XXI, 48-77, XXIII, 23-48, XXV, 35-40, XXVII, 7-58, L, 12-14, LI, 24-46, LIII, 50-5, LXIX, 4-10, and LXXXIX, 6-14. The "men of al-Ḥidjr" in XV, 80-4, are probably the tribe of Thamūd; the "men of the Grove" (XV, 78 f., XXVI, 176-91, etc.) seem to be identical with the people of Midian [see MADYAN SHUʿAYB]; and "the subverted (cities)" (*al-mu'tafikāt*) are most likely Sodom and Gomorrah, the cities of Lot. Thus these three are apparently variations of three of the seven. Most Western scholars have accepted the view of A. Sprenger (*Leben*, i, 462) and J. Horovitz (*Koranische Untersuchungen*, 26-8) that the term *maṯhānī* in XV, 87 and XXXIX, 23 (see 1.b above) refers to the seven most prominent punishment-stories, since the first verse says "seven of the *maṯhānī* and the mighty *ḳur'ān*" have been sent down to Muḥammad by God, and the second describes the Book sent down to Muḥammad as having *maṯhānī* "at which the skins of those who fear their Lord do creep". See Paret, *Kommentar*, 279 f., and Bell-Watt, 134 f.

The Ḳur'ān also contains some parables, the longest and clearest one being the parable of the Blighted Garden in LXVIII, 17-33. Others include the parable of the man with two gardens (XVIII, 32-44), the good and corrupt trees (XIV, 24-7), and the unbelieving town (XXXVI, 13-32). Several other brief parables are little more than expanded similes, e.g. the fire at night in II, 17, the downpour in II, 19, the slave in XVI, 75, the dumb man in XVI, 76, the water and vegetation in XVIII, 45, the light of God in XXIV, 35, the master and his slaves in XXX, 28, and the slave with several masters in XXXIX, 29 (see Bell-Watt, 81). These parables have no standard form; some are introduced by the statement addressed to Muḥammad: "And coin for them a parable" (*wa 'ḍrib lahum maṯhalan*), e.g. XVIII, 32, 45, XXXVI, 13, others by the statement: "God has coined a parable" (*ḍaraba 'llāhu maṯhalan*), e.g. XIV, 24, XVI, 75, 76, 112, XXXIX, 29, LXVI, 10.

e. Regulations. The Ḳur'ān provides detailed regulations on some aspects of the conduct of the Muslim community, and general instructions on others. No complete code of conduct or list of required duties is presented; each issue is treated separately, usually in several different places. The main religious duties are introduced in stages, and there are inconsistencies in some of the requirements. What follows are some examples that illustrate the nature and form of the various Ḳur'ānic regulations, beginning with four that later became Pillars of Islam.

On the prayer ritual (*ṣalāt*): "Observe thou [Muḥammad] the Prayer (*aḳimi 'l-ṣalāt*) at the two ends of the day and the neighbouring parts of the night" (XI, 114; cf. XVII, 78 f.); "Remember the Prayers (*ṣalawāt*), including the middle Prayer, and stand [in worship] to God reverently" (II, 238); "so recite what is convenient of it [the Ḳur'ān], and observe the Prayer (*aḳimū 'l-ṣalāt*), and pay the Zakāt, and lend to God a good loan" (LXXIII, 20); "verily the Prayer has become for the believers a thing prescribed for stated times" (IV, 103). On almsgiving (*zakāt, ṣadaḳa*): "If you give alms (*ṣadaḳāt*) publicly it is well, but if you conceal it and give to the poor it is better for you" (II, 271); "Observe the Prayer, pay the *zakāt* (*ātū 'l-zakāt*), and obey the Messenger" (XXIV, 56); "The alms (*ṣadaḳāt*) are for the poor and the destitute, for the agents employed therein, for those whose hearts are to be won over, for the ransom of slaves, for the relief of debtors, for expenditure in the way of God, and for the follower of the way—an ordinance (*farīḍa*) from God" (IX, 60). On fasting (*ṣiyām, ṣawm*): "O believers, fasting is prescribed for you (*kutiba ʿalaykum*) as it was for those before you ... [during] the month of Ramaḍān ... It is allowable for you on the night of the fast to go in to your wives ... and eat and drink until so much of the dawn appears that a white thread may be distinguished from a black; then keep the fast completely until night" (II, 183-7). On the Pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj, ʿumra*): "Fulfil the pilgrimage (*ḥadjdj*) and the visitation (*ʿumra*) unto God. ... If anyone of you is sick or suffering from an injury to the head, then a compensation (*fidya*) by way of fasting or almsgiving (*ṣadaḳa*) or pious observance" (II, 196); "Ṣafā and Marwa are among the manifestations of God. ... It is no fault (*djunāḥ*) if anyone makes the circuit of them" (II, 158).

These four religious duties are required of all Muslims only in Medinan passages dating from around the time of the battle of Badr or later. The *ṣalāt* is mentioned in Meccan or early Medinan passages, but is required only of Muḥammad, with the imperative verb in the singular, *aḳimi 'l-ṣalāt* (XI, 114, XVII, 78, XXIX, 45, XXX, 31, etc.). The term *zakāt* in Meccan passages (XVIII, 81, XIX, 13) means "purity". Passages that are late Meccan or early Medinan say that earlier prophets instituted the

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ṣalāt and the *zakāt* (X, 87, XIV, 40, XIX, 30 f., 54 f., XX, 14, XXI, 73, etc.), or recommend them to the Muslims as signs of piety (II, 177, XXVII, 1-4, etc.). Then in passages dating from the year 2 A.H. and later these two practices are required of Muslims, with the imperative verbs in the plural, *aḳīmū 'l-ṣalāt* and *ātū 'l-zakāt* (II, 43, IV, 77, 103, IX, 11, XXII, 78, XXIV, 56, LVIII, 13, LXXIII, 20, etc.). The Muslim fast was introduced in two or probably three stages in the Ḳur'ān (see Wagtendonk, *Fasting in the Koran*, 41-127), and the pilgrimage was adopted as a Muslim ritual probably before Badr, but was not practised as such until the last years of Muḥammad's life.

The form used most frequently for introducing and stressing regulations for the Muslim community is the plural imperative verb, seen several times in the examples given above and often elsewhere involving a variety of practices, e.g.: "O believers, when you stand up for the Prayer, wash your faces and your hands up to the elbows, and wipe your heads and your feet up to the ankles" (V, 6); "O believers, show piety towards God and abandon the usury that remains if you are believers" (II, 278); "O believers, when you contract a debt with another for a stated term, write it down" (II, 282); "Fight in the way of God those who fight you, but do not provoke hostility" (II, 190); "Contribute in the way of God; hand not yourselves over to destruction, but do well" (II, 195). Sometimes negative commands are given, as in VI, 151: "Come, let me repeat what your Lord has forbidden you: do not associate anything with Him . . . do not kill your children because of poverty —do not draw near indecencies . . . do not kill the person whom God has made forbidden except with justification"; cf. XVII, 22-39. The expression *kutiba ʿalaykum*, "prescribed for you is", seen in II, 183, above on fasting, also occurs elsewhere, e.g. "O believers, retaliation in the matter of the slain is prescribed for you, the free for the free, the slave for the slave, the female for the female; so if anyone is forgiven anything by his [injured] brother, let him follow it with what is reputable, and pay with kindness" (II, 178), and "Prescribed for you, when death draws nigh to one of you, and he has goods to leave, is the making of a testament in favour of parent and relatives reputable—a duty resting upon those who show piety" (II, 180). And an expression having the opposite meaning, *ḥurrimat ʿalaykum*, "forbidden to you is", also occurs, e.g. in IV, 23, and V, 3. Other forms and many other regulations occur, especially in the *sūra*s that are completely Medinan. Some of these passages can be classified as commandments or divine legislation; others are more in the nature of religious instruction or exhortation.

f. Liturgical forms. While all of the Ḳur'ān is recited in liturgical settings, only some parts are distinctly liturgical in form. By far the most important part of the Ḳur'ān for use in worship is the opening *sūra*, the *Fātiḥa*, a seven-verse prayer recited at least twice in each performance of the *ṣalāt*. Whether or not the *Fātiḥa* [*q.v.*] was considered to be part of the Ḳur'ān during Muḥammad's lifetime is uncertain. Prayers might seem out of place in a text in which God is the speaker, but others also occur, the best example being the prayer at the end of Sūra II: "O our Lord, take us not to task if we forget, or make a mistake; O our Lord, lay not upon us a task such as Thou didst lay on those before us . . . Pardon us and forgive us, and have mercy upon us; Thou art our patron; so help us against the people of unbelievers" (Bell). Some prayers are also included within narratives, e.g. Abraham's prayer in XIV, 35-41. Exaltations, in which God is praised in the third person, occur more frequently; the best known of these is the "Throne verse", II, 255, mentioned in 7.d above for its mythic motif. The divine epithets mentioned in 6.c above as rhyme phrases are also a type of praise formula, which however do not give the impression of being liturgical. Praise forms that do seem to have a liturgical purpose occur at the beginning of several Medinan *sūra*s. A *sabbaḥa li 'llāh* formula, "Magnifies God (*sabbaḥa li 'llāh*) all that is in the heavens and the earth", occurs at the beginning of LVII, LIX, LXI, LXII and LXIV, three of which continue with "He is the Almighty, the All-wise". These five *sūra*s date mainly from the middle Medinan years, after the completion of the *sūra*s that begin with revelation formulas and the mysterious letters (see 4.d above). The liturgical setting of the *sabbaḥa li 'llāh sūra*s is suggested by their introductions and conclusions. One might conjecture that the Friday prayer service was the occasion for the first recitation of these *sūra*s (see LXII, 9-11), and possibly also those with the revelation formulas. Other praise formulas, which may or may not have specifically liturgical functions within the Ḳur'ān, include: the *taḥmīd*, i.e. *al-ḥamdu li 'llāh*, "Praise be to God", at the beginning of I, VI, XVIII, XXXIV and XXXV, and in VII, 43, X, 10, XVII, 111, etc.; the *tasbīḥ*, i.e. *subḥāna 'llāh*, "Glory be to God", occurring with variations in XVII, 1, 93, 108, XXVIII, 68, XXXVI, 36, XXXVII, 180-2, XLIII, 82, etc.; and *tabāraka 'llāh*, "Blessed be God", occurring with variations in VII, 54, XXIII, 14, XXV, 1, 10, 61, XL, 64, XLIII, 85, LV, 78 and LXVII, 1.

Others: The Ḳur'ān contains other distinctive literary forms and themes that can be mentioned only briefly here. Especially important in Meccan parts of the Ḳur'ān are a large number of dramatic scenes, usually involving death, the Last Judgment, the pleasures of paradise (*al-djanna* = the garden), and the tortures of the hellfire (see the O'Shaughnessy arts. in *Bibl.*). Dramatic scenes constitute the main Ḳur'ānic form for treating these subjects, which are nowhere fully or systematically explained, and they also occur frequently in narratives, reflecting the oral qualities of these Meccan parts of the Ḳur'ān (see Bell-Watt, 80 f.). There are also many addresses on a variety of topics. Most Meccan ones treat theological topics—the signs of God, messages of earlier prophets, etc.—and thus can be classified as sermons. Early Medinan ones are often addressed to the Jews, either as the Children of Israel or the People of the Book. Later Medinan ones, usually addressed "O believers", but sometimes "O children of Adam" or "O people", treat specific legal, political, and military matters as well as general religious, moral, and social themes. Another special type of material found in both Meccan and Medinan parts of the Ḳur'ān involves Muḥammad's personal situation. Many Meccan passages addressed to Muḥammad bring comfort and encouragement in times of persecution, instructions on religious practices, etc. Some Medinan ones, addressed "O Prophet", give special marriage and divorce regulations. Others are addressed to Muḥammad's wives or otherwise treat his family problems (see *sūra*s XXIV, XXXIII, LXVI).

8. The Ḳur'ān in Muslim Life and Thought

For Muslims the Ḳur'ān is much more than scripture or sacred literature in the usual Western sense. Its primary significance for the vast majority through the centuries has been in its oral form, the form in

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which it first appeared, as the "recitation" (*ḳur'ān*) chanted by Muḥammad to his followers over a period of about twenty years (on its liturgical function during Muḥammad's lifetime, see VII, 203-6, LXXIII, 20, LXXXIV, 20 f., etc.). The revelations were memorised by some of Muḥammad's followers during his lifetime, and the oral tradition that was thus established has had a continuous history ever since, in some ways independent of, and superior to, the written Ḳur'ān. During the early centuries when the written Ḳur'ān was limited to the *scriptio defectiva* of the period (see 3.c above), the oral tradition established itself as the standard by which the written text was to be judged. Even when the Egyptian "standard edition" was prepared in the early 1920s, it was the oral tradition and its supporting *ḳirā'āt* literature (rather than early Ḳur'ān mss.) that served as the authority for determining the written text. Through the centuries the oral tradition of the entire Ḳur'ān has been maintained by the professional reciters (*ḳurrā'*) (on Ḳur'ān reciters in Egypt, see M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt today*, Cambridge 1970, 11-13, 37-43, and for the oral tradition in general, Labīb al-Said, *The recited Koran*, see *Bibl.*), while all Muslims memorise parts of the Ḳur'ān for use in the daily prayers. Until recently, the significance of the recited Ḳur'ān has seldom been fully appreciated in the West.

The Ḳur'ān also had a central role in the theological debates of the early centuries, and it has continued to be one of the most controversial issues in Islamic theology. Since the Ḳur'ān was held to consist of messages brought from God to Muḥammad by Gabriel, and since God is the "speaker" in these messages, it was natural for Muslims to think of it as God's speech (*kalām*). About the time of Hārūn al-Rāshīd, theologians began to discuss whether or not the Ḳur'ān was created. Among those who maintained that it was were the Mu'tazila, including some who had positions at the court of al-Ma'mūn. Convinced by their arguments, and also thinking that adoption of the doctrine would be politically beneficial, al-Ma'mūn in 218/833 established the *miḥna* [*q.v.*] or "inquisition", in which most leading officials were obliged to profess publicly that the Ḳur'ān was created. Nearly all submitted but a few refused, notably Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) [*q.v.*]. In 234/848, shortly after the accession of al-Mutawakkil, the *miḥna* was abandoned, probably because its political results were disappointing. Up through the time of the *miḥna* the issue seems to have been whether the Ḳur'ān was the actual speech of God or was created. Those who accepted the latter view, arguing that God "has never spoken and does not speak", were called by their opponents the Djahmiyya [*q.v.*—see also Watt, *Formative period*, 143-8]. Then Ibn Ḥanbal argued that the Ḳur'ān is part of God's knowledge (*'ilm*), and after the *miḥna* he accepted the expression "uncreated" (*ghayr makhlūḳ*) as a description of the Ḳur'ān. This led to the formulation of the doctrine that it is eternal (*ḳadīm*), argued for by al-Ash'arī (d. 323/935) [*q.v.*] and others. Although this became the standard Sunnī view (see, e.g. the 4th/10th century Ḥanafī creed called by Wensinck *Fiḳh Akbar II*, art. 3), it has not been accepted by all. The Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) [*q.v.*], for instance, disavowed this view, arguing that the question of the eternity or temporality of the Ḳur'ān was not an issue before the time of Ibn Ḥanbal, and that in affirming the uncreatedness of the Ḳur'ān the "pious ancestors", including Ibn Ḥanbal, never meant to assert its eternity. It should also be noted that even the expression *ghayr makhlūḳ* does not occur in Muslim creeds until after the *miḥna* (see, e.g. Wensinck, *Muslim Creed*, 103 f., 127, 189) and that the early discussions and creeds do not mention the Ḳur'ānic expression "preserved tablet" (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ*) [see LAWḤ] in LXXXV, 22, and "mother of the Book" (*umm al-kitāb*) in III, 7, which only later came to be interpreted as referring to a heavenly archetype of the Ḳur'ān in support of the doctrine of its eternity. See W. Madelung, *The origins of the controversy concerning the creation of the Koran*, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, Leiden 1974, i, 504-25; W. M. Watt, *Early discussions about the Qur'ān*, in *MW*, xl (1950), 27-40, 96-105; idem, *Formative period*, 178 f., 242-5, 280-5, 293; J. Bouman, *The doctrine of 'Abd al-Djabbār on the Qur'ān as the created word of Allāh*, in *Verbum*, the H. W. Obbink *Festschrift*, Utrecht 1964, 67-86; H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Munich 1962, 75-89. For an outline of the views of the various schools on the Ḳur'ān as the *kalām Allāh*, see KALĀM.

Parallel to the development of the doctrine of the eternity of the Ḳur'ān there also arose the dogma of its inimitability (*i'djāz*) [*q.v.*]. From the beginning, the Ḳur'ān had been seen as a "sign" (*āya*) or "proof" (*burhān*) of Muḥammad's prophethood. This belief took a more precise form in the teaching that each prophet was given a verifying miracle (*mu'djiza*), and that the Ḳur'ān was Muḥammad's; the term *i'djāz*, it should be noted, still had not received its technical meaning as late as the time of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (see Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muhammad in Lehre und Glaube*, Uppsala 1917, 101). Early discussion of the *i'djāz* of the Ḳur'ān centred around the concept of *taḥaddī* or "challenge", based largely on several verses of the Ḳur'ān (II, 23, X, 38, XI, 13, XVII, 88, etc.). The failure of Muḥammad's contemporaries to take up the challenge to produce even one *sūra* like those he recited was taken as proof that it was impossible. This argument was then supplemented by the concept of *ṣarfa* (lit. "turning away"), meaning that God prevented the competent from taking up the challenge. In one of the earliest treatises devoted solely to *i'djāz*, 'Alī b. 'Īsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/944) mentioned both of these arguments along with several others, involving the eloquence of the Ḳur'ān, its prophecies of future events, its establishment of new literary forms and style that surpass all others, etc. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 388/998) in his *al-Bayān fī i'djāz al-Ḳur'ān* (see *Bibl.*) stressed the rhetorical eloquence of the Ḳur'ān, and al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013) in the most famous work on the subject (see *Bibl.*) rejected the *ṣarfa* argument and compiled what he regarded as empirical evidence of the Ḳur'ān's superior style. He also argued that since Muḥammad was illiterate, he could not have read other scriptures or written down stories told by human informants, and thus Ḳur'ānic reports of past events and prophecies of future events are further proof of the miracle of the Ḳur'ān and its divine source. For summaries of the development of these views see *Itḳān*, ii, 116-25; Abdul Aleem, *I'djazu'l-Qur'an*, in *IC*, vii (1933), 64-82, 215-33; J. Bouman, *Le conflit autor du Coran et la solution d'al-Bāqillānī*, Amsterdam 1959; H. Stieglecker, *op. cit.*, 371-408; and art. I'DJĀZ. The standard modern work on the subject is that of Muṣṭafā Ṣādiḳ al-Rāfi'ī (see *Bibl.*).

The doctrines of the eternity and perfection or inimitability of the Ḳur'ān contributed to its extensive influence throughout Islamic life and culture.

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It became the first "source" (*aṣl*) of Islamic law, the *Sharīʿa*, which also came to be regarded as eternal (cf. the Torah in Jewish belief). Its grammar became standard for later Arabic, which replaced other languages across the Near East and North Africa (among Christians and Jews as well as Muslims), and its script came to be adopted in Persian, Turkish, Urdu, and other languages. Verses of the Ḳurʾān became the main subject of Islamic calligraphy and one of the main decorative motifs of Islamic religious art and architecture, as a substitute for statues and pictorial representation. At the same time, these two doctrines have been the strongest factor working against the acceptance of critical studies of the Ḳurʾān within the modern Muslim community. In the early centuries, Muslim scholars studied the Ḳurʾān as literature and as a historical source, analysing its grammar, style, poetic imagery, etc., and attempting to determine its chronology, development of ideas, and historical settings. But the widespread acceptance of belief in the eternity and *iʿdjāz* of the Ḳurʾān has made modern Muslims loath to accept methods of historical and literary criticism that have proved so fruitful in the study of other scriptures. To a certain extent this is understandable to Christians, since the development of the doctrines of the eternity and *iʿdjāz* of the Ḳurʾān is parallel to the development of the doctrine of the Trinity, and the closest analogue in Christian belief to the role of the Ḳurʾān in Muslim belief is not the Bible, but Christ. Thus the difficulty Muslims have in adopting a critical approach to the Ḳurʾān is comparable to the difficulty many Christians have in accepting a critical view of the life of Jesus (e.g. regarding his virgin birth and resurrection). But this should not prevent critical analyses of the Ḳurʾān, which is after all still a literary work of supreme importance and an invaluable historical document.

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(A. T. Welch)

9. Translation of the Ḳur'ān

a. The orthodox doctrine concerning translation. In the time of Muḥammad it is certain that nobody had considered the possibility that the Ḳur'ān might be translated either as a whole or in part into a foreign language. It was revealed expressly as an "Arabic Ḳur'ān" (Sūra XII, 2; XX, 113; XXXIX, 28; XLI, 3; XLII, 7; XLIII, 3), in "clear Arabic language" (XVI, 103; XXVI, 195; cf. XLVI, 12), that the Prophet through it might "warn the capital (i.e., Mecca) and the people in its surroundings" (VI, 92; XLII, 7). It was not originally intended for non-Arabs. It was only as a result of the spread of the Arabic-Islamic conquests that the sphere of influence of the Ḳur'ān was extended to territories outside the Arabic-speaking world. The Persians and other non-Arabs who embraced Islam were obliged, in the same way as their genuinely Arab fellow-believers, to recite in the ritual prayer the Fātiḥa and several other texts from the Ḳur'ān. The question thus arose whether they should be permitted to recite the texts in question in their native language instead of in Arabic. In so far as Muslims from the non-Arabic-speaking territories were interested in getting to know not only the texts used in the prayers, but also other parts of the Ḳur'ān, or the whole of the Ḳur'ān, there arose the further question whether this might be achieved with the help of a translation.

The theologians and jurists who had to decide on this matter in general adopted a rigorous attitude. With regard to the recitation of the Fātiḥa in the ritual prayer, the Mālikīs, Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs insisted that the text must be spoken in Arabic. In a case where the person praying could not recite the Fātiḥa in Arabic, he must substitute for it another passage from the Ḳur'ān, or observe a silent pause, or repeat the name of God for the same length of time. On the other hand it is reported that Abū Ḥanīfa had originally declared that the recital of the Fātiḥa in Persian was permitted without reservation; he later restricted this concession to those worshippers who were unable to speak Arabic. This then became the general rule for the Ḥanafī school. In similar circumstances other non-Arabic languages besides Persian might be employed.

As for the production and use of translations of the Ḳur'ān, the attitude of the scholars was that a "translation" of the Ḳur'ān in the true sense of the word was not possible. They based their attitude mainly on the argument that the wording of the Ḳur'ān is a miracle (*mu'djiza*) incapable of imitation by man. This characteristic would be invalidated in a translation into a foreign language, since this would be made by man. Furthermore, the scholars maintained that a translation of the Ḳur'ān which was both literal and at the same time true to the meaning was not possible. They conceded, however, that a so-called translation (*tardjama*) in the sense of a commentary (*tafsīr*) might be used, on the assumption that the text of the original was not superseded by this. Thus manuscripts of the Ḳur'ān might be provided with an interlinear (quasi-)translation. In more recent times this was extended to the printing of the translation (as a commentary) beside the Arabic text. This is the practice which remains usual for translations made by Muslims.

The question whether in the ritual prayer texts from the Ḳur'ān may be recited in a non-Arabic language and whether the production and use of translations of the Ḳur'ān should be permitted became once again acute when in Turkey in the nineteen-twenties the authorities proceeded to "nationalise" the ritual prayers and to publish Turkish translations of the Ḳur'ān not accompanied by the Arabic original. Authoritative theologians found themselves induced once again to explain and to justify the orthodox standpoint by reference to earlier authorities.

The first statements were mainly of a polemical and negative nature. In the course of time, however, there prevailed a more eirenical judgement on the matter. Thus the Ḥanafī scholar of al-Azhar, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, in a thorough investigation first published in 1932, adopted the attitude that for a Muslim without a knowledge of Arabic the recital of the Ḳur'ānic texts prescribed for the prayer in an appropriate translation was absolutely obligatory (*wādjib*). The important thing in the prayer is the meaning of the text, not the character of the *i'djāz*. The true sense is, however, transmitted through a translation. Furthermore, it is not realistic to require the great mass of Muslims from the non-Arabic-speaking territories to learn Arabic on account of the Ḳur'ān. It is much more desirable and indispensable (according to Maḥmūd Shaltūt, even obligatory) for them to use translations, quite apart from their use in the prayer. The thesis that the Ḳur'ān in translation ceases to be the Word of God (*kalām Allāh*) is, according to Marāghī, valid only with reservations. The translation does not simply represent human speech (*kalām al-nās*), for although it does not contain the Word of God literally, yet its content consists of the meaning of God's Word.

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b. Translations into specific languages. The Ḳurʾān has been translated into most of the languages of Asia and Europe, and into some African ones. A Persian translation is said to have been made during the time of the Orthodox Caliphs by Salmān al-Fārisī, a Companion of the Prophet; one into Berber in 127/744-5; and a Sindhi one in 270/883-4; but none of these survives.

Bibliography: *Index translationum*, *passim*; the catalogues of the British Library, India Office Library, Cambridge University Library and others; J. C. Lobherz, *Dissertatio historico-philologico-theologica de Alcorani versionibus . . .*, Nuremberg 1704; C. F. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, Halle 1811; V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes . . .* x. *Le Coran et la tradition*, Liège and Leipzig 1910; M. Hamidullah, *Quran in every language*, Hyderabad Deccan 1939 (continued in *Pensée chiite*, iii-xii, 1960-2, revised ed. *France-Islam*, ii, 1967-); S. M. Zwemer, *Translations of the Koran*, in *MW*, v (1915), 244-61; W. S. Woolworth, *A bibliography of Koran texts and translations*, in *MW*, xvii (1927), 279-89.

1. Persian and Turkish. One of the oldest surviving works in the Persian language is the translation of the large Arabic *tafsīr* of Ṭabarī (d. Baghdād 310/923), which was made for Abū Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr b. Nūḥ, Sāmānid ruler of Transoxania and Khurāsān (350-66/961-76). The precise date is not recorded, but the Persian preface explains how it came to be made. Abū Ṣāliḥ, after questioning his *ʿulamāʾ* about the legality of translation of the Holy Book into Persian, decreed that this should be done by learned men from the cities of this realm. Several MSS. are mentioned by Storey, the earliest, at Rāmpūr, being dated *ca.* 600/1203-4. There is a Persian translation in Roman characters in the Vatican.

Possibly not much later is the Persian text, translation and commentary, copied (and perhaps composed) by one Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Fatḥ in 628/1231, which is preserved at Cambridge and described by E. G. Browne.

Storey lists 48 dated translations and commentaries, and in an appendix, 74 titled or quasi-titled commentaries, as well as a selection of 8 miscellaneous unidentified commentaries and specimens of the numerous anonymous translations to be found in Persian, Indian and other MS. collections, and some lithographs.

The Bregel-Borshchevsky Russian translation of Storey (*Persidskaya literatura*, Moscow 1972) records earlier MSS. of the Ṭabarī translation (Bursa 562/1166-7 and end of 6th/12th century), as well as some 250 other translations and commentaries.

The Persian translation of Ṭabarī's commentary was the basis for the first Turkish version, which Togan regards as its contemporary, but which Inan places in the first half of the 5th/11th century.

There are said to be over 70 translations into Turkish made from at least the 4th/11th century onwards, existing in many hundreds of MSS. in public and private collections, and these have frequently been printed. These are in various forms of the Turkic languages, Eastern and Western, and in the Uyghur and Arabic scripts and in Roman characters, with at least four transliterations into Modern Turkish of the Arabic text.

Bibliography: E. G. Browne, *Description of an old Persian commentary on the Ḳurʾān*, in *JRAS* (1894), 417-524; A. Bodroligeti, *The Persian translation of the Koran in Latin letters*, in *Acta Or. Hung.* xiii (1961), 261-76; Zeki Velidi Togan, *The earliest translation of the Quran into Turkish*, in *Islam Tetkikleri Enst. Dergisi*, iv (1964), 1-19; Abdülkadir Inan, *Ḳurʾān-i Karīm'in türkce tercümeleri üzerinde bir inceleme*, Ankara 1961; J. K. Birge, *Turkish translations of the Koran*, in *MW*, xxviii (1938), 394-9; J. Eckmann, *Eastern Turkic translations of the Koran*, in *Studia Turcica*, ed. L. Ligeti, 1971, 149-59; idem, *Middle Turkic glosses of the Rylands interlinear Koran translation*, Budapest 1976; Yasaroğlu, in M. Hamidullah, *Kur'an-i Kerîm tarihi ve türkçe tercümeler bibliyografyası*, Istanbul 1965.

2. Indo-Pakistani languages. Of the many Urdu versions, the earliest are said to have been made by Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] and Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn, each of them an uncle of the celebrated preacher and scholar Muḥammad Ismāʿīl Shahīd [see ISMĀʿĪL SHAHĪD]. The British Museum Hindustani catalogue lists innumerable examples, including versions made by Christians and printed in Roman characters. Details may also be found in the bibliographies of the Andjuman-i tarakḳḳī-yi Urdū Pākistān (i, Karachi 1961) and of ʿAbd al-Sattār Chaudharī (1974).

In the other Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, there are versions in Assamese, Bengali (innumerable; a 1908 version by Rev. Wm. Goldsack of 1908 is illustrated in *MW*, v (1915), 254-5), Gujarati, Hindi, Kashmiri, Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi (often combined with a Persian version and the Arabic text), Pashto, Sanskrit (Chauvin, x), Sindhi (surveyed by A. M. Schimmel in *Oriens*, xvi (1963), 224-43), Sinhalese; and in the Dravidian languages, Malayalam, Tamil and Telegu.

3. South-East Asian. There are many translations into Malay and Indonesian mentioned in the catalogues and bibliographies, and into other Indonesian languages (Sundanese, Javanese, Macassarese and Buginese). A Burmese version with the Arabic text, by one Ḥādjidjī Nūr al-Dīn known as Ḥādjidjī Lū, published in 1938, may be found in the British Library (*BM. Arab. cat.*, 2nd suppl.), while Tinker mentions that a project to translate the Ḳurʾān into

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that language was initiated by U Nu while Prime Minister in 1955. Two translations into Thai (one with Arabic text) of 1968 and 1971 are in the Wason Library at Cornell University.

Bibliography: *Catalogus van de Bibl. v. het Kon. Inst. v. Taal-, Land- en Volkenk.* and suppls.; Ockeloen, *Catalogus van boeken en tijdschriften uitgegeven in Ned. Oost-Indië*, 1870 (-1953); H. Tinker, art. BURMA.

4. Far Eastern (Chinese and Japanese). Several 19th and 20th century works contain selections in Chinese, sometimes with commentary. A MS. believed to date from about 1800 in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, gives "pieces from the Koran and prayers transcribed from the Arabic original in Chinese sounds". Translation into Chinese was recommended by Sakuma, a Japanese businessman and convert to Islam who, in 1925, founded the progressive but short-lived newspaper *Mu kiang*. Another source says that in that same year a complete translation was under consideration by the International Muslim Association. The British Museum has a *Kuo-yü ku-lan ching*, with commentary translated from English versions by Shih Tzu-chou and others (Taipei 1958).

Japanese versions by Toshihiko Izutsu and Tanaka Shiro were published in several editions in the nineteen-fifties, sixties and seventies.

Bibliography: *Un commentaire chinois du Coran*, in *RMM*, iv (1908), 540-7; I. Mason, *Notes on Chinese Mohammadan literature*, in *J. North China Branch RAS*, lvi (1925), 172-215; R. A. Syrdal, *Christ in the Chinese Koran*, in *MW*, xxvii (1937), 72-83.

5. Non-Islamic Near Eastern Languages. Three manuscripts of Hebrew translations exist (in Oxford, Cambridge and the Library of Congress), the first two made from the Italian of Arrivabene, the third from the Dutch of Glazemaker. All of these predate the translation of Hermann (Ḥayyim) Reckendorf, Leipzig 1857, made direct from the Arabic. Two further translations have since appeared: by Joseph Joel Rivlin (Tel Aviv 1936-41, 1963²) and by Aharon Ben-Shemesh (Ramath Gan 1971).

Quotations from the Ḳur'ān, in Syriac, appear in a polemical work against Jews, Nestorians and Muslims by the West Syrian writer Barsalībī (d. 1171), which exists in a manuscript now in the John Rylands University Library in Manchester, and in another in the Harvard University Semitic Museum. It is doubtful if a complete Syriac translation ever existed.

In the Bhopal State Library is to be found a Ḳur'ān in classical Armenian, translated from the Latin by Stephanos of Ilov, a monk of Echmiadzin. This MS., in a "simply perfect calligraphy", lacks title-page and date but is thought to be of the first half of the 17th century. A printed translation, with a life of Muḥammad, by Leron Larēncʿ, made from the French versions of Savary and Kasimirski, was published in Istanbul (pt. 3 in 1912).

A Georgian version (Tiflis 1906) is in the Wardrop Collection in the Bodleian Library.

Bibliography: M. M. Weinstein, *A Hebrew Qur'ān manuscript*, in *Studies in bibliography and booklore* (Cincinnati), x (1971-2), 19-43; A. Mingana, *An ancient Syriac translation of the Ḳur'ān*, in *Bull. John Rylands Libr.*, ix (1925), 188-235, and repr.; J. Rendel Harris, *The new text of the Ḳur'ān*, *ibid.*, x (1926), 219-22; Mesrob J. Seth, *A manuscript Koran in Classical Armenian*, in *JASB*, N.S. xix (1929), 291-4.

6. African languages. There are three translations of the Ḳur'ān into Swahili: Christian, Aḥmadī and Sunnī Shāfiʿī. The earliest, made by Godfrey Dale, a missionary with the Universities Mission for Central Africa, was published by the S.P.C.K. in London in 1923. It contains over 700 *maelezo* (explanatory comments or notes) by Dale or his colleague, G. W. Broomfield.

The Aḥmadī version (Nairobi 1953, 1971²) was made by Shaykh Mubārak Aḥmadī, chief missionary of the Aḥmadiyya Muslim Mission in East Africa, while the Sunnī Shāfiʿī version, by Shaykh ʿAbd Allah Ṣāliḥ al-Fārsī, was published in fascicules between 1956 and 1962 at Zanzibar, in a one-volume edition in Bangalore (1949), and by the Islamic Foundation at Nairobi in 1956.

Other African-language versions exist in Yoruba (Rev. M. S. Cole, Lagos 1924), Ganda (Uganda Aḥmadiyya Muslim Mission, 1965) and Amharic (Artistic Press, Addis Ababa, 1961). Possible versions in Berber are discussed by Henri Basset, see *Bibl.*

Bibliography: H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920, 63-4; G. Dale, *A Swahili translation of the Koran*, in *MW*, xiv (1924), 5-9; V. Monteil, *Un Coran ahmadi en Swahili*, in *Bull. IFAN*, xxix, B (1967), 479-95; J. D. Holway, *The Qur'ān in Swahili; three translations*, in *MW*, lxi (1971), 102-10.

7. European languages. The Latin paraphrase made by Robert of Ketton at the behest of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, and completed in 1143, exists in the autograph of the translator in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris. Robert is said to have been "always liable to heighten or exaggerate a harmless text to give it a nasty or licentious sting, or to prefer an improbable but unpleasant interpretation of the meaning to a likely but normal and decent one" (N. Daniel, *Islam and the West, the making of an image*, Edinburgh 1960, see Index, s.v. Ketton). The work of Robert formed the basis for several mediaeval versions, but was apparently unknown to another early translator, Marc of Toledo. It was recopied in the 17th century by Dominicus Germanus, whose work exists in Montpelier, the Escurial and elsewhere, and was published in the Cluniac corpus, together with various other works of Christian propaganda, by Theodor Bibliander (Buchmann) in three editions at Basel in 1543, and one at Zürich in 1550 containing a preface by Martin Luther.

The first translation in a modern European language was the Italian version of Andrea Arrivabene, published in 1547. Though its author claims that it is made directly from the Arabic, it is clearly a translation or paraphrase of Robert of Ketton's text as published by Bibliander. Arrivabene's version was used for the first German translation made by Solomon Schweigger, preacher at the Frauenkirche in Nürnberg, which in turn formed the basis of the first Dutch translation, made anonymously and issued in 1641.

The first French version by André du Ryer, "Sieur de la Garde Malezais", came out in a great many editions between 1647 and 1775. All editions contain a "summary of the religion of the Turks" and other documents. This gave rise to the first Koran in English by Alexander Ross, and also fathered versions in Dutch (by Glazemaker), German (Lange) and Russian (Postnikov and Veryovkin).

The second Latin version was made directly from the Arabic text by Ludovico Marraci (or Marracci), published first in 1698 and secondly, with additions and annotations, by Reineccius in 1721. It was translated into German by Nerreter.

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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The 18th century brought translations made directly from an Arabic original by Sale into English (first published in 1734), Savary (French, 1751) and Boysen (German, 1773). Sale's version was in vogue in the English-speaking world for nearly two centuries: his renowned preliminary discourse, based, according to Nallino, on Marracci and Edward Pococke senior, was translated into several European languages. It was even translated into Arabic by Protestant missionaries in Egypt.

Savary's version was, according to Chauvin, evidently made from the Latin of Marracci: it bears the distinction of having been published in Mecca in A.H. 1165 (or so the title-page of one edition states!). Kasimirski, whose translation has also had a long run, and indeed like that of Savary, is still being republished in our own time, was requested by Pauthier to revise Savary. He preferred, however, to make a new translation directly from the Arabic while consulting the works of Marracci and Sale.

Throughout the 19th century, the translations were normally made without remove from the Arabic. In the 20th century, the first English versions made by Muslims appear, and the Aḥmadiyya movement began to issue the Ḳur'ān text with translations into European and even African languages. In recent times translations have been made by many of the most prominent Arabists and Islamic scholars into all the main languages of Europe, undeterred by the dictum of A. Fischer that only second or third-grade scholars dared to undertake this task.

Conspectus of European Language Versions:

Afrikaans. Anon. 1950. M. A. Baker, 1961.
Bulgarian. Lica, 1902-5. Tomov and Skulov, *ca.* 1930. (*MW*, xxiii [1933], 189-90.)
Czech. Vesely, 1913-25. Nykl, 1934. Hrbek, 1972. (A. Schimmel, *Die neue tschechische Koranübersetzung*, in *WO* vii [1973-4], 154-62.)
Danish. Madsen, 1967. Selections in chronological order, Buhl, 1921, 1954².
Dutch. Anon., 1641. Glazemaker, 1658, 1696, 1698, 1707, 1721, 1734. Tollens, 1859. Keyzer, 1860, 1879. Bashīr al-Dīn Aḥmad (Aḥmadiyya), 1953. Kramers, 1956, 1965, 1969.
English. Versions by Christians: Ross, 1649, 1688, 1719, 1806. Sale, 1734-1892; American versions 1833-1923. Rodwell, 1861, 1876, 1909 (often reprinted to 1963). Palmer, 1880, 1900 (often reprinted to 1965). Bell, 1937-9. Arberry, 1955 (repr. 1963, 1964, 1969, 1971). Many versions by orthodox Muslims including Pickthall, 1930 etc., bilingual eds. 1938, 1976. A. Yusuf Ali, 1934, etc.; Dawood, 1956 etc. and by the Aḥmadiyya.
Finnish. Ahsen Böre, 1942. Aro, 1957.
French. Du Ryer, many editions, 1647-1775. Savary, 1751-1960. Kasimirski 1840-1970. Fatma-Zaida, 1861. Montet, 1929. Laïmèche, 1931. Pesle and Tidjani, 1936. Blachère, 1949-50, 1957, 1966. Rajabalee (Mauritius) 1949-. Mercier, 1956. Ghedira, 1957. Hamidullah, 1959, 1966. Masson, 1967. Sí Boubakeur Hamza, 1972.
German. Schweigger, 1616, 1623, 1659. Lange, 1688. Nerreter 1703. Arnold, 1746. Megerlin, 1772. Boysen, 1773, 1775. Wahl, 1828. Ullmann, 1840-1959 (10 editions). Grigull, 1901, n.d. Henning, 1901, 1960, 1968. Goldschmidt, 1916. Aubier, 1957. Sadr-ud-Din, 1939. Aḥmadiyya versions, 1954, 1959. Paret, 1966, 1977, paperback ed. 1979, second ed. 1980.
Greek. Pentake, 1878, 1886, etc. Zographou-Meraniou, 1959.
Hungarian. Szdmajer, 1831 (*MW* [1927]). Szokolay, 1854.
Italian. Arrivabene, 1547, 1548, 1912. Calza, 1847. Anon., 1882, 1912, 1913. Fracassi, 1914. Bonelli, 1929, 1940 (repr. 1948, 1956). Bausani, 1955, 1961. Moreno, 1967, 1969. Violante, n.d.
Latin. Robert of Ketton, 1543, 1550. Marracci, 1698, 1721.
Polish. Sobolewski, ? 1828. Buczacki, 1858.
Portuguese. Anon., 1882. Castro, 1964.
Rumanian. Isopescul, 1912.
Russian. Postnikov, 1716. Veryovkin, 1790. Kolmakov, 1792. Nikolaev, 1864-1901 (5 editions). Boguslavski, 1871 (MS. only, *Bull. N.Y. Publ. Library*, xli, 101). Sablukov, 1877-9, 1894-8, 1907. Krimskiy, 1902, 1905, 1916? Kračkovskiy, 1963.
Serbo-Croat. Ljubibratić, 1895. Pandža and Čaušević, 1936, 1936, 1969. Karabeg, 1937. (A. Popović, *Sur une nouvelle traduction du Coran en serbe-croate*, in *Arabica*, xx [1973], 82-4).
Spanish. Gerber de Robles, 1844. Ortiz de la Puebla, 1872. Murguiondo, 1875. Anon., 1931. Bergua, 1931 (9 editions to 1970). Cansinos Assens, 1951 (5 editions to 1963). Vernet Ginés, 1953, 1963. Anon., 1960. Cardona Castro, 1965. Anon., 1965. Hernández Catá, n.d. Garcia Bravo, n.d. Anon., n.d.
Swedish. Crusenstolpe, 1843. Tornberg, 1874. Zettersteén, 1917. Ohlmarks, 1961.

There also exist partial translations in Albanian and Norwegian, and the MS. of a Ukranian version by Volodymyr Lezevyc (Hamidullah, *Le Coran*², 1966, p. lxv).

Bibliography: J. Kritzeck, *Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an*, in *IQ*, ii (1955), 309-12; M. Th. d'Alverny, *Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Age*, in *Archives hist. doctr. litt. Moyen Age*, xxii-xxiv (1947-8), 69-131; W. K[öhler], *Zu Biblianders Koran-Ausgabe*, in *Zwingliana*, iii (1913-20), 349-50; M. Th. d'Alverny, G. Vajda, *Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tumart*, in *And.* xvi (1951), 99-140, 259-307, xvii (1952), 1-56, esp. xvi, 260-8: C. de Frede, *La prima traduzione italiana del Corano . . .*, Naples 1967; Denison Ross, *Ludovico Marraci*, in *BSOS*, ii (1921-3), 117-23; C. Nallino, *Le fonti arabe manoscritte dell' opera di Ludovico Marracci sul Corano*, in *Rend. Accad. Lincei*, Cl. Sci. mor. stor. filol., ser. 6, vii (1931), 303-49; A. Bausani, *On some recent translations of the Qur'ān*, in *Numen*, iv (1957), 75-81; W. A. Bijlefeld, *Some recent contributions to Qur'anic studies*, in *MW*, lxiv (1974), 79-102, 172-9, 259-74; A. Fischer, *Der Wert der vorhandenen Koran-Übersetzungen und Sure* 111, Leipzig 1937; M. Hamidullah, *Le Coran, traduction intégrale, avec une bibliographie de toutes les traductions . . . en langues européennes*, Paris 1966°; J. Vernet, *Traducciones moriscas de* El Corán, in *Der Orient in der Forschung, Festschrift für Otto Spies*, Wiesbaden 1967, 686-705; J. D. Pearson, *Bibliography of translations of the Koran into European languages*, in *Cambridge history of Arabic literature* (forthcoming).

(J. D. PEARSON)

AL-KŪRĀNĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. AL-SHAHRAZŪRĪ AL-ḤASAN SHAHRĀNĪ, AL-MADANĪ (1023-1101/1615-90), scholar and mystic, born in Shahrazûr in the mountains of Kurdistān on the frontiers of Persia. He studied first in Turkey, then in Persia, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Egypt before settling in Medina. In one of his works, *Masālik al-abrār ilā ḥadīth al-nabī al-mukhtār* (Ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, Ṭalʿat ff. 55-6), he refers to a period of 3 months at the Azhar in 1061/1650, where he studied with Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Shabrāmallisī, *Imām* of the Azhar until 1087/1677, the whole *Taysīr fi 'l-sīra al-sab*

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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attributed to al-Ḳurṭubī, and with Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shiḥādha al-Yamanī the *Ṭayyibat al-nashr fī ʾl-ḳirāʾāt al-ʿashr* of al-Djazarī up to Sūra IV, 41, *fa-kayfa idhā djiʾnā min kulli ummatin bi-shahīdin*, after which he travelled to Baghdād where he spent a year and a half. He was a member of several *ṭuruḳ*, the most important among them being the Naḳshbandiyya. In Medina, he was a student of al-Ḳushāshī and succeeded him as head of his *ṭarīḳa* on the former's death in 1071/1661.

He was a prolific author in various of the Islamic disciplines, and wrote on *fiḳh*, *tawḥīd* and *taṣawwuf*. He was one of the last great exponents of the school of Ibn ʿArabī, and is of particular interest because of his use of the techniques of scholastic theology in his *Itḥāf al-dhakī bi-sharḥ al-tuḥfa al-mursala ilā ʾl-nabī* (edition in preparation) in order to explain and defend the monistic tradition of Ibn ʿArabī. Yet despite his commitment to the Ibn ʿArabī tradition, he was by nature a conciliator, arguing that it was preferable to reconcile two opposing points of view than to choose one of them or the other. This did not save him from condemnation by the followers of al-Sanūsī in Fās for his Ḳadariyya learnings on the question of *kasb*, and for Muʿtazilī influence in his views on the material character of non-being as well as for his views on the faith of Pharaoh, and his assertion of the historicity of and explanation of the so-called "Satanic verses" allegedly interpolated into Ḳurʾān, LIII, 21.

Other Moroccans, however, thought highly of him and of his humility and learning. He was esteemed by foreign students in the Ḥidjāz and was well-known among Indian scholars. He had an important influence on the development of Islam in the region now known as Indonesia because of his special relationship with the Achehnese ʿAbd al-Raʾūf of Singkel [*q.v.*] and with succeeding generations of Javan students referred to in the *Fawāʾid al-irtiḥāl wa-natāʾidj al-safar* of Muṣṭafā al-Ḥamwī (Ms. Dār al-Kutub, *Taʾrīkh* 1093, ff. 166-7). His association with ʿAbd al-Raʾūf was particularly close. They were friends in Medina, they corresponded across the Indian Ocean for thirty years after ʿAbd al-Raʾūf returned to Acheh in 1071/1661, and ʿAbd al-Raʾūf made renderings of some of his works in Malay.

The number of works attributed to him ranges from forty-two (Brockelmann, s.v.) to over a hundred, only two of which have been published, sc. *al-Lumʿa al-saniya* and *al-Amam li-iḳāẓ al-himam* (see *Bibl.*). The former is a brief treatise on the "Satanic verses", for which some of the Moroccans condemned him; the latter is a most interesting and important work, setting out in detail his intellectual credentials as a teacher.

Bibliography: Reference works: Brockelmann, II², 514-15; al-Ifrānī al-Marrākushī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣulaḥāʾ*, lith. [Fās], n.d., 210-11; Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fās 1310/1892, ii, 130-7; Muḥammad Khalīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī aʿyān al-ḳarn al-thānī ʿashar*, Būlāḳ 1301/1883, i, f. 5; Muḥammad Ṣiddīḳ Khān al-Ḥusaynī, *Abdjad al-ʿulūm*, n.p. [India] 1296, 846. Published texts: Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī, *al-Amam li-iḳāẓ al-himam*, Ḥaydarābād 1328; A. Guillaume, *al-Lumʿat al-saniya fī taḥḳīḳ al-ilḳāʾ fī ʾl-umnīya by Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī*, in *BSOAS*, x (1957), 291-303; General: P .Voorhoeve, *Bayān Tadjallī*, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (Jakarta), lxxxv/1 (1952), 87-117; A. H. Johns, *Islam in Southeast Asia: problems of perspective*, in C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters (eds.), *Southeast Asian history and historiography*, Ithaca 1976, 304-20. (A. H. Johns)

KURĀNĪ, Gurānī, Shams al-Dīn [see gurānī].

KURAYBIYYA or, more commonly, Karibiyya is the name of a subsect of the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] derived from its otherwise unknown leader Abū, more rarely Ibn Karib (or Kurayb, Karnab) al-Ḍarīr.

The heresiographical sources are agreed that Abū Karib denied the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, the *Imām* and *Mahdī* of the Kaysāniyya. It is thus evident that he was active immediately after the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in 81/700 and probably played a major rôle in promoting Messianic ideas about him among the Kaysāniyya. The sources disagree, however, in regard to other points of his teaching. The Muʿtazilī and Sunnī sources attribute to him the belief that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was alive hidden in the mountains of Raḍwā near Medina, guarded by a lion on his right and a leopard on his left and provided with food in the morning and the evening, until the time of his reappearance. Some of Abū Karib's followers held that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was punished by God with confinement in the Djabal Raḍwā because of his voluntary submission to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. In the account of these sources, Abū Karib appears as the founder of what became the mainstream of the Kaysāniyya expecting the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, and whose views were later expressed in the poetry of Kuthayyir [*q.v.*] and al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*].

According to the Shīʿī sources, on the other hand, Abū Karib and his followers asserted that the place where Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was concealed could not be known and they were distinct from those who believed that he was hiding in the mountains of Raḍwā. They maintained that ʿAlī had named him the *Mahdī*. Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī adds to this that Abū Karib considered Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya the immediate successor of ʿAlī in the imāmate and opposed those who upheld the imāmate of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn before him. This view was in conflict with the position of the majority of the Kaysāniyya, expressed in verses by Kuthayyir, that the three sons of ʿAlī were consecutively *Imām*s and al-Maḳdisī, representing the Muʿtazilī account, expressly states that Abū Karib (Ibn Karnab) considered al-Ḥasan as the *Imām* after ʿAlī. According to al-Nawbakhtī, the extremist Shīʿī Ḥamza b. ʿUmāra al-Barbarī of Medina was originally a follower of Abū (Ibn) Karib, and among Ḥamza's early supporters in Kūfa were Bayān b. Samʿān [*q.v.*] and Ṣāʾid al-Nahdī. The Karibiyya and all its extremist offshoots claimed that they would return to life at the time of the reappearance of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. According to the account of the Muʿtazilī Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, on the other hand, the doctrine of return (*radjʿa*) was first taught by Ḥayyān al-Sarrādj who, in contrast to Abū Karib, believed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya had died and would return to life. While there is no external evidence supporting either of the two groups of sources, the Shīʿī sources, providing more specific details, appear to be generally better informed.

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Page 471 of 600

https://archive.org/details/bk1302/page/n473/mode/1up

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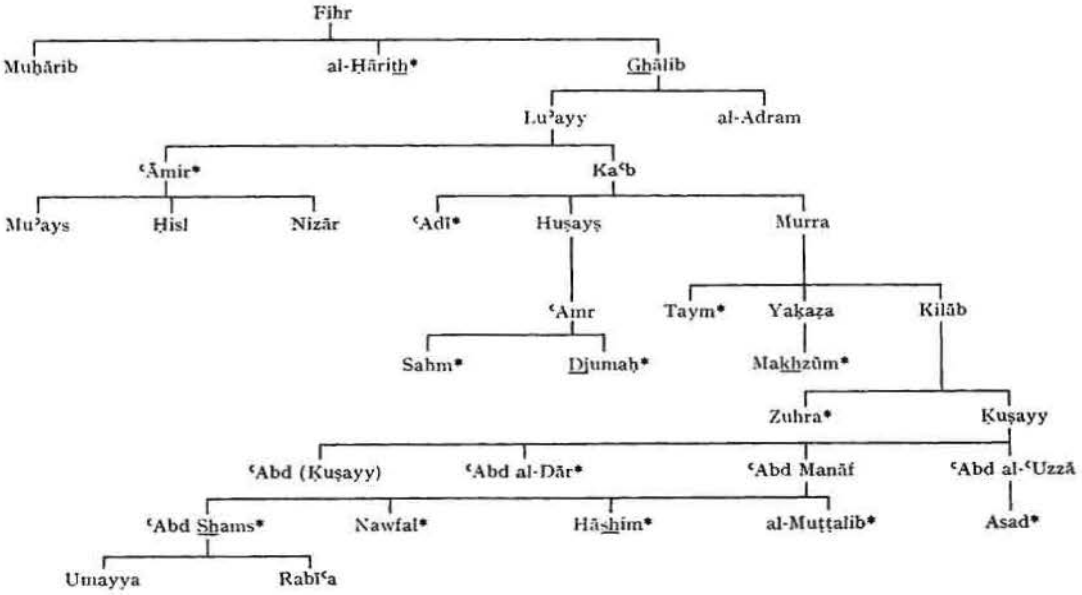
*al-Bad*ʾ *wa ʾl-taʾrīḵẖ*, ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1899-1916, v, 128; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 27 f.; idem, *al-Milal wa ʾl-niḥal*, ed. A. N. Nader, Beirut 1970, 50 f.; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, Cairo 1367/1948, 157-9; Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Iʿtiḳādāt firaḳ al-muslimīn wa ʾl-mushrikīn*, ed. ʿAlī Sāmī al-Nashshār, Cairo 1357/1938, 62; W. Montgomery Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 47-9; Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi ʾl-taʾrīḵẖ wa ʾl-adab*, Beirut 1974, 172 f. (W. MADELUNG)

ḴURAYSH, the tribe inhabiting Mecca in the time of Muḥammad and to which he belonged; the name, which may be a nickname, is mostly (e.g. Ibn Hishām, 61) said to come from *taḳarrush*, "a coming together, association"; but it is also possible (cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1104) that it is the diminutive of *ḵirsh*, "shark", and it could then be a totemic name like Kalb, etc. (A man called Ḳuraysh, other than Fihr, is mentioned in *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 12.7-9.) The tribe is taken to consist of the descendants of Fihr, and he himself is sometimes spoken of as Ḳuraysh; but the name is mostly used only of the tribe, which is reckoned among the "northern Arabs" (cf. ʿADNĀN and AL-ʿARAB, DJAZĪRAT, vi, p. 544b). The ancestry of Fihr is given as: b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān. The following table shows the main subdivisions of Ḳuraysh (for a fuller version, cf. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, 7); an asterisk indicates those commonly spoken of as "clans" in Muḥammad's time.



Fihr is said to have been the leader of men of Kināna, Khuzayma and other tribes in fighting to defend the Kaʿba against an attack by Yamanī tribes, but the sanctuary and various privileges connected with it remained in the hands of the tribe of Khuzāʿa. There was probably little, if any, permanent settlement at Mecca at this period. The descendants of Fihr lived in scattered groups among their relatives of Kināna. A change came about through Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], in the sixth generation from Fihr. He collected together the scattered groups of his kinsmen of Ḳuraysh (and this may be the occasion of their receiving the name), and, with help from certain men of Kināna and Ḳuḍāʿa (normally resident in Syria), he wrested the possession of the sanctuary from Khuzāʿa and became virtual ruler of Mecca. He is also said to have assigned quarters of Mecca to the various groups of Ḳuraysh; those in the area round the Kaʿba were known as the Ḳuraysh of the Biṭāḥ, and included all the descendants of Kaʿb b. Luʾayy, and perhaps some others, while those on the outskirts were the Ḳuraysh of al-Ẓawāhīr. In so far as this assignment of quarters implied permanent settlement, it must have been made possible by the development of trade. Certainly by 600 A.D. the leading men of Ḳuraysh were prosperous merchants who had obtained something like a monopoly of the trade between the Indian Ocean and East Africa on the one hand and the Mediterranean on the other. They organised caravans which went to the Yaman in winter and to Gaza and Damascus in summer, and they were involved in mining and other activities along these routes. Victory in the war of the Fidjār [*q.v.*] against Hawāzin and Thaḳīf brought the routes of the Nadjd under Ḳuraysh. In particular, they gained control of the trade of the town of al-Ṭāʾif, which for a time had been a rival. Since al-Ṭāʾif [*q.v.*] was much higher and cooler than Mecca, many Ḳuraysh acquired estates there. They had also stations in other parts of Arabia. The Ḳuraysh

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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became renowned for their *ḥilm* [*q.v.*] "steadiness" or "absence of hotheadedness", and in practice this meant that they placed business interests first and maintained a measure of unity despite their rivalries.

On the death of Ḳuṣayy (probably in the first half of the 6th century A.D.), his powers and rights passed to ʿAbd al-Dār, but after a time he was challenged by ʿAbd Manāf, and this led to a division of Ḳuraysh into two rival groups. ʿAbd al-Dār was supported by Maḵẖzūm, Sahm, Djumaḥ and ʿAdī, and these were known as the Aḥlāf or Confederates. The opposing party, known as the Muṭayyabūn, the Perfumed, consisted of ʿAbd Manāf, Asad, Zuhra, Taym and al-Ḥāriṯ b. Fihr. It is impossible to know how long these groups remained effective. There is a reference to Muṭayyabūn in a letter from Muḥammad to some men of Ḵẖuzāʿa written in 8 A.H. (al-Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, ii, 750). Long before this, however, about 605 A.D. (*Munammaḳ*, 46), the Muṭayyabūn had been replaced by a new confederacy, the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl [*q.v.*] (exact meaning uncertain), which consisted of Hāshim, al-Muṭṭalib, Asad, Zuhra, Taym and perhaps al-Ḥāriṯ b. Fihr. The essential change here is that ʿAbd Manāf has split into four parts, of whom two, Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib, have remained with their former allies, while the other two, ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal, have abandoned them. This may mean that ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal had become strong through commercial succes. It is clear that ʿAbd Shams, though not fully identified with the Aḥlāf, had developed close business relations with them. In all the stories of the pre-Islamic period there is admittedly a legendary element, but the main outline of events appears to be roughly correct, even if most of the dating is uncertain.

A man did not cease to belong to his clan when he became a Muslim, and in many of the events of Muḥammad's career, and of the period up to 132/750, the influence of old rivalries or alliances can be seen. As late as the reign of Muʿāwiya I, an appeal against injustice was made by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (of Hāshim) to the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, and was given a whole-hearted response from men of Taym, Zuhra and Asad (Ibn Hishām, 86 f.). The leaders of the revolt defeated at the Battle of the Camel in 656 were from Taym and Asad. Of course, there were changes in the relative power and wealth of the clans. The clan of ʿAbd Shams rose to pre-eminence through the Umayyad dynasty, since Umayya was a son of ʿAbd Shams; and the early Shīʿīs and then the ʿAbbāsids represented their old rivals, Hāshim. Under the first four caliphs and the Umayyads, men of Ḳuraysh played a very important role in the organisation and administration of the empire, and without their skills in these fields the empire would probably not have endured.

On the death of Muḥammad, the Anṣār wanted one of them to be head of the community of Muslims, but they were persuaded by ʿUmar to accept Abū Bakr as *ḵẖalīfa*, on the grounds that only a Ḳurashī could hold together the federation. There are indications that the Anṣār continued to feel strongly about this point for some decades (cf. Watt in *MW*, xlii (1952), 161, 164). A *ḥadīṯ* came to be generally accepted, however, that "the *imāms* are from Ḳuraysh" (e.g. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, iii, 129, 183; iv, 421; cf. T. W. Arnold, *The caliphate*, Oxford 1924, 47). The Qurʾānic verse IX, 100/101 was also quoted in support. When the Sunnī theory of the caliphate was formulated, it was generally insisted that the caliph or *imām* should be from Ḳuraysh (e.g. Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, Cairo 1952, i, 26, 34; ii, 21; al-Māwardī, *Aḥkām*, 5; Ibn Ḵẖaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 350-4; Eng. tr., i, 396-401). A few scholars, however (e.g. Ḍirār b. ʿAmr), held otherwise, and most of the Ḵẖawārid̲j considered that a pious and upright man of any origin could be *imām* (al-Ashʿarī, *Makālāt*, 461 f.; al-Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 275-7; rtc.). This matter caused a little difficulty in more recent times when the caliphate was claimed by Mughal emperors and Ottoman sultans, but most *ʿulamāʾ* found a way of circumventing the difficulty (Arnold, *Caliphate*, 162, 175).

The geographer al-Hamdānī (d. 334/945) mentions small groups of Ḳuraysh in various parts of Arabia, possibly remnants of trading stations (ed. D. H. Müller, 119, 122, 165, 194, 258); while al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. 284/897) reports a group of Ḳuraysh near Ṣaydāʾ in the Lebanon (*Buldān*, Leiden 1892, 327). At the present day there are many Ḳuraysh living as Bedouin in the neighbourhood of Mecca, while in Mecca itself the key of the Kaʿba is held by a clan of Ḳuraysh called Shayba.

The *nisba* is Ḳurashī, but this was not much used in the heartlands of the caliphate in the early centuries; if any *nisba* was used it was mostly that from a clan. After a time, some men seem to have prided themselves in descent from Ḳuraysh. The following are some examples: one in ʿIrāḳ, 7/13th century; six in Egypt and Syria, 8/14th, 9/15th, 11/17th, 12/18th centuries; two in North Africa, 7/13th and 9/15th centuries (*GAL*, ii, 110, 111, 112, 449; *GAL* S, i, 298 foot, 537, No. 20, 609; ii, 58; Ibn Ḵẖaldūn, Eng. tr., iii, 126n.). In Pakistan, etc. it is common at the present time in the form Qoreshi.

Bibliography: (for the earlier period): Ibn Hishām, 61-70, 75 f., 79-87, etc.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *K. al-Muḥabbar*, Hyderabad 1942; idem, *K. al-Munammaḳ fī aḵẖbār Ḳuraysh*, Hyderabad 1964; al-Azraḳī, *K. Aḵẖbār Makka*, in F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, i, Leipzig 1858; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j al-d̲hahab*, iii, 91-122, etc.; al-Zubayrī, *K. Nasab Ḳuraysh*, Cairo 1953; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 4-16, etc.; H. Lammens, *La Mecque à la veille de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1924. (W. Montgomery Watt)

ḲURAYSH B. **BADRĀN** [see ʿUḳAYL, Banū —]

ḲURAYYĀT AL-MILḤ, a group of villages in the extreme northwest of Saʿūdī Arabia, in the northern section of the NW-SE depression of Wādī al-Sirḥān (approx. long. 37° 40' E. and lat. 31° 25' N.). The largest settlements, (though none are larger than 2,000 inhabitants) are Ithra, al-Ḳarḳar, Manwā, Ghaṭṭī, Kāf, and an-Nabk, which is the administrative centre and residence of the local *Amīr*, who now reports to Mecca, but at the time of Euting's visit (1301/1883) reported to the *Amīr* of Ḥāʾil. Until the consolidation of the House of Ibn Saʿūd's power, the villages were frequently under dispute between the Shammar and Ruwāla Bedouins, to whose leaders the inhabitants of Ḳurayyāt al-Milḥ had to pay tribute. Aside from some meagre oasis agriculture (chiefly dates, alfalfa, and a little grain in good years), the principal income was derived from the caravan trade, particularly during the pilgrimage season, but most importantly from the area's extensive salt pans, which have been intensively mined for several centuries; hence its collective name of "Salt Villages". The salt was traded southeastwards to al-Djawf, Sakāka, and Ḥāʾil, and northwards to Jordan and Syria. By the mid-20th century the drilling of deep water wells and the spread of industrialisation had allowed a greater diversification of agriculture and employment for

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cash wages, so that the villages were much less dependent on trade and salt production.

Reputedly Nabataean, but certainly pre-Islamic ruins, pottery, and inscriptions attest to the antiquity of settled life in this area.

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ḴURAYẒA, BANŪ, one of the three main Jewish tribes of Yathrib (Medina), with lands towards the south-east of the oasis. As in the case of the other Jewish groups, it is not known whether they were descended from refugees of Hebrew stock or from Arabs who had adopted Judaism. They adhered firmly to the Jewish religion, but at the same time had adopted many Arab practices and had intermarried with Arabs. According to a genealogy given by al-Samhūdī, Ḳurayẓa, Hadl and ʿAmr were sons of al-Khazradj b. al-Ṣarīḥ, who was descended from Aaron (though only eight intermediate names are given). The related tribe of al-Naḍīr was said to be al-Naḍīr b. al-Naḥḥām b. al-Khazradj b. al-Ṣarīḥ. Ḳurayẓa and al-Naḍīr, with the related groups, after their settlement in Yathrib developed agriculture (palms and cereals) and dominated politically the previous Arab inhabitants. The Jews lost their dominant position, however, after the coming of al-Aws and al-Khazradj, though they appear to have retained a measure of independence. Both Ḳurayẓa and al-Naḍīr supported al-Aws at the battle of Buʿāth [*q.v.*]. At the time of the Hidjra, the two most important men of Ḳurayẓa appear to have been al-Zabīr b. Bāṭā b. Wahb and Kaʿb b. Asad; each of these had an *ufum* or fort. These and fifteen others are named as hostile to Muḥammad (Ibn Hishām, 352). Ḳurayẓa are said to have had two assemblies (*madjlisān*), those of Banū Kaʿb b. Ḳurayẓa and Banū ʿAmr b. Ḳurayẓa (*ibid.*, 691 foot, 711).

It is reported that at the Hidjra, Kaʿb b. Asad, acting on behalf of Ḳurayẓa, made an agreement (*ʿahd*) with Muḥammad, and that later during the siege of Medina (the Khandaḳ) he was persuaded by Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab of al-Naḍīr to break it, and the actual document was torn up by Ḥuyayy (Ibn Hishām, 352, 674; al-Wāḳidī, 456). This report is open to grave doubt, however. Ibn Isḥāḳ does not name his sources. Al-Wāḳidī has two: one is a grandson of Kaʿb b. Mālik of Salima, a clan hostile to the Jews; and the other is Muḥammad b. Kaʿb (d. 117-20/735-8), the son of a boy of Ḳurayẓa, who was sold as a slave when they surrendered and later became a Muslim. Both these sources may be suspected of bias against Ḳurayẓa; and it is therefore probable that there was no special agreement between Muḥammad and Ḳurayẓa. It is virtually certain, however, that Muḥammad had a general agreement with the Jews that they were not to support an enemy against him (al-Wāḳidī, 176); and something like this was probably implicit in his alliance with the Arab clans of Medina, since the Jewish clans were allied to one or other of the Arab clans. The Constitution of Medina as given by Ibn Hishām (341-4) does not mention Ḳurayẓa or al-Naḍīr or Ḳaynuḳāʿ by name; but its present form almost certainly dates from after the execution of the men of Ḳurayẓa, and these Jewish groups were probably mentioned in an earlier version.

The question of an agreement affects the moral judgement on Muḥammad's treatment of Ḳurayẓa. During the siege of Medina (Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 5/April 627), Muḥammad became anxious about their conduct and sent some of the leading Muslims to talk to them; the result was disquieting. Though Ḳurayẓa does not appear to have committed any overt hostile act, they had probably been involved in negotiations with the enemy. On this ground, as soon as the besiegers withdrew, Muḥammad attacked Ḳurayẓa and besieged them in their forts (*āṭām*) for twenty-five nights. After negotiations they agreed to surrender unconditionally. Saʿd b. Muʿādh, chief of the clan of ʿAbd al-Ashhal, with whom they had an alliance, was brought to give judgement on them. He decreed that all the men (who numbered between 600 and 900) were to be put to death and all the women and children sold as slaves. This decree was carried out (recently, W. N. Arafat in *JRAS* [1976], 100-7, has maintained that by no means all the adult males were killed, but his argument is not entirely convincing). Three young men of the clan of Hadl, who had been with Ḳurayẓa in the strongholds, slipped out before the surrender and professed Islam. One or two other also escaped. As part of his share of the booty, Muḥammad received one of the women, Rayḥāna, and married her as a concubine, though she is said to have become a Muslim. Muḥammad b. Kaʿb al-Ḳuraẓī (mentioned above) gained distinction as a scholar.

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ḴURBA [see ḴARĀBA]

ḴURBĀN, sacrifice, sacrificial victim. The word goes back to the Hebrew *ḳorbān*, perhaps through the intermediary of the Aramaic (cf. Mingana, *Syriac influence on the style of the Ḳurʾān*, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xi (1927), 85; S. Fränkel, *De vocabulis in . . . corano peregrinis*, 20). The language of the Ḳurʾān, as is well known, shows a preference for religious technical terms ending in *-ān* and some of them are not always used with their original significations. This is true of *ḳurbān*, which occurs three times in the Ḳurʾān. In sūras III, 179 and V, 30 it obviously means sacrifice. In sūra XLVI, 27, however, we read: "Did those help them, whom they had taken for *ḳurbān* as gods to the exclusion of Allāh!" Here the word must be more or less synonymous with "gods". Probably it has a meaning which is connected with the Arabic *ḳ-r-b* (see below); the commentators take the same view and the word is explained as "mediators" [see SHAFĀʿA].

The word hardly seems to occur in classical *ḥadīth*. The *Lisān* mentions two traditions which are striking enough: "The characteristic of the community (i.e. the Muslims) lies in the fact that their *ḳurbān* is their blood", i.e. that instead of sacrifice they have offered the blood of their martyrs. And the other: "The *ṣalāt* is the sacrifice of every pious man". We may suppose there are apologetic tendencies in both traditions.

The term also came to be applied in Muslim ritual

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to the killing of an animal on the 10th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja and the whole celebration on this and the following *tashrīḳ* days is called *ʿĪd al-Ḳurbān* [cf. ʿĪD AL-AḌḤĀ] in Turkish-speaking countries *Ḳurbān-bayramï* (cf. BAYRAM).

In Christian-Arabic the word means the eucharist; cf. G. Graf, *Verzeichnis arabischer kirklicher Termini*² (= CSCO, 147), Louvain 1954: the consecrated elements, especially the host; *ʿĪd al-Ḳurbān* = feast of Corpus Christi.

In conclusion it should be pointed out that there seems to be a genuine Arabic word *ḳurbān*, plur. *ḳarābīn*, which means the courtiers and councillors in immediate attendance on a king; the word probably comes directly from *ḳ-r-b* "to be near".

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(A. J. WENSINCK)

KURBUḲA, properly KÜR-BUGHA (T. "stout-hearted bull, stallion") ABŪ SAʿĪD ḲIWĀM AL-DAWLA, Turkish commander of the Saldjūḳ period and lord of al-Mawṣil.

In the war waged by Tutush b. Alp Arslan, Berk-yaruḳ's uncle [*q.v.*], against the two rebellious governors Aḳ Sonḳor and Būzān, which ended with the capture and execution of these two, the *amīr* Kurbuḳa, who had been sent to their help by Berk-yaruḳ, was also taken prisoner. After Tutush had fallen in Ṣafar 488/February 1095 (cf. BARKYĀRŪḲ), Kurbuḳa was released by his son Riḍwān, and with his brother Altūntāsh collected a band of adventurers and occupied Ḥarrān. Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Ḳuraysh lord of Naṣībīn then applied to him for help against his brother ʿAlī, who had been appointed governor of al-Mawṣil by Tutush; Kurbuḳa made an alliance with Muḥammad, but had him murdered after he had seized Niṣībīn and set out against al-Mawṣil, which ʿAlī had to surrender after a long siege (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 489/Oct.-Nov. 1096). After the capture of al-Mawṣil he disposed of his troublesome brother Altuntash and occupied al-Raḥba. In 491/1098 Berk-yaruḳ sent him with a large army to retake Anṭākiya [*q.v.*], which had just been conquered by the Christians. Edessa, which had also just been taken from the Muslims, was besieged by Kurbuḳa on the way, but he had to give up the siege and soon afterwards appeared before Anṭākiya. When the Christians made a bold sortie against the besiegers, he inflicted a disastrous defeat on them in spite of their superior numbers; Kurbuḳa's own conduct is said to have contributed towards the disaster, as his arrogance irritated his commanders so that they only awaited a favourable opportunity to abandon him. In the battle between Berk-yaruḳ and his brother Muḥammad in Radjab 492/May-June 1100, which ended in the defeat of the former, Kurbuḳa commanded Berk-yaruḳ's left wing. In the following year he was sent to Ādharbāydjān. Here he conquered the greater part of the country, but when he was nearing the town of Khūy or Khoï [*q.v.*], he fell ill and could not continue the campaign. He died in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 492/Aug.-Sept. 1102, after appointing Sonḳordja his successor.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, x, index; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske, iii, 290, 292, 308, 316, 322, 336; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, iii, 140, 151, 152, 154, 164-9; M. F. Sanaullah, *The decline of the Saljūqid empire*, Calcutta 1938; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 109-10.

(K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN*)

ḲŪRČĪ (from the Mongolian *ḳorči*, "an archer", from *ḳor*, "quiver"; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943, 32, n. 2), a military term with a variety of different meanings: "he who bears arms, the sword, chief huntsman" (Pavet de Courteille, *Dict. turc. or.*, 425; "armourer, sword-cutler, troop of cavalry, captain of the watch; leader of a patrol, commandant of a fort, gendarmerie in charge of a city's security" (Sulaymān Bukhārī, *Lughat-i Čaghatāy ve Türkī ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1298/1880-1, 233), "sentry, sentinel, guard, inspector" (Vambery, *Čaghataische Sprachstudien*, 316).

In Ṣafawid usage, *ḳūrčī* denoted a member of the Turcoman tribal cavalry which formed the basis of Ṣafawid military power, and in this sense was therefore synonymous with *ḳizïl-bāsh* [*q.v.*]. The *ḳūrčīs* were clearly distinguished from non-*ḳizïl-bāsh* units, which were termed *lashkar-i umarāʾ*; *sipāhiyān*; etc. *Ḳūrčīs* with special functions were denoted by special titles (see index to Minorsky, *op. cit.*, under *qūrchī*; for additional titles, see index to Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ii, Tehran 1335/1956, 1219-20); some of these titles (e.g. *ḳūrčī-yi tarkash*, "*ḳūrčī* of the quiver"; *ḳūrčī-yi shamshīr*, "*ḳūrčī* of the sword"; *ḳūrčī-yi tīr-u-kamān*, "*ḳūrčī* of the bow and arrow"), appear to denote ranks, but their relative importance is not certain. *Ḳūrčīs* constituted the royal bodyguard, in this capacity sometimes being specially designated *ḳūrčīyān-i khāṣṣa-yi shāhī* (*Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 99), or *ḳūrčīyān-i ʿiẓām-i shāhī* (*ibid.*, i, 47).

The commander of the *ḳūrčīs* was called *ḳūrčībāshī*. This office is first mentioned in the Ṣafawid chronicles in 911/1505-6, and seems from the first to have been distinct from the office of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* (R. M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Ismāʿīl I (907-30/1501-24)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii [1960], 101). At first overshadowed by the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, the *ḳūrčībāshī* became one of the most important officers of state under Ṭahmāsp, Ismāʿīl II and Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh [*q. vv.*], wielding great authority in both military and political affairs. It is noteworthy that for a period of forty years (*ca.* 955-95/1548-87), nearly all the *ḳūrčībāshīs* were drawn from the Afshār tribe. With the accession of ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*], the importance of the *ḳūrčībāshī* declined *pari passu* with that of the *ḳūrčīs* themselves, but he still "carried great weight in public affairs" (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 117).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see R. M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930-34/1524-76)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 79; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. i. Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1943, 427-32, contains an excellent discussion of the various meanings of *ḳūr* and *ḳūrčī*, with full textual references.

(R. M. SAVORY)

KURD ʿALĪ, MUḤAMMAD FARĪD, Syrian journalist, scholar and man of letters, was born in Damascus in 1876, of a father of Kurdish origin and a Čerkes mother. From an early age, he showed an interest in nature and in books, and it was reading which, combined with his innate curiosity and gifts of observation, made the greatest contribution to his intellectual development. Already bilingual in Turkish and Arabic, he learnt French from the Lazarist Fathers of Damascus, and this enable him to acquire, thanks to assiduous reading of books and periodicals a knowledge, extensive for his time, of Western civilisation, and in particular, of French literature. He perfected his Arabic-Islamic education as a pupil of some distinguished masters, Ṭāhir al-

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Djazāʾirī, Muḥammad Mubārak and Salīm al-Bukhārī. In 1897 he joined the staff of the first Arabic newspaper of Damascus, *al-Shām*, and at the same time collaborated in the Egyptian review *al-Muḳtaṭaf*. He also attempted to translate some French novels into Arabic. Four years later he decided to visit Paris, but while passing through Cairo he was detained there by the friends whom he had made by his collaboration in *al-Muḳtaṭaf* and he thus had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the celebrities of the age, most notably with Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*], whose lectures at al-Azhar he attended. Obliged to leave Egypt because of an epidemic, Kurd ʿAlī returned to Damascus, but the atmosphere there seemed to him so oppressive that he soon returned to Cairo, where he stayed until 1908; during this second stay, he collaborated in editing *al-Ẓāhir*, *al-Musāmarāt*, and *al-Muʾayyad*, and founded the review *al-Muḳtabas*, a periodical which was always very close to his heart; after three years of publication in Cairo, *al-Muḳtabas* was transferred in 1908 to Damascus and continued to appear for a further six years, until the time when the Ottoman authorities, irritated by Kurd ʿAlī's frankness, forbade its publication.

At the end of 1908, Kurd ʿAlī succeeded in realising the dream which he had first cherished eight years before and, passing this time through Lebanon, went to France and spent a year there; in the course of this visit, for which he had been preparing himself for a long time, he observed the people of the country and their way of life, visited the principal libraries, attended, theatrical performances and took a special interest in the Académie Française. Returning to Damascus via Istanbul, he continued to edit his review and then, at the end of the year 1913, undertook a second journey to Europe; he went first to Italy, where he had the good fortune to install himself in the library of prince Leone Caetani, whose *Annali dell'Islam* had revealed to him a method of working to which the Orient was not yet accustomed; it was here that he assembled much of the documentation which he required for the composition of a definitive history of Syria, the *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, a monumental work which is still the most complete study of this vast subject. In 1921-2, a third journey took him to the countries of western Europe, and it was on his return that he wrote the *Ghurāʾib al-Gharb*, a *riḥla* [*q.v.*], published in 1923, based on notes taken in the course of his three journeys and reflections inspired by his observations. Immediately after the Great War, he had been appointed general secretary of the Committee for Public Education and it was in this capacity that he considered the creation of an organisation responsible for purifying and enriching the Arabic language, publishing texts and encouraging the literary and intellectual activity of his country. On 8 June 1919, he obtained authorisation to transform the *Dīwān al-Maʿārif*, which had been founded a few months earlier, into an Arab Academy [see MADJMAʿ ʿILMĪ. 1. Arab countries]; he was thus able to put into effect the project of which he had been inspired, ten years previously, by his visit to the Académie Française. The career of Kurd ʿAlī was henceforward inseparable from the activity of his Academy, to which he devoted the greater part of his time and over which he presided until his death, on 2 April 1953; the only intervals in his work with the Academy were his two terms of office as Minister of Public Education and his third journey to Europe.

Kurd ʿAlī was of a witty and playful nature; a great conversationalist, he loved to joke and play with words, and his style is an accurate reflection of his personality. He left an abundant corpus which included, apart from the thousands of pages of articles published in the review in which he collaborated at the start of his career, in *al-Muḳtabas* and in the *Madjallat al-Madjmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī* (*MMIA*), editions of texts and original works of a historical or literary nature. He was largely responsible for making known the "epistles" of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, of Ibn al-Mudabbir [*q.vv.*]., etc. in his *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*, Cairo 1908, 1913, 1946, and he enriched the Arab Academy Publications with the *Sīrat Ibn Ṭūlūn* of al-Balawī (1939), the *al-Mustadjād min faʿalat al-adjwād* of al-Tanūkhī (1946), the *Taʾrīkh ḥukamāʾ al-Islām* of al-Bayhaḳī)1946), the *Kitāb al-Ashriba* of Ibn Ḳutayba (1947), and the *al-Bayzara* of Kushādjim (1953).

Among his original works, mention should be made of his contribution to literary history and criticism: *Umarāʾ al-bayān*, Cairo 1937, and *Kunūz al-adjdād*, Damascus 1950. Apart from the *Ghurāʾib al-Gharb* of 1923 and the *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām*, Damascus 1925 (6 vols.), his major work, Kurd ʿAlī collected in *al-Ḳadīm wa 'l-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1925, a large number of the articles published in *al-Ẓāhir*, *al-Muʾayyad* and *al-Muḳtabas* and added an account of his travels in the Ḥidjāz and Palestine. In addition, he pleaded the cause of Arab-Islamic culture in *al-Islām wa 'l-ḥaḍāra al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1934 (2 vols.), published a critical study of the morals and customs of the Orient in *Aḳwālunā wa-afʿālunā*, in Cairo 1946, devoted a monograph to the oasis of Damascus, *Ghūṭat Dimashḳ*, Cairo 1949, and finally published four volumes of memoirs, *Mudhakkirāt*, Damascus 1948-51.

Bibliography: Apart from the biographical data given at the end of the *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* and of his *Memoirs*, see Brockelmann, S III, 430-4; S. Dahhān, in *MMIA*, xxx/2, 211-52; idem, in *Mélanges Massignon*, i, 379-94; idem and H. Laoust, *L'oeuvre de l'Académie arabe de Damas, 1921-1951*, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-51), 161-219. (CH. PELLAT)

KURDS, KURDISTĀN.

i General introduction
ii The Kurds and their country: Kurdistān
  A. The territorial extent of Kurdistān
  B. The ethnic and geographical extent of Kurdistān
  C. Numerical extent of the Kurds
  D. The geography of Kurdistān
    1. Physical aspect
    2. The living landscape and habitat
    3. The human aspect
  E. An anthropological profile of Kurdistān
iii History
  A. Origins and pre-Islamic history
  B. The Islamic period up to 1920
  C. From 1920 to the present day
iv Kurdish society
  A. The fundamental structures of Kurdish society
    1. The Kurdish family
    2. Tribal organisation
      (a) Listings of the Kurdish tribes
      (b) The Kurdish tribe and its components
      (c) The chief of the tribe, his obligations, his responsibilities and his compensations
    3. The economic structures
      (a) Kurdish nomadism
      (b) The Kurdish peasantry

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B. The religious aspect
C. Customs and social traditions
1. Dress
2. Marriage and burial customs
3. Festivals and seasonal rites
4. Dances and music
5. Games, sports and hunting
v Language
vi Folklore and literature
A. Popular and folk literature
B. Written or learned literature
1. Origins and the classical period
2. The modern age
C. The Kurdish press

i. — General Introduction

The Kurds, an Iranian people of the Near East, live at the junction of more or less laicised Turkey, Shī'i Iran, Arab and Sunnī ʿIrāḳ and North Syria, and Soviet Transcaucasia. The economic and strategic importance of this land, Kurdistān, is undeniable. Since the end of the First World War, the Kurdish people, like all the rest of their neighbours, have undergone considerable transformations as much in the political order as in the economic, social and cultural domain. Many works have been published, a few in every country, on these different problems. Some excellent general bibliographies exist: F. B. Rostopčin, *Bibliografiya po kurdskoy probleme*, in *Revol. Vostok*, 1933/3-4 (19-20), 292-326, 5 (21), 159-73; O. Vil'čevskiy, *Bibliografičevskii obzor zarubežnukh kurdskikh pečatnukh izdaniy v XX stolety*, in *Iranskie Yazïki*, i, Moscow-Leningrad 1945, 147-81; M. B. Rudenko, *Opisanie Kurdskikh rukopisey Leningradskikh sobraniy*, in *Izdat. Vost. Lit.*, Moscow 1961; N. A. Aleksanian, *Bibliografiya k'tēbēd k'ōrdiēye Sovetie*, Erevan 1962, in Kurdish and Russian; J. S. Muaelian, *Bibliografiya po kurdovedeniyu*, in *Izdat. Vost. Lit.* 1963; C. J. Edmonds, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1920-1936*, in *JRCAS*, xxiv (1937), 487-97; idem, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1937-1944*, in *JRCAS*, xxxii (1945), 185-91; D. N. MacKenzie, *A bibliography of Southern Kurdish, 1945-1955*, in *JRCAS*, lxiv (1957), 31-7; E. R. McCarus, *Kurdish language studies*, in *MEJ* (Summer 1960), 325-35; P. Rondot, *Les Kurdes, le Kurdistan, la question kurde, Essai de bibliographie*, in *En Terre d'Islam*, 1947/2; A. Bennigsen, *Les Kurdes et la Kurdologie en Union soviétique*, in *Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique*, ii (April-June 1960), 513-30; M. Mokri, *Kurdologie et enseignement de la langue kurde en U.R.S.S.*, in *L'Ethnographie*, 1963, 71-106; Th. Bois, *Bulletin raisonné d'études kurdes*, in *Machriq*, lvii (1964), 527-70; *ISK*'s *Kurdish bibliography*, ed. Silvio van Rooy and Kees Tamboer, Amsterdam 1968, i, 658 pp. (9350 nos.). cf. review by Th. Bois, in *BiOr*, 1969/3-4, 184-87; Mistefa Ehmed Nerîman, *Kitêbxane kurdî*, Kirkūk 1960.

ii. — The Kurds and their Country: Kurdistān

A. The territorial extent of Kurdistān. If the ethnic term "Kurd" is of ancient usage, for it is known since the Arab conquest if one does not wish to go further back (cf. below, *Origins*), it seems that, historically, the name Kurdistān or "land of the Kurds" dates from the time of Sultan Sandjar (d. 552/1157), the last great Saldjūḳid, who created a province with its capital called Bahār, to the north-east of Hamadān. This province, situated between Āḏharbāydjān and Luristān, included the regions of Hamadān, Dīnawar, Kirmānshāh and Senna, to the east of the Zagros and to the west of Shahrazūr and Khuftiyān, on the Zāb. The whole numbered 16 cantons, enumerated by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (d. 750/1349), in his *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (ed. Le Strange, 108; ed. Tehran 1957, 127). The nominal extent of Kurdistān varied however throughout the centuries. Sharaf al-Dīn, in his *Sharaf-nāma* (1596), does not hesitate to include the Lurs in Kurdistān, in chs. 3 and 4 of his 1st Book, as do all the Arab historians, who include everything in the province they call al-Djibāl [*q.v.*], cf. V. Barthold, *Istoriko-geografičeskiy obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 138. For his part, the Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebi (d. *ca.* 1093/1682), in his *Siyāḥat-nāme*, iv, 74-5, enumerates the 9 *wilāyet*s which formed Kurdistān in his time: Erzurum, Van, Hakkāri, Diyārbakr, Djazīra, ʿAmādiya, Mawṣil, Shahrazūr and Ardalān, and which required 17 days to traverse.

But the rivalries between the Ottoman sultans and the Shāhs of Persia broke up this unity. In the 17th century the Turkish administration gave no more than 3 *liwā*'s to the *eyālet* of Kurdistān: Darsīm, Mush and Diyārbakr. In the same way, in Iran in the 16th century, Hamadān and Luristān were detached from Kurdistān and the name was reserved for the region of Ardalān with Sinna as its capital. Today, Iran is the only country to recognise a province by the name of Kurdistān. Everywhere else, Kurdistān has been banished from the language of the administration and the geographical atlases. In Turkey one speaks of Eastern Anatolia; in ʿIrāḳ, of the provinces of the north; in Syria, of the province of Djazīra (Ghassemlou, 14).

B. The ethnic and geographical extent of Kurdistān. From the above, it is clear that the historical and then political extent of Kurdistān does not coincide with its actual ethnic extent. So the frontiers within each of the countries concerned must be defined more or less approximately.

In Turkey, the Kurds inhabit the whole of the eastern region of the country. According to Trotter (1878), the limit of their extent to the north was the line Divriği—Erzurum—Kars. In the region of Erzurum they are found especially to the east and the south-east. The Kurds also occupy the western slopes of Ararat, the districts of Kağizman and Tuzluca. On the west they extend in a wide belt beyond the course of the Euphrates (Ritter, xi, 144), and, in the region of Sivas, in the districts of Kangāl and Divriği. Equally, the whole region includes areas to the east and south-east of these limits. Some quite important colonies of Kurds are even found in Cilicia, to the south of Ankara, in Heymana and in the large towns of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. In brief, it may be said that if Turkey is at present divided administratively into 67 *ils* or provinces, Turkish Kurdistān numbers at least 17 of them almost totally: in the north-east, the provinces of Erzincan, Erzurum and Kars; in the centre, going from west to east and from north to south, the provinces of Malatya, Tunceli, Elaziğ, Bingöl, Muş, Karaköse (Ağrī), then Adiyaman, Diyarbakir, Siirt, Bitlis and Van; finally, the southern provinces of Urfa, Mardin and Çölamerik (Hakkâri). The Kurds of Turkey are also linked on the east with their brothers from Iran.

The latter inhabit the north-west of Iran. Firstly in the provinces of Western Āḏharbāydjān, to the east of Lake Riḍā'iyya (Urmiya), the districts of Makū, Kotur, Shahpur, and to the south of the lake, Mahābād (ex-Sabla); in the province of Ardalān, called the province of Kurdistān, whose capital is Senna or Sanandadj, the districts of Bukan, Saḳḳiz, Sardasht, Bana, Bidjar (Garrus), Meriwān and

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Hawramān; in the province of Kirmānshāh, Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. There are furthermore isolated groups of Kurds in Khurāsān, at Budjnurd and in Fārs and Kirmān, not to mention the numerous Kurds who live in the cities such as Tabrīz and the outskirts of Tehran (Brugsch, *Reise*, ii, 496). Much further to the east and outside Iran, an important Kurdish tribe is to be found in Balūčistān.

In ʿIrāḳ, the Kurds occupy the north and north-east of the country in the *liwā*'s or provinces of Duhok, recently detached from the province of Mawṣil, the *nāḥiya*s or districts of Zaḳho, Mazuri Djēr, ʿAmādiya and ʿAkra. Left outside their administration are Sindjār and Shaykhān, peopled by the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*]; the *liwā*'s of Kirkūk, Arbil and Sulaymānī (entirely Kurdish) and, in the *liwā*' of Diyālā, the *nāḥiya*s of Khānaḳīn and Mandali, where they are neighbours of the Kurds of Iran to the west of the Zagros. The Kurds are equally numerous in Baghdād and Mawṣil.

In Syria, they constitute three distinct belts, in the north of the country and to the south of the highway which forms a frontier and where they are in direct contact with their compatriots in Turkey. A belt of 40 km. width, in the Kurd Dāgh; a group (60 × 40 km.), to the east of the Euphrates where the river enters Syria near Djarablus; and finally, a belt of 250 km. in length by 30 km. in depth in the Djazīra, between the Khābūr, a tributary of the Euphrates and the Tigris, with Ra's al-ʿAyn, Darbisiyya, ʿAmūda, Kamishlī, Andivar and Dērik. In this "duck's beak", the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ and those of Turkey are juxtaposed (Rondot, 80). The Syrian towns of Damascus, Ḥamāt and Aleppo count many thousands of Kurds.

Some still exist in Soviet Transcaucasia. In the Republic of Armenia, 35 villages in the *rayon*s of Aparan, Basargečar, Huktemberia, Talin and Eč-miadzin; in the Republic of Ādharbāydjān, 25 villages in the *rayon*s of Kelbadjan, Latchin and Kubatli (Aristova, 47-8, 64). There are numbers of Kurds living in Erevan, Baku and, in the Republic of Georgia, Tbilisi or Tiflis.

The imprecise limits of the frontiers of Kurdistān hardly allow an exact appreciation of the area. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* estimates the length of Kurdistān at 600 miles and its breadth at 150 miles. The *Ḳāmūs al-ʿālam*, Istanbul 1896, which naturally is only concerned with the Kurdish *wilāyet*s of the Ottoman Empire, sets its length at 900 km. and its breadth between 100 and 200 km. At present, the different provinces of Kurdistān cover around 190,000 km² in Turkey, 125,000 km² in Iran, 65,000 km² in ʿIrāḳ, and 12,000 km² in Syria. The total area of Kurdistān can then be estimated at approximately 392,000 km².

While there are many Kurds who live outside ethnic Kurdistān, there are numerous non-Kurds who live in Kurdistān. In Turkey, there are some Turks everywhere, but also, in the north, some Ossetes and some Tcherkesses, and in the south some predominantly Syriac or Jacobite Christians (Cl. Dauphin, *Situation actuelle des communautés chrétiennes du Ṭūr ʿAbdīn (Turquie orientale)*, in *Proche Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, xxii/2-3 (1972), 323-7). The Armenians have in fact completely disappeared. In Iran to the west of Lake Riḍā'iyya and in ʿIrāḳ in the region of Duhok-Zaḳho and Kirkūk, some Nestorians and Chaldaeans are to be encountered, together with, in the towns, a few rare Armenians. The Jews, at one time relatively numerous, have all emigrated since 1948 (W. J. Fischel, *The Jews of Kurdistan a hundred years ago, a traveler's record*, in *Jewish Social Studies*, vi [1944], 195-226; I. Ben-Zvi, *The exiled and the redeemed host in Assyria*, in *The Jewish Publication Society of America*, Philadephia 1957). In Kirkūk one finds some Turcomans (I. C. Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 342-3).

C. Numerical extent of the Kurds. As the Kurds are not ordinarily registered as such in the censuses of the population carried out by the different states where the Kurds are resident, it is impossible to have exact statistics of the total population of Kurdistān. Besides, statistics require delicate handling, and they risk being manipulated for political motives. Cf. for ʿIrāḳ, M. Durra, 1st ed. 1963, 210 and 2nd ed. 1966, 225; for Turkey, E. Esenkova, 1967, 29. Here are a few examples, whose divergences, which show the complexity of the question, may undoubtedly be explained by the fact that their authors do not apply the same criteria of ethnic adherence, religion and language. Hence the elimination of the Lurs. Account must also be taken of demographic progression, which works in favour of the Kurds, a fact which is at times equally forgotten. Here are a few figures, in thousands, supplied by: (1) B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 1956, 42; (2) S. I. Brouk, *L'ethnographie*, 1958, 30; (3) A. Ghassemlou, *Kurdistan*, 1965, 23; (4) I. C. Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 1970, 30; (5) C. J. Edmonds, *Kurdish nationalism*, in *Journal Cont. Hist.* vi/1 (1971), 92:

	1	2	3	4	5
Turkey	4,500	2,500	4,900	6,600	3,200
Iran	1,500	1,800	3,300	4,250	1,800
ʿIrāḳ	500	900	1,550	2,000	1,550
Syria	500	300	250	500	320
Transcaucasia	250	—	160	150	80
Total	7,250	5,500	10,160	13,500	6,950

(cf. Edmonds, 92 n. 1).

D. The geography of Kurdistān

1. *Physical aspect*

Kurdistān is in its entirety a country of high mountains. Its skeleton, in its Turkish part, is constituted by the different chains of the Eastern Taurus. These chains begin to take shape from the shores of the Mediterranean at the latitude of the Gulf of Alexandretta, and radiate at first towards the north-east. To the north of Maraş, they form a fork whose northern line pivots away from the Engirek Dağ and Nuruhak Dağ (3,090 m.), continues by the Akra Dağı, joins the chains of Mounts Munzur (3,088 m.), Mercan and Kargaparazı (3,388 m.), then curves in and crosses the mountainous chain of the Araxes and finally ends in the Ararat system.

From our point of departure a second chain, very clearly a crescent in shape, begins to the south of Malatya, continues by the mountains of Maden, the ridges of Haçres (2,689 m.) and Sasun (2, 590 m.) to the south of Muş, pursues its curve to the south of Lake Van, via Mounts Bitlis and Hakâri (3.630 m.), with the Cilo Dağı which culminates in Mount Reşko (4,170 m.).

Between these two lines is situated what is called the Armenian plateau, whose altitude comes down no lower than 1,500 to 1,000 m. Furthermore, some parallel chains on the northern border maintain quite a high level, such as the Çakmak Mountains and, to the south of Erzurum, the volcanic system of Palendöken Dağı (3,124 m.), to the south of which the combination of Mounts Bingöl, Şerafettin and,

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further to the west, the heights of Tunceli, constitute this natural fortress of Dersim. In this mass of crystalline rocks the Euphrates has hollowed out deep canyons, and the mountains with steep slopes clothe these inaccessible sites in fantastic shapes. But beautiful fertile plains extend to the north of Malatya (915 m.) to the south-east of Elaziğ (1,020 m.) and to the north of Muş (1,500 m.). All along this Anatolian scar frequent tremors shake the region and claim numerous victims. We may recall the earthquakes of Erzincan in 1939 which killed 25,000 and those, less murderous meanwhile, of Varto in 1966 and Bingöl and Genc in 1971.

To the south of the curve of the Taurus spread the vast flat regions of Adiyaman, Urfa (550 m.) and Diyarbakir (650 m.) which descend abruptly towards Mesopotamia with contours of 3,000 metres, always allowing for certain land movements, such as the volcanic cone of Karacadağ (1,915 m.) and the chain of Ṭūr ʿĀbidīn, which extends from Mardīn (1,130 m.) and meets on the east with the much higher massifs of Herakol (2,943 m.) and Mount Cudi (2,089 m. [see DJŪDI]).

To the extreme east and more to the north is the supporting point for the Great Ararat or Ağrı Dağ (5,165 m.) and the Small Ararat (3,925 m.) perhaps considered as the pivot of a new system of mountains. Indeed, from this centre seem to radiate several points which, on one side, encircle Lake Van, with to the north the chain of the immense sulphur-spring which is the Tendurek (3,313 m.) and that of the Ala Dağ (3,255 m.); to the east, the Kuh Dəğ (2,850 m.), the Mengene (3,610 m.) and the Ispiriz Dağ (3,537 m.) and to the south the Vaviran Dağ (3,550 m.) and the chain of Satak. Let us note, apart from the two Ararats whose structure is due to very ancient volcanic eruptions, two famous volcanoes on the shores of Lake Van: to the north, the Sipan (about 4,434 m.) and especially Mount Nemrut (Nimrūd), whose highest peak has an altitude of 3,140 m. and whose crater has a diameter of 6,400 m. with an interior lake of fresh water at a height of 2,552 m. All this region to the south of Lake Van, which is itself at an altitude of 1,720 m., is in its entirety the highest part of the Kurdish-inhabited area of Turkey.

Elsewhere, other chains of mountains are connected with Ararat; these are clearly oriented north-south, lying between Lake Van and that of Urmia and also separating Turkish Kurdistān from its Iranian part. After having rejoined the almost inaccessible node of the Harki-Oramar country, they slant towards the south-west and also form this *chaîne magistrale* of the Zagros which, in a set of parallel lines, makes up for a good part, the portions of Kurdistān, the eastern faces being situated in Iran and the western faces in ʿIrāḳ. As C. J. Edmonds remarks, it is not always easy to give a name known by all to designate the different chains, for their names vary with the informants, according to whom they are situated on such-or-such a slope, or close to a better-known peak, pass, village or the tomb of a famous saint.

We have, in Iran, some chains which lie, oriented north-west to south-east, with multiple ramifications and parallel series. Let us note in passing some of the highest summits: the Dalenpar (3,748 m.) at the intersection of the three frontiers: Turkish, ʿIrāḳī and Iranian; the Spiraz, the Ḳandīl or Kogiz (3,782 m.) the Galala (3,364 m.), further to the east the Čehel Česhme ("at the forty springs") (3,416 m.) a real rampart of water of Iranian Kurdistān, and further to the south, the chain of Hawramān. (3,216 m.) and that of Cilo, whose average height is 3,500 m., up to the mountains of Luristān and the Pusht-i Kūh.

On the ʿIrāḳī side, to the south of the Turkish frontier, in the extension of the chains of the Cudi Dağ, Seman Dağ and Cilo Dağ, but at the same time in a graduated descent towards the Mesopotamian plains, between the Tigris and the Great Zāb, are the Bēkhayr, Metina and Gara chains and, approaching the Iranian frontier, beyond the Zāb, Mounts Ser-i Korawa (3,603 m.), Dolaresh (3,449 m.), and Khwarabtē (3,168 m.). In this region of Bradost, if the frontier chains are still high, e.g. Mount Halgurd (4,013 m.), they tend to become lower as they approach the plains. Also, Mount Handrīn to the south-east of Rawāndiz [*q.v.*] is no more than 2,793 metres. As soon as one crosses the Little Zāb, the chains stretch out in parallels from the dorsal column of the Zagros. The line Kurakadjaw-Godjar-Kurkur-Asis includes further numerous peaks between 2,950 and 1,960 metres high. A second line Azmir-Ḳarasird is yet lower, between 1,870 and 1,608 m. high, with however, to the north-west of Sulaymāniyya, the remarkable ridged upthrust of the Pira Magrun (3,183 m.). A last parallel chain Bingird-Beranan is still several hundreds of metres lower (between 1,739 and 1,477 m.). Further to the west, the long chain of the Kara Dağ, from 1,378 to 2,017 metres, with multiple passes, henceforth separates the high country from the plains which now extend without an obstacle towards Altun Köprü, Kirkūk and Ṭawḳ, to be bordered and limited further to the west by the Ḥamrīn Mts. (1,640 m.) which, oriented transversely south-east to north-west, traverse the Diyāla, the Sirwān and finally the Tigris, quite near to where the Little Zāb flows out.

Let us further note, although the new administrative division of ʿIrāḳ leaves it outside Kurdistān, the Djabal Sindjār, where the Yazīdīs, who are themselves really Kurds, live. This chain, 60 km. in length and 15 km. in width and lying at an altitude of approximately 1,600 m., is situated in Mesopotamia to the west of Mosul and at the same latitude.

If Kurdistān is a country of very uneven relief, it is no less generously watered by numbers of clear springs and many watercourses and actual rivers.

Let us first note the Araxes or Aras whose source is clearly in Kurdistān in the plateau of Bingöl, with a thousand lakes, between the Tigris and Euphrates, but in contrast to these two rivers which are directed towards the south-west, it flows first towards the north, bends towards the east and passes into Soviet Armenia.

The two great Biblical rivers traverse Kurdistān in particular. The Euphrates [see AL-FURĀT] is formed by two principal branches which enclose a vast Kurdish region. The northern branch, the Kara Su (450 km. long) is made up at its source of numerous springs which come from the Dümlü Dağ; then it flows in the plain of Erzurum where it receives the springs which rise in the Çoruh Dağ, directs itself westward in narrow gorges, waters Erzincan, slants towards the south and follows a capricious course which snakes in every sense. It waters Kemah, passes by Kemaliye, and runs into mountains on all sides which block its passage, to rejoin a little to the south of the Eğil the southern branch or Murat Su (659 km. long). This last has its source to the noth of Lake Van, at the foot of the volcanic Mounts Ala Dağ and Tendürek; the Murat Su climbs up again a little to the north, passes by Diyadin and Karaköse, turns off again to the south and waters Tutak and Malazgirt.

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Then, always following its sinuous course, it passes to the north of Muş, waters Genc, Palu and Pertek, finally joining the northern branch to the north of Keban. Thereafter the two branches form the Euphrates properly so-called. Although the only important tributary on the right bank of the Kara Su is the Tohma Su (194 km. long), which flows into it to the north of Malatya and then runs outside Kurdistān, the Murat Su has numerous tributaries which, like the Peri Su (235 km. long), with their sub-tributaries, literally criss-cross Kurdistan; no area is very far from a watercourse.

The Tigris [see DIDJLA], the other great river of the region (1,718 km. long), waters Kurdistān in its upper course. It has its source in the region of Lake Hazar to the north of the Maden Mts., waters for 300 km. of Turkish Kurdistān the towns famous in Kurdish history, sc. Ergani, Diyarbakir, Hasankeyf and Cizre/Djazīra. There are numerous tributaries, all on the left bank: Anbar, Batman, Gurza and especially Botan (226 km.), fertilise the land. It passes the ʿIrāḳī frontier at Pēsh Khābūr, where its tributary the Khābūr [*q.v.*] joins it, and whose sub-tributary the Hazil waters Zakho. There then develops a complete network of beautiful streams, all tributaries of the Tigris and which are actual rivers. First of all the Great Zāb (392 km. long), which rises in Turkey in Mergene Dağı between Lakes Van and Riḍāʾiyya. It waters Culamerik/Djulamarg, then in ʿIrāḳ the regions of Zibar and Barzan and, by one of its offshoots, the highly picturesque town of Rawāndiz. It joins the Tigris 45 km. south of Mawṣil. The Little Zāb (400 km. long) has its source in Iran, near Lāhīdjān, a land of lakes. Its tributaries are numerous in Persia as well as in ʿIrāḳ. After having watered Taktak and Altun Köprü, it joins the Tigris. On its lower course, at Dukan, an enormous dam was completed in 1958 with a capacity of 7 billion m³ of water, which stretches over 50 km.² Its aim is firstly to regulate the flow of the Tigris, subject to catastrophic floods, but also to irrigate about 250,000 hectares. A hydro-electric plant with a capacity of 200,000 kilowatts is of importance in the region of Čamčamāl and will give the Kurdish provinces of ʿIrāḳ self-sufficiency in energy. The ʿAdhaym (230 km. long) rising in the locality of Bazyan, with its various ramifications, waters Kirkūk, Daḳūḳ Tuz and Khurmatu, and traverses the Ḥamrīn Mts., hurling itself into the Tigris 30 km. south of Baghdād. Finally, there is the Diyāla (386 km. long) which rises in the mountains of the ʿIrāḳī-Iranian frontier; its principal source in ʿIrāḳ is the Tandjaru which waters the plain of Shahrazūr, and in Iran the Sirwān rising in Luristān. After Derbend-i Khān, where a great dam has been constructed which is intended to serve for irrigation in ʿIrāḳ, these two branches constitute the Diyāla, which flows into the Tigris south of Baghdad.

Iranian Kurdistān is also traversed by numerous streams of which several rise in the Čihil Česhme, a great massif of 2,085 m. height in the Mukri country. Let us note only the Ḳïzïl Uzun, whose various ramifications water all the Ardalān counry, not to mention the Djagatu (240 km.) and the Tatahu which both flow into Lake Riḍāʾiyya.

As with the mountains, the streams which run through Kurdistān may change their names according to the region traversed. Many watercourses, moreover, take their name very simply from the principal locality that they traverse.

There are also several lakes in Kurdistān, of which the largest is Lake Van. Situated at an altitude of 1,700 m., it has an area of 3,700 km.² Its salt waters are due to a volcanic barrier which deposits on its banks carbonate and soda sulphate. Only one kind of fish is caught there, a sort of large bleak with changing colours. To the north of Lake Van is Lake Nazik and to the north-east of Van is Lake Ercek. Further to the north is Lake Balik lying to the east of Karaköse. At the sources of the Tigris to the north-west of Maden is the Hazar Gölü, quite deep and with an area of about 50 km.² Its waters are salt and eels are caught there. In Iran one may cite Lake Urmia with a Kurdish population bordering it. It is larger than Lake Van (5,700 km.²), 130 km. long and 40 km. wide in places; it is more salt than the Dead Sea, and no fish can live there. Not far from there and to the south are two small lakes, the Shor Göl and the Daryāče-i Kopi. At the ʿIrāḳī frontier to the west of Mari Van and south-east of Pendjwin is Lake Zrēbar. In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān there are no lakes at all.

Because of its altitude, the climate of Kurdistān is harsh. Snow covers the high summits for many months of the year. Precipitation is variable according to the regions. In the plains, rainfall varies between 200 and 400 mm. a year, although it may reach between 700 and 2,000 and even 3,000 mm. on the plateaux between the different chains of mountains. But in the valleys of central Kurdistān, the climate is continental and even arid, and there are sometimes several months without a drop of water.

The temperature also undergoes quite large variations. At Karaköse in the north it may fall to —30°-35°C. in winter and rise in the south in summer to +35°-40°C. at Kirmānshāh (Ghassemlou, 15). In Iranian Kurdistān, where a dry continental climate rules, the range may vary between —22°C. and +32°C. In general, the eastern slopes of the Zagros are more favoured than the western slopes. At Senna we have —15° in January and +35° in July; at Khāniḳīn, +2° in January and +41.8° in July; at Kirkūk, + 14.5° and +43°C. Further to the west, we find, in January and July respectively, at Malatya —1°, 5° and +26.5°; at Urfa, +4.5° and +32°, at Diyarbakir +2.5° and +31°; and at Van, —3.5° and +22.5°.

2. *The living landscape and habitat*

Harsh as Kurdistān may be, it is far from being a desert; its mountains are covered with pasture and vegetation, and its valleys with forests and meadows which, in spring, are dotted with multicoloured flowers. There are also 10 million hectares of forests in Turkish Kurdistān, 4 million in Iran and 1,720,000 in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, of which 50 km.² are firs. The oak, of which more than 15 kinds can be counted, is the most widespread species up to an altitude of 2,700 m.; then there are the firs and other conifers. Moreover, the forests are not always very dense and often have the appearance of scrub with many stands of junipers. The plane tree, willow and especially the poplar, flourish by the waters.

In the mountains, high mountain-pastures stretch over many kilometres and provide pasturage for herds of goats and sheep. In places, edible wild plants grow, sought after by shepherds and simple folk for their medicinal properties and carefully collected by old women. In spring, flowers cover in abundance the smallest corner of earth, whose richness of colours literally stupefies and whose perfumes intoxicate the passersby. All this flora is familiar to us, for the species of Europe are found there and travellers do not fail to record the names (see e.g. C. J. Rich, i, 284; Bishop, i, 290-1, 343, ii, 12, 14, 115;

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Lynch, i, 181, 190-1, ii, 208, 248, 253, 268, 269, 303, 362, 369, 239, 241, 242, 382; Freya Stark, 257, 273, 330; Hamilton, 141-3; Balsan, *passim*, etc.).

Only a part of the arable Kurdish lands is covered by cultivation and crops. If, in Turkey, there are 25 million hectares of cultivable lands, only 30% are cultivated, of which one-third lies fallow each year (Esenkova, 108). In Iranian Kurdistān, out of 5 million hectares of cultivable lands, 24% are cultivated and 16% lie fallow (Ghassemlou, 90). In the various districts of ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, of an arable area of about 8 million hectares, one-quarter is cultivated (Khosbak, 43). Despite this, the cultivation of cerals in Kurdistan plays a good part in the economy of the respective countries: 15% in Turkey; 35% in Iran; in ʿIrāḳ, 50% for corn and 15% for barley (Ghassemlou, 89, n. 6). Les us add here the cultivation of rice, which supplies ʿIrāḳ with one-third of its production. Apart from this cultivation of foodstuffs, cotton and the newly-introduced sugar-beet give a good yield. The best tobacco of Turkey and ʿIrāḳ is cultivated in Kurdistān which, for ʿIrāḳ, supplies almost all of its needs (Khosbak, 45; Durra, 1963, 226, 1966, 245). If the vine grows a little everywhere in Turkey, ʿIrāḳ and Iran, it only flourishes in Kurdistān on sunny slopes; there are 12 million stands in ʿIrāḳ (Vernier, 468) and the kinds of grapes are numerous and varied (see the names in *Hawar*, no. 34, 8; Wahby, *Dictionnaire*, 148). Some are reserved for the preparation of raisins used so much for food. Fruit trees also abound in Kurdistān: pomegranates, peaches, apples, figs, apricots and centenarian walnuts. Market-gardens are developed around the villages and even in the mountains where the Kurd, an ingenious gardener, constructs terraces supported by small walls in order not to lose any parcel of arable land. Of the vegetables in general use in the west, the onion, for example, so much appreciated by all the Kurds, is especially cultivated, and certain vegetables such as watermelons, cucumbers, melons, aubergines, corn on the cob, capsicums, etc., without forgetting the lettuce, held in abhorrence by the Yazīdīs.

Wild animals are far from having disappeared in Kurdistān. There were still lions at the beginning of the 19th century; if they no longer exist, the *piling*, a kind of leopard, survives. Bears are plentiful in Nebirnao to the south of Van, where they have "a table served from June to September" (Balsan, 229); the wild boar also abounds at Bingöl (1,200 shot in 3 months in 1939 (*ibid.*, 90-1), and 55 killed in a single round-up in 1963 at Barzan. Wolves, jackals, foxes and hyenas often approach the villages. But there are other animals called wild which are neither carnivores nor predators, but which are hunted either for their meat, such as the ibexes, or for pleasure, such as hares and rabbits. One also finds porcupines, which are edible according to the Christians of the region, agile squirrels, and martens and sables sought for their fur. So it is not surprising that the Kurd is a born hunter. Birds are also plentiful. The high mountains shelter the majestic eagles; streams and watering places attract ducks, teal and snipe. In 1972, 500,000 spent the winter on Lake Riḍāʾiyya, nourishing themselves there on the small crustaceans which abound there, and at the same time Lake Van housed numerous colonies of pelicans (J. Vieillard, in *Le Monde*, 13 January 1973). Nightingales, storks and cranes are also found in the Kurdish countryside, as much as in the songs of Kurdistān. Doves and pigeons frequent in thousands the innumerable grottoes and caves of the mountains. Partridges and quails are choice game. Fish abound in the streams of fresh and crystalline waters. But it is not always easy to identify them and give them a name. A large fish is caught in the Zāb, called by the Christians "Tobias's fish", which is two metres long and whose flesh is excellent. One may see a photograph of it in Hamilton (between pp. 32-3). Apart from these pleasanter creatures, one must beware of the snakes, small but venomous, such as vipers, and of the yellow or black scorpions whose sting can be deadly, especially for the very young, although the numerous lizards, geckoes or varans and the chameleons are harmless, as are the tortoises. But in spring, flies, mosquitos and fleas are dreadful and constitute a real plague. The bee also stings, but produces a very tasty wild honey.

Apart from these creatures, who live wild, there are in Kurdistān many animals which have been domesticated and have been raised for profit since the earliest antiquity (cf. Ch. A. Reed, *Animal domestication in the Prehistoric Near East*, in R. J. Braidwood, B. Hove, etc. *Prehistoric investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*, Chicago 1960, 119-45). Indeed, Kurdistān is a land of stock-breeding: sheep, goats, cows and buffaloes supply milk, butter, cheese and meat, skins, fleeces, guts, horns etc. of which the leather and wool serve to make clothes, shoes, felts, etc. and provide an obvious economic yield. In 1957, in the Kurdish regions of Turkey, there were 7,662,332 sheep; 4,176,016 goats, one-quarter of all Turkish stock-breeding, and 2,240,825 cows, one-sixth. There are also many buffaloes (Balsan, 128). In the Kurdish provinces of ʿIrāḳ there are 1,674,912 sheep or two-thirds of the ʿIrāḳī breeding stock, 2,234,238 goats (two-thirds), 226,858 cows (one-third) and 4,287 buffaloes (one tenth). Apart from the large-scale breeding of the nomads (half the production in Iran; Stauffer, 291), each household has its small herd of a few animals, sheep or goats, four to eight (*ibid.*, 290). The Kurdish villages of ʿIrāḳ studied by Barth (19) are richer. Each house also possesses a few chickens. There are different breeds of sheep with fat tails and goats with long hair, carefully watched by shepherds expert in their craft. Other animals indispensable in everyday life are also reared. Among the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ are found 22,289 horses (one-seventh), 52,336 mules, almost the whole production, 130,804 donkeys (one-third; Khosbak, 52). Also, let us not forget the Kurdish sheepdogs, a strong, imposing and redoubtable breed (Balsan, 236). Naturally, no pigs or rabbits [see ARNAB in Suppl.] are reared in Kurdistān.

The interior of the soil in Kurdistān is no less rich in minerals than its surface in vegetation and animals. But until now, its resources have been very little exploited. Quite abundant supplies of coal have been discovered in the region of Maden, Kiği, Kemah and Harput, where it has been exploited (several thousand metric tons in 1970), but not at Zaḵho in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān. Near Sulaymānī limestone is extracted and, at Sar Çinar, a cement works has been producing since 1958, 350 metric tons of cement a day. Deposits of rock-salt can be exploited at Sindjār, Shaykhān and Tuz-Khurmatu. Sulphur is found in the province of Senna, at ʿAmādiyya, and a Polish group plan to extract 250,000 metric tons of it a year at Mishrak in the north of ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān. Iron is not lacking in Kurdistān, and is mined (1,600,000 tonnes in 1960 at Maden). But very rich, easily exploitable deposits of iron ore are found in the region of Rawāndiz and Sulaymānī. Copper exploited (32,000 t.) at Ergani,

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Diyarbakir and Palu, is also to be encountered in the region of ʿAkra. Chromium is found in the region of Barzan and at Diyarbakir, where it is extracted (270,000 t. annually). There is lead at Keban, Elaziğ and Maku, gold at Yergü and to the south of Kirmānshāh, and also silver at Kemah. At Kirkūk, the reserves of salts allow the manufacture of caustic soda and chloride. But it is petrol which is the chief riches of Kurdistān. The petrol of Kirkūk gushes forth in the midst of Kurdish territory and represents a good part of the ʿIrāḳī production (83 million t. in 1970). The same applies to the petrol of Batman in the Siirt region and the oil-fields of Karaçok in northern Syria. Natural gas is abundant and sulphurless in the region of Čamčamāl.

3. *The human aspect*

This region which the Kurds occupy today has been inhabited since the most ancient antiquity, e.g. Berda Balka, the cave of Hazar Merd of the Mousterian period, not far from Sulaymānī or that of Shanidar, near Rawāndiz, where the first Palaeolithic human skeleton in ʿIrāḳ was discovered. Djarmo, in the valley of Čamčamāl, may be the most ancient village in the Near East, for it was probably one of the centres where man cultivated for the first time various species of barley and corn, according to excavations of a team of researchers of the University of Chicago (cf. Braidwood, Hove etc., *Prehistoric investigations in Iraqi Kurdistan*). Today, the Kurd is settled throughout the land and has established numbers of villages there.

Originally, he was content to occupy the innumerable refuges, shelters under rocks and numerous caves, some of which are difficult of access and very picturesque with stalagmites and stalactites (Edmonds, 235), and which sometimes extend deep under the mountain. These caves always serve, on occasion, to shelter the herds, but sometimes peasants are still to be encountered living in them. Numerous legends circulate about some of these caves where treasures are said to be hidden and where the passing of djinn and ifrits is mentioned (Edmonds, 206-7, 246, 332, 368-9; Hamilton, chs. xiv-xv). Certainly, the nomadic Kurds, on the verge of extinction, and the seminomads live under their black tent, which should not be confused with the tent of the Bedouin Arab, the *kibitka* of the Mongols, the *yurt* of the Samoyeds and the *kote* of the Lapps (cf. C. G. Feilberg, *La tente noire*, Copenhagen 1944, 81-6; Bishop, i, 373; Lescot, 144-5; and KHAYMA). It is formed from a great awning made of woven strips of goats' hair 50 × 60 cm. wide. The poles which hold it up are 2.50 by 3 m. in height; their number varies according to the size of the tent, i.e. according to the importance of its owner. There are no ridge poles. Reed partitions separate the corner of the women and provisions from the part of the tent where the men and visitors stay. All the furniture consists of a few mats, cushions and some carpets in the chiefs' tents. But the Kurdish peasant lives in rough houses. The construction materials are ordinarily unfired bricks in the plains, but fired ones at Sulaymānī, for example, or rough stones, in the mountains joined together with mud. The walls are 2 by 2.50 m. high. In the rough stone walls are sometimes inserted poorly-hewn beams to make them stronger. Inside, niches are arranged in the walls to serve as cupboards.

The walls are roughcast with mud and sometimes whitened with lime. The door is of massive wood. There is no window on the exterior, but these exist looking out on the courtyard, with protective bars. Simple little lanterns light the place, when the door cannot be left open. The floor is of beaten earth. In the centre the hearth (*tendur*) is covered in winter by the *kursī*, a kind of wooden bench with a covering on which all the family warm themselves in the coldest regions. A hole in the roof serves as a chimney. Along the walls runs a broad bank of earth where people sit during the day and where they sleep at night on mats, felts or mattresses. The terrace is made of poplar trunks spaced 50 cm. apart and covered with branches, leaves and dried grass and a thick bed of hard-pressed earth. If the room is too wide (more than 3 m.), poles hold up the beams and roof battens. For the water to run off, the terrace extends beyond the retaining walls or gutters for a metre, e.g. at Sulaymānī, facilitating the running off of rainwater. In any case, a roller is always to be found on the terrace in order to press it down after downpours. One climbs up by a ladder or outside staircase. The house of the plain, where there is space, has a courtyard and a building principally composed of a rectangular living room, lengthened by a corner reserved for the animals. A solid annexe building serves as a kitchen and store for household utensils, tools and work implements. There is no cellar or attic, often not even latrines. In the mountain houses the stable is often in the courtyard, as are the annexes. The living room is situated above with, at the bottom, a small corner for the provisions. Often there is also a small veranda or loggia facing south. The terrace is the favourite place for the women, who perform their many daily occupations there. (For descriptions, plans, photos or drawings of different Kurdish dwellings, see: in Djazīra, R. Montagne, 53-66; at Sindjār, R. Lescot, 146-7; at Sulaymānī, Edmonds, 90-3; again at Sulaymānī and at the village of Topzaya and Belkha, H. H. Hansen, 21-43; and in Iranian Kurdistān, Bishop, i, 88, ii, 191, M. Mokri, 89-91. See also Leach, 49; T. F. Aristova, 95, 97, 99 for Transcaucasia.) Naturally, man does not live isolated in his house, but in a group. Villages have grown up, and the Kurd, a man of the earth, lives more in the village than in the towns. Like all villages in the world, and especially those in mountainous countries, the position is chosen in relation to the sun and to water, a stream or spring. So it must be oriented to be at once well-exposed to the sun and sheltered from the wind, following the axis of the mountain chains. Exposure to the north is avoided. The south, the direction of Mecca (Mokri, 81), is preferred to the east. The importance of the village depends on their proximity to places of passage (mountain passes and bridges) and also on sufficient cultivable lands and pasturages. Many villages are built on a slope, the roof of the higher houses forming a terrace for the houses below, and this occurs in all the regions of Kurdistān, e.g. at ʿAkra, Barzindja and Shār-i Hawramān. It is not rare to sight on a neighbouring peak some ruins of an old castle, a trace of the past glory of a local magnate vanished for centuries. Such as it is, the Kurdish village has a rather pleasing and sympathetic appearance, precisely because of the water, gardens and trees.

The Kurdish villages are closer to one another or more dispersed, according to whether the region is more or less exposed to hazards. In the whole of the 17 provinces of Turkey with all or a high proportion of Kurdish population, according to the official census of 1960, 8,817 villages were counted, of which 395 had less than 100 inhabitants, 513 from 101 to 500, 1891 from 501 to 1000, 372 from 1,001 to 2,000 and only 39 with more than 2,000 inhabitants.

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Three provinces of Muş, Hakâri and Van can be taken as criteria for appreciation:

	Area in km²	Inhabitants	Density in km	Number of cantons	Number of villages
Muş	8,195	167,638	20	15	368
Hakâri	9,532	67,766	7	12	133
Van	18,619	211,034	11	21	557

Thus the villages are more or less dispersed. They are also unequally populated, as the table below shows:

Inhabitants	less than 100	101-500	500-1000	1000-2000	+2000
Muş	9	280	64	14	1
Hakâri	5	84	40	5	0
Van	39	456	51	11	0

This average of small villages from 500 to 300 inhabitants is found in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, in the region of Rawāndiz (Barth, ii) and in other regions; 300 inhabitants is also the average of the Kurdish villages of Iran.

Altitude is also a very important factor in the establishment of the Kurdish village. By examining the snow contours on Hütteroth's map, e.g. to the south of Lake Van in the region of Hakâri precisely, it may be ascertained that the villages are relatively very numerous between 1,000 m. and 1,500 m., quite numerous between 1,500 and 2,000 m., rare between 2,000 and 2,500 m. and that they disappear altogether above 2,500 m., apart from pasturing camps or *sozān*. Some agreable summer dwellings are found in the middle altitudes. Thus in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, in the province of Duhok, we have Zawitha, at 1,422 m. in the midst of vast fir woods, Suwaretuka, at 1,675 m. among cypresses and maples, Sersing, at 1,046 m. with gushing springs, Sulav, at 1,150 m., and its waterfalls, Ser ʿAmādiyya, at 1,905 m; in the province of Sulaymāni: Ser Činar, with great plane trees, as its name indicates; in the province of Arbil, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, at 1,090 m., Shaḳlawa, at 565 m. with luxuriant orchards at the foot of Saffin, Gali ʿAlī Bag, at the same altitude with a great waterfall, and especially Ḥādjdjī ʿUmrān, at 1,780 m., very fresh in summer and a ski resort in winter. In the province of Hakâri, the high peaks of Cilo Dağ, which are between 3,500 and 4,000 m., have for some time attracted foreign mountaineers (cf. B. Amy, *La montagne des autres. Alpinisme en pays kurde*, 1972, with maps, photos and bibliographies of the last expeditions).

The smaller the village, the more its comfort is reduced. This is the case also in Turkish Kurdistān, where more than half of the villages do not have drinking water, a mill, a school, a *čāyāna* (or cafe) or a special house for guests. The lighting there is primitive, the hygiene deficient. The wells are near the latrines when these last exist. In winter, in view of the lack of means of communication, hundreds of villages are isolated from the rest of the world (E. Esenkova, 55-7). It is the same in the Kurdish villages of ʿIrāḳ, where electricity and running water only exist in 22 of them among the hundreds that are to be counted in the provinces of Sulaymānī, Arbil, Kirkūk (Khosbak, 56-7). For a population estimated at 8,766,000 in 1962, in 1970 for the whole of ʿIrāḳ there were only 150 hospitals, 987 dispensaries and 18,256 beds with 2,890 doctors and 1,771 nurses (Ministry of Information, *L'Irak va de l'avant*). The same situation applies in Turkish Kurdistān. In 1967, there were 12,275 doctors in Turkey, but only 2,500 for the whole of Anatolia, with a total of 60,196 beds, of which nearly half were for the towns of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir alone. Malaria affects especially the Kurdish provinces of Diyarbakir, Siirt, and Hakâri (E. Esenkova, 87-8). In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, malaria, which was the cause of a quarter of the mortality in ʿIrāḳ (Dr. A. Ghalib, *Malaria and malaria in Iraq*, Baghdād 1944) has been practically eliminated since the campaign of the WHO in 1954-6 (cf. J. Manevy, *Il est quatre heures docteur Malaria*, in *Réalités*, no. 122, March 1956, 48-55). In Iranian Kurdistān, there are only 250 to 300 hospital beds = 1 for 10,000 persons (Ghassemlou, 32).

To move from one village to another, to enter into more or less intimate social relations of family, friendship, tribe or commerce, the Kurd follows either the paths or tracks which link the villages or else the larger motor roads of commercial or strategic value which have been constructed by the interested governments. In the mountains, the mule tracks of tenfollow either the stream which runs at the bottom of the valley, passing from one side to the other or the flank of the mountain, often precipitous and hazardous. They rise steeply to reach the mountain passes, at times quite high, e.g. in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, Paykuli, 1,000 m. and Sagirma, 1,700 m. To cross the streams, one fords them or uses trail-bridges or *kelek*s [*q.v.*] at a fixed point, where the river is wider and the current less swift, or bridges. The Kurdish bridges are still rudimentary today and sometimes dangerous, being made of ropes and lianas (Layard, 1970, 166; Bishop, ii, 114) or else of tree trunks (Wigram, 288; Hamilton, 96). On the more important roads, the ancient bridges are of stone, hump-backed with one or several arches. Today, some modern iron bridges replace at many points these primitive bridges which are often, in any case, no more than foot bridges (Hamilton, 192). Many legends are attached to these ancient bridges (Edmonds, 201, 212, 247). In the plains, especially in Turkish Kurdistān, there are still many simple earth tracks only usable in the good season. But some modern metalled, tarred and macadamised roads have also been built. The roads through the mountains are often real works of art.

ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān is now furrowed with numbers of fine roads which facilitate human relations. In ʿIrāḳ, some roads or good tracks link Mawṣil to Zaḳho, ʿAmādiyya, Arbil and ʿAkra. From Arbil one goes to Harīr and Rawāndiz and also to Kirkūk and then Sulaymānī. In Turkey, one road goes from Malatya to Elaziğ, Tunceli, Erzincan, Askala, Erzurum, and Kars. From Elaziğ a branch goes off for Bingöl, Muş and Tatvan, and another towards Diyarbakir, Mardin and Nüseybin. From Diyarbakir, one may branch off for Silvan and Siirt, or Silvan in the direction of Bitlis, Tatvan and Van, by the road or by steamer on the lake.

Few railways cross Kurdistān. In Turkey one may pick out the line Erzincan-Erzurum-Kars, towards Armenia; the line Malatya-Elaziğ-Genı-Muş-Tatvan-Van by ferry in the direction of Tabriz; and the line Malatya-Sivrece-Maden-Erganı-Diyarbakir-Batman, towards Siirt. The Orient Express from Istanbul goes to Aleppo, skirts the Kurdish populations of the Turko-Syrian frontier, and reaches Mawṣil and Baghdād. In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, a single narrow-

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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gauge railway goes from Baghdād to Kirkūk (320 km.).

Several military routes fan out from the airports situated in Kurdistān. The most important are in Turkey: Erzurum, Kars, Karaköse (Ağrı), Elaziğ, Malatya, Van and Diyarbakir; in ʿIrāḳ: Mawṣil, Kirkūk, Semel, Ser ʿAmādiyya and Bamerni; in north Syria: Kamishlī; in Iran, Sanandadj, Kirmānshāh and Riḍāʾiyya.

E. An anthropological profile of Kurdistān. Situated as it is at the crossroads of populations as different as the Turkish, Persian, Caucasian and Arab peoples and in very intimate relations with most of them, does the Kurdish people possess characteristics such that it may be distinguished very clearly from the others? The question can legitimately be posed, and many scholars have tried to distinguish the anthropological aspects which would allow this process of discrimination. It is evidently not a matter of searching for a Kurdish race, since this notion of race can scarcely be applied to humans, although some important genetic differences are ascertainable between more or less homogenous populations possessing such-or-such characteristic blood-group (Ruffié, 1972). Anthropological researches on the Kurds began more than a century ago with E. Duhousset (1863) and N. V. Khanikoff (1866). They have been carried out in all the regions of Kurdistān.

In Iran, first of all by the authors cited, then by M. Houssay (1887); in Transcaucasia by E. Chantre (1880, 1890) and Pantukhotf (1891); in Turkey in the valleys between the Euphrates and the Tigris (G. Pisson, 1892), to the south of the Black Sea at Karakus, at Nemrut Dağ, to the west of Lake Van, and at Zencirli (von Luschan, 1922); in Syria, at Damascus (Ariëns Kappers, 1931). The Yazīdīs of the Caucasus were studied by Eliseyev in 1887 and in 1900 by Ivanovski; those of Sindjār and Shaykhān by Field (1934), as well as the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ, of Zakho, Rawāndiz, ʿAkra, Kirkūk and Sulaymānī; these latter studies were not published until 1951 and 1952. All these researches are only in fact sample surveys, given the relatively restricted number of individuals examined (some hundreds or more out of several thousands of inhabitants) and of the really scientific measures obtained. Some travellers have in their turn made certain records and added some typical photographs. Despite all this, and because the observations concerning the Kurds are of different regions, the results obtained do not always coincide perfectly. There has been an attempt to make an anthropological classification of them (A. Bashmakoff). The Western Kurds (von Luschan) have been distinguished from the Eastern and Southern Kurds. The former are of a blond, blue-eyed, dolichocephalic type. The others are of a brown, black-eyed, brachycephalic type. The one group consider themselves of the same race as the Turks (Sekban, Inan) or the Iranians (Modi), the others regard themselves as close to the Arabs or Armenians. Certain photographs of Mark Sykes (321, 342, 373, 424-5, 427, 429) of Lynch (ii, 4-5) or of Soubrier (112, 113, 144, 160, 172) reveal at first sight types among the Kurds: Arab, Jew, Biblical, Nestorian and Turkoman. It is this which H. Field confirms and expresses in a more scientific fashion in the photographs of 162 individuals out of 598 examined, where he personally discovers Armenoid types (48), Balkan (12), Modified Mediterranean (36), Eur-Anatolian (38), pure or mixed Iranian (4), Alpinoid (12), Mongoloid (1) and Negroid (1). The proportions are not exactly the same among the 235 Yazīdīs examined, and the comparison with the Assyrians, the Shammar and Ṣulubba Arabs or the Turkomans also studied by the author is interesting. The resemblances encountered are no doubt to be explained by intermarriage. But this does not prevent E. Duhousset (1863) from recognising in the Kurdish people a rare homogeneity with respect to its type and, for his part, Ariëns Kappers (1931) admits that the Kurds, despite their anthropological differences, constitute a truly distinct race. Thus we can, in summarising the studies of H. Field, present as follows the portrait of the Kurd of ʿIrāḳ: "The Kurd is of medium height (1.66 m.) with a relatively long body and short limbs. The forehead is wide and the head wide and round. The brachycephalics predominate. The height of the face is medium. The nose is quite often convex. The Kurd is more hirsute than the Arab. His hair, rather wavy and pliant, is normally dark brown and the eyes black. But blond hair and blue eyes are also to be encountered, especially in the western regions. The colour of the skin is more clear than that of the Arabs, but less fine than that of the Assyrians. The teeth are normal and well-placed. The musculature is good, as is the health, in general, of those who have been observed" (Th. Bois, 18).

Despite everything, these anthropological researches on the Kurds are too fragmentary and uncertain for us to be able to conclude from them what may be the origin of this people. It is indispensable here to combine the study of the language with that of the history.

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iii. — History

A. Origins and Pre-Islamic history.

The classification of the Kurds among the Iranian nations is based mainly on linguistic and historical data and does not prejudice the fact there is a complexity of ethnical elements incorporated in them. The type of the latter varies visibly from place to place. It is probable that the expansion of the Kurd element took place from east (Western Persia) to west (Central Kurdistān) but there is nothing to have prevented the existence in Central Kurdistān, before the coming of the Kurds, of a nationality of different origin but bearing a similar name (Ḳardū) which later amalgamated with the Iranian Kurds.

On two Sumerian inscriptions dating from about 2,000 B.C., Thureau-Dangin (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, v, 99; vi, 67) found a country *Kar-da-ka* mentioned (in which word the initial is *k* and not *ḳ* and the function of the element *ka* is uncertain). This country was beside the "people of Su" (cf. *ZA*, xxxv, 230 n. 3), which G. R. Driver located south of Lake Van; there is an old fortress Sūy in the region of Bidlīs (*Sharafnāma*, i, 146). A thousand years later Tiglath Pileser waged war on the people called Ḳur-ṭi-e in the mountains of Azu, which Driver (in *JRAS* [1923], 400) identifies with the modern Ḥazō (Sāsūn). The reading Ḳur-ṭi-e is not certain, however.

Herodotus in the 5th century B.C. mentions no name like this, but, according to him (iii, 93), the thirteenth nome of the Achaemenid empire included next to the Armenians a Παχτυική which Nöldeke (*Gramm. d. neusyrischen Spr.*, Leipzig 1868, p. xviii) and Kiepert (*Alt. Geogr.*, § 81) have connected with the name of Bokhtān (= Bohtān).

The retreat of the Ten Thousand described by Xenophon (401-400 B.C.) made famous the name of the Karduchoi (Καρδοῦχοι) whose country lay to the east of the Kentritēs (Bohtān). From this time onwards we continually find the name on the left bank of the Tigris near Mount Djūdī [*q.v.*]. In classical authors, the country became Corduene (on the numerous forms of this name, probably produced by the difficulty of reproducing the Semitic *ḳ*, cf. Driver, *op. cit.*). In Aramaic the district was called Beth-Ḳardū and the present town of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Gazartā of Ḳardū. The Armenians had the name Korduḳ, the Arabs (Balādhūrī, 176; Ṭabarī, iii, 610) Baḳardā (Ḳardai). According to Yāḳūt (iv, 56), who relies on the authority of Ibn al-Athīr, the canton of Bāḳardā formed part of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, contained two hundred villages (al-Thamānīn,

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Djûdī, Fīrūz-Shābûr) and was situated on the left bank of the Tigris opposite Bāzabdā on the right bank (cf. the full analysis of the texts in M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 33-5). Later, the name, which was only applied to the district, disappears from Muslim terminology and is replaced by Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar, Bohtān, etc. To the Armenians and Arabs the territory of Ḳardû in the strict sense had a very limited application. We do not know the exact frontiers of the province of Corduene; its three towns, Sareisa, Satalka and Pinaka (= Finik) lay on the Tigris, but the statement of Strabo (ix, 12, 4) is remarkable; according to this, the term Γορδυαῖα ὄρη was sometimes applied to the mountains between the modern Diyārbakr and Mûsh.

Now, who were the Καρδοῦχοι whose name undoubtedly survived in the later names (the termination -χοι must represent the Armenian plural in -*kh*, which is perhaps explained by the fact that the Greeks learned this name from an Armenian)? According to Xenophon (iv, 3, 1), the Karduchoi recognised neither the authority of King Artaxerxes nor that of Armenia. When in the 1st century B.C. Corduene was conquered by Tigranes II, he had its king Zarbienus executed. In 115 A.D. the king of Corduene was called Manisarus. According to Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen*, 239, and *Armenische Grammatik*, i/2, 518-20, the province of Corduene was only superficially Armenicised.

There is nothing really surprising in finding at the time of Xenophon an Iranian tribe settled to the north of the Tigris, but we have nothing but the evidence of the name from which to judge the ethnology of the Karduchoi. The name has Semitic analogies (Akkad., Assyr. *ḳardu*, "strong", "hero", *ḳarādu* "to be strong"); on the other hand, there is a certain consonantal resemblance with the name of a people Khaldī, better known under the Assyrian form Urarṭu/Urashṭu, in Hebrew Ararat, among the Greeks Αλαρόδιοι, Χάλδοι and sometimes Χαλδαῖοι. This people appeared in Armenia towards the end of the 9th century B.C. and afterwards established a powerful kingdom in the region of Lake Vān which lasted until the beginning of the 6th century. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Mater. z. ālter. Gesch. Armeniens*, Göttingen 1907, 123, sees in them Khaldī immigrants from the west; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, i/2, Stuttgart 1913, § 474, seeks their original home on the central Araxes. As a result of the arrival of the Armenians, towards the 7th century, the Khaldī were dispersed and driven towards the mountains (*Cyropaedia*, iii, 1-3). But their name survived in the toponymy of the region north of Lake Van (the Byzantine theme Χαλδία near Trebizond, the town of Khilāṭ = Akhlāṭ, etc.; cf. Belck and Lehmann, in *ZA*, ix [1894], 84; de Goeje, in *ibid.*, x [1895], 100; Streck, in *ibid.*, xiv [1899], 112). Parallels for the name *Khaldi* have been sought on the other side of the Caucasus: the Georgians are called *Kharthveli* or *kharth-ul-i* (in Svanian *khyard*; in Mingrelian, *khort-u*); cf. N. Adontz, *Armenia v epokhu Iustiniana*, St. Petersburg 1908, 398.

Whether we identify the Ḳardû as Semites or as an indigenous people, it is certain that the land of the ancient Karduchoi is at the present day one of the principle centres of the Kurds. It has therefore been concluded that the Karduchoi were identical with the Kurds, and this view was still considered axiomatic at the beginning of the 20th century; cf. *Grundriss d. Iran. Phil.*, ii, 464. Going a step further, the Kurds were directly connected with the Χάλδοι; Reiske in his commentary on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, B. 13 (713, 11) said "Chaldi et Kordi vel Curti, Gordyaei iidem". A similar opinion is expressed in the title of P. Lerch's work, *Recherches sur les Kurdes iraniens et sur leurs ancêtres, les Chaldéens septentrionaux* (St. Petersburg 1856).

A new turn was given to the problem by the researches of M. Hartmann, Nöldeke and Weissbach, who showed the philological necessity of distinguishing between the stems *Kurd* and *Ḳardû*. These scholars at the same time proposed to recognise the Kurds in the Κύρτιοι, Cyrtii, mentioned by classical writers in Media and Persia (Strabo, xi, 13, 3, and xv, 3, 1). This hypothesis is confirmed by the presence in Fārs of numerous Kurdish tribes in the Sāsānid period (cf. *Kārnāmak-i Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān*, tr. Nöldeke, Göttingen 1879, 37, 48, and the testimony of Arab writers).

The justifiable distinction between the names *Kurd* and *Ḳardû* does not, however, decide the important question, how the Cyrtii (= Iranian Kurds) came to colonise lands west of the Zagros, the country of the ancient Ḳardû, and the mountains of the Anti-Taurus as far as northern Syria. The problem still requires careful research. In the first place, the Median and Persian conquests must have brought about considerable displacements of the Iranian peoples. We have an example in the migrations of a part of the Asagartiya whose original home was in Sīstān. In the Assyrian period we find these Sagartians in Media (*Zikirtu* or *Zakruti*, cf. Streck, in *ZA*, xiv [1899], 146) and in the time of Darius (Bīhistūn inscr. 2, 90) their capital was already in the Assyrian plain at Arbela, where Darius had their chief Čitrantakhma executed, whose portrait on the rock of Bīsutūn suggests a Kurdish type (L. W. King, *The sculptures of Behistan*, London 1907). Between 220 and 171 B.C. we find Cyrtii mercenaries taking part in the wars between Rome, the Seleucids and the kings of Pergamon (Livy, xlii, 58, 13; xxxvii, 40, 9; Polybius, v, 52, 5; cf. Weissbach in Pauly-Wissowa², s.v. *Cyrtii*, and A. J. Reinach, *Les mercenaires de Pergame*, in *Revue Archéologique* [1909], 115-19). A very interesting state of transition is seen from the Armenian *Geography* of the 7th century, in the case of the province of Korčēkh (according to Adontz, *Armenia*, 418, Korčēkh is from **kortič-aikh* where *kortič* means "Kurd", as *atrpatič* means "inhabitant of Atropatene"). In the time of Faustus Byzantinus (4th century) Korčēkh was only a canton near Salmās [*q.v.*]. As a province, Korčēkh stretched from Djūlāmerg to Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar and included the following cantons: Kordukh, the three Kordrikh (Kordikh), Aituankh, Aigarkh, Mothołaukh (Othołaukh), Orsiraukh (Orisankh), Karathunikh (Saraponikh), Čahuk and Little Albak (Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 93; Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen*, 255-9).

We see the changes that were gradually brought about. Of the three districts, Kordukh, Kordikh and Tmorikh, which Faustus mentions in place of the ancient Corduene, Kordukh had become a mere canton of Korčēkh and Tmorikh disappeared altogether to the advantage of Kordrikh (Kordikh), of which simply upper, middle and lower cantons were distinguished.

Hübschmann *op. cit.*, 385), confines himself to distinguishing between the Kordrikh (Kordikh) of the Κύρτιοι, but in general the linguistic distinction established by M. Hartmann and Nöldeke does not preclude the existence of hybrid and corrupt forms (M. Hartmann, *Bohtan*, 92: "es gingen wohl schon früh die Namen durcheinander"). Nöldeke even

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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distinguishes a third group of names: Aramaic Ḳartēwāyē (Arabic Ḳartāwiya ?), meaning the true Kurds; cf. G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyren*, Leipzig 1880, 207, n. 1639.

We thus find that about the period of the Arab conquest a single ethnic term *Kurd* (plur. *Akrād*) was beginning to be applied to an amalgamation of Iranian or iranicised tribes. Among the latter, some were autochthonous (the Ḳardū; the Tmorikh/Ṭamurāyē in the district of which Alḳī = Elk was the capital; the Χοθαίται [= al-Khuwaythiyya] in the canton of Khoyt of Sāsūn, the Orṭâyē [= al-Arṭān] in the bend of the Euphrates); some were Semites (cf. the popular genealogies of the Kurd tribes) and some probably Armenian (it is said that the Mamakān tribe is of Mamikonian origin).

In the 20th century, the existence of an Iranian non-Kurdish element among the Kurds has been definitely established (the Gūrān-Zāzā groupe). In several districts a social stratification based on the political domination of newcomers has been established (at Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.*], at Sāwdj-Bulāḳ [*q.v.*] and at Ḳotūr, where we find remnants of the Küresinli [?] in subjection to the Shakāk). Systematic investigation may discover traces of ancient peoples overlaid by a Kurdish element giving an appearance of unity.

Genealogies and popular etymologies. The Muslim sources and Kurdish traditions do not help us to solve the problem of the origin of the Kurds. Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 251) already speaks of their descent from those Persians who escaped from the tyrant Ḍaḥḥāk. This legend is best known from the version of the *Shāh-nāma* (Macan, i, 27-8; Mohl, i, 71; Vullers, i, 36, verses 29-38). In 1812 Morier (*Second journey*, 357) mentions the celebration at Damāwand (on 31 August) of a festival commemorating the delivery of Persia from the tyranny of Daḥḥāḳ, known as the *ʿAyd-i Kurdī*, "The Kurd festival". On the other hand, the Kurds sought Arab genealogies for themselves. Some (*Murūdj*, iii, 253) claimed as their ancestor Rabīʿa b. Nizār b. Maʿadd, others Muḍar b. Nizār, both eponyms of the districts of Diyār Rabīʿa (Mawṣil) and Diyār Muḍar (Raḳḳa). They said that the Kurds had separated from the Arab stock as a result of feuds with the Ghassānids, and, having retired to the mountains, intermingled with strangers and forgot their mother tongue. Of more interest is a series of ancestors among whom we find Kurd b. Mard (cf. οἱ Μαρδοί the neighbours of the Kurds) b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Ḥarb b. Ḥawāzin (Masʿūdī, *ibid.*, and *Tanbīh*, 88-91: Kurd b. Isfandiyādh b. Manūshahr; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 185-7: Kurd b. Mard b. ʿAmr). All these genealogies may contain a few grains of historical fact (iranicisation of Semites, intermingling of the tribes of the Zagros and of Fārs).

Nor is there any lack of popular etymologies. The attempt has been made (*Murūdj*, iii, 249) to connect the name with the Arabic root *karrada*; the Kurds would thus be the children of young slaves and the demon Djasad ("driven out" by Solomon). Very frequently (cf. Driver, in *JRAS* [1923], 403) the name *Kurd* is connected with the Persian word *gurd* ("hero"), although this root really had a *g* in Pahlavī and goes back to the root *var* "to protect" (Horn, *Neuper. Etymol.*, 200).

In later times, the names of tribes were often explained by those of their eponyms. The *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 158, makes all the Kurds (the Badjnawī and Bokhtī tribes) come from Badjan and Bokht; the former of these names may be connected with that of Basn-āw, a tributary of the Tigris (Andreas, in Hartmann, 131), while the second recalls the Παικτυική of Herodotus, or the "dragon-king" (Kurd ?) Haftān-Bokht killed by Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān; cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, 11 According to another legend, especially popular in the north and west, the Kurds were at one time divided into two branches, Milān and Zilān, the former coming from Arabia and the latter from the east; the Zilān were regarded as an inferior race (cf. P. M. Sykes, in *Jnal. R. Anthropological Inst.*, xxxviii [1908], 470).

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B. The Islamic period up to 1920.

We have detailed notices of the Kurds from the time of the Arab conquest onwards. During the five first centuries of the Hidjra, the Kurds frequently played a considerable part in events and often took the initiative in them. Several Kurd dynasties arose at this time. Waves of Turk and Mongol invaders seem to have submerged the Kurds from the 6th to the 10th century A.D. But the period of the wars between the Ottoman Sulṭāns and the Ṣafawid Shāhs produced a state of affairs in Kurdistān favourable for the growth of a feudal system, of which a faithful

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picture is given in the *Sharaf-nāma* (1003/1596). The Turco-Persian frontier became gradually stabilised and the Persians fell back behind the wall of the Zagros and its northern extension. Then Turkey began the work of strengthening the authority of the central power within her eastern provinces. Towards the end of the 19th century the last Kurdish principalities disappeared in Turkish territory (Hakkārī, Bidlīs, Sulaymāniyya) and in Persia (Ardalān). But the great tribes still exist, and their cadres assure the preservation of the Kurdish element with its social and ethical peculiarities. Ḳādjār Persia hardly ever interfered in the domestic affairs of her Kurdish tribes, while in the late Ottoman period Turkey tried to use the Kurds as a political support for the central authority. Sometimes the Kurds were overwhelmed with favours, and sometimes they had to resist attempts to abolish the remnants of their ancient autonomy. Several risings of the Kurds took place in the 19th century, and towards the beginning of the 20th century a Kurd movement added one more element to the nationalist agitations within the Turkish empire. The revolution of 1908 drew the Kurds into politics; newspapers, magazines and Kurd societies began to multiply. During the First World War of 1914-18 the idea of an autonomous Kurdistān was first mooted by the Western Powers, but the plan was only partially and temporarily realised in so far as the part of the old *wilāyet* of Mawṣil attached to the new state of ʿIrāḳ was concerned.

The Kurds after the Arab conquest. We shall find it useful to begin by collecting the information given by Arab authors regarding the distribution of the Kurd tribes.

The term Kurdistān being unknown before the time of the Saldjūḳs, information regarding the Kurds is usually to be found in the Arab authors under such heads as Zawzān, Khilāṭ, Armīniya, Ādharbāydjān, Djibāl, Fārs, etc. (cf. Driver, *The dispersion of the Kurds in ancient times*, in *JRAS* [1926], 563-72).

Masʿūdī (about 332/943) and Iṣṭakhrī (340/951) are the first to give systematic information about the Kurds. In the *Murūdj al-dhahab* (iii, 253) Masʿūdī enumerates the following tribes: at Dīnawar and Hamadhān: Shuhdjān; at Kangawar: Mādjurdān; in Ādharbāydjān (so the text should be emended): Hadhbānī and Sarāt (probably Shurāt = Khāridjīs [*q.v.*]; cf. the story of Daysam below); in Djibāl: Shādandjān, Lazba (Lurrī?), Mādandjān, Mazdānakān, Bārisān, Khālī (Djalālī), Djābārḳi, Djāwānī and Mustakān; in Syria: Dabābila etc.; at Mawṣil and Djūdī the Christian Kurds: al-Yaʿḳūbiyya ("Jacobites") and the Djurḳān (Djurughān). To this list, the *Tanbīh* of the same author (88-91) only adds Bāzindjān (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 115), Nashawira, Būdhīkān and Kīkān (at the present day found near Marʿash), but he gives a list of the places where there were Kurds: the *rumūm* (*zumūm*?) of Fārs, Kirmān, Sidjistān, Khurāsān (Iṣṭakhrī, 282: a Kurd village in the canton of Asadābād), Iṣfahān (a section of the Bāzandjān tribe and a flourishing town described as Kurd, Yaʿḳūbī, 275; Iṣṭakhrī, 125), Djibāl, notably Māh Kūfa, Māh Baṣra, Māh Sabadhān (Māsabadhān) and the two Īghārs (i.e. Karadj Abī Dulaf and Burdj), Hamadhān, Shahrizūr, with its dependencies Darābād and Ṣamghān (Zimkān), Ādharbāydjān, Armenia (at Dwīn on the Araxes the Kurds lived in houses built of clay and of stone; Muḳaddasī, 277), Arrān (one of the gates of Bardhaʿa was called Bāb al-Akrād and Ibn Miskawayh says that at the invasion of the Rūs in 332/942 the local governor had Kurds under his command), Baylaḳān, Bāb al-Abwāb (Darband), al-Djazīra, Syria and al-Thughūr (i.e. the line of fortresses along the Cilician frontier).

Iṣṭakhrī, 98, particularly mentions five *rumūm* in Fārs, this term being applied to districts over which the Kurds were distributed (in spite of de Goeje, *BGA*, iv, 250, it is preferable to keep the reading *ramm-rumūm* [from Persian *ramm*, "flock", "crowd"] for it is improbable that *zonna* could have given a plural *zumūm*). Each *ramm* had its town, its Kurd chief in charge of the *kharādj* and responsible for public safety. These *rumūm* were: 1. Djilūya, or Rāmidjān, bordered by Iṣfahān and Khūzistān; 2. Lawālidjān, between Shīrāz and the Persian Gulf; Dīwān, in the *kūra* of Sābūr; 4. Kāriyān in the direction of Kirmān; 5. Shāhriyār, alongside of Iṣfahān also called Bāzandjān after the principal tribe, a part of which had been transferred to the province of Iṣfahān. As a supplement to the list of *rumūm*, Iṣṭakhrī, 114, gives a list of 33 nomad tribes (*ḥayy*, plur. *aḥyāʾ*) of Fārs, based on the records of the *dīwān al-ṣadaḳāt* and reproduced by Ibn Ḥawḳal, 185-7 and Muḳaddasī, 446: Kirmānī, Rāmānī, Mudaththir, Muḥammad b. Bashar, Baḳlī (Muḳaddasī: Thaʿlabī), Bundādhmahrī, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, Sabāḥī, Isḥāḳī, Adharkānī, Shahrakī, Ṭahmādahnī, Zabādī, Shahrawī, Bundādakī, Khusrawī, Zandjī, Ṣafarī, Shahyārī, Mihrakī, Mubārakī, Ishtāmharī, Shāhūnī, Furātī, Salmūnī, Ṣīrī, Āzāddokhtī, Barāzdokhtī, Muṭallābī, Mamālī, Shāhkānī, Kadjtī, Djalīlī, in all 500,000 families living in tents.

The *Fārs-nāma* (*ca.* 500/1107) says (168) that the Kurds of the old large *ramm* of Djilūya, Dhīwān, Lawālidjān, Kāriyān and Bāzandjān, who formed the most brilliant element in the old army of Fārs, all perished in the wars at the time of the introduction of Islam, with the exception of a single ʿAlak, who became a Muslim and left descendants. Other Kurds were transferred from Iṣfahān to Fārs by ʿAḍud al-Dawla. It is difficult to admit that 500,000 (?) families of Kurds were exterminated, but we must recognise the possibility of regrouping among the tribes of Fārs and of their denationalisation. The old *ramm* of Djilūya (Kūh-Gilū) is now inhabited by Lurs; we do not know how long they have been there. For the rest, Iṣṭakhrī's list mentions a tribe al-Lurriya (variant: Lazba?) among the Kurds of Fārs. On the other hand the *Fārs-nāma* distinguishes from the Kurds the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*] clans, who had become very powerful in Fārs at the time of the last Būyids. The *Masālik al-abṣār* of al-ʿUmarī speaks of the Shabānkāra under a separate heading, and the *Sharaf-nāma* does not mention them among the Kurd dynasties. One of their clans, however (Rāmānī), bears the name of one of the "Kurd" tribes of Iṣṭakhrī. Everything then suggests that the Kurds of Fārs differed considerably from the tribes of Kurdistān (cf. SHŪL and LUR).

The term al-Zawzān, which corresponds broadly to central Kurdistān (*zozān* in Kurdish "summer pasturages"), is not well defined. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal, 250, the king of al-Zawzān was called al-Dayrānī (= Deranikʿ, Armenian king of Vaspurakān). Muḳaddasī, 137, regards Zawzān as a *nāḥiya* of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar. Later this region, which had a mixed Kurd and Christian population, became extended in area. According to Ibn al-Athīr (in Yāḳūt, ii, 257), al-Zawzān began at two days' journey from Mawṣil and stretched to the borders of Khilāṭ; on the Ādharbāydjān side it extended to Salmās. Many strong places belonged to the Bashnawī and Bokhtī Kurds; the former held Barḳā, Bashīr [and Panak];

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to the latter belonged: Djurdhaḳīl (Gurgīl), the residence of their *malīk* Atīl (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 117: Nash Atil?), ʿAllūs, Bāz al-ḥamrā. To the lords of Mawṣil (the Zangids) belonged-Alḳī (= Elk), Arwakh, Bakhawkha (= Bekūkī in Barwārī), Barkho, Kingawar (?), Nīrwa (east of Akr?) and Khawshab. The text of Yāḳūt is not very certain; in any case, the reference here may be to Kurd strongholds gradually annexed by the Ḥamdānids and the Zangids (see below).

The Kurds under the caliphs and Būyids. Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 249) has preserved traditions from the pre-Islamic period of feuds between the Arab princes of Ghassān [*q.v.*] and the Kurds. The Muslim Arabs came into contact with the Kurds after the occupation of Takrīt and Ḥulwān in 16/637. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ marched on Mawṣil, where the districts with a Kurd population were occupied (al-Mardj Bā-Nuhadhrā, Bā-ʿAdhrā, Ḥibtūn, Dāsin etc.); cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, ii, 408. The conquest of the region was completed by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm and ʿUtba (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 331). The Baṭrīḳ of al-Zawzān in 19/640 obtained confirmation of his authority on payment of *kharādj* (*Futūḥ* 176). In Susiana in 18/639 the Arabs fought against the Kurds, who had taken up the cause of al-Hurmuzān, Persian governor of Ahwāz (*Kāmil*, ii, 425). In Fārs, likewise, the Kurds supported the Persians in 23/642 at the defence of Fasā and Darābdjird (*ibid.*, iii, 32). ʿUmar had to send several expeditions against the Kurds of Ahwāz (*Futūḥ*, 382, 389; *Kāmil*, iii, 37). On the other hand, in the reign of ʿUmar the Kurds invaded the region of the central Karkhā (Ṣaymara, Māsabadhān), the language of which was still Persian in the time of Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, 236). The Arabs had reached Shahrizūr before Islam (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 130), but the final occupation of Shahrizūr, Dārabādh and Ṣamghān in 22/643 was only achieved after bloody fighting (*Futūḥ*, 334; *Kāmil*, iii, 29). In the south, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], governor of Baṣra, had to put down risings of the Kurds at Bērūdh and Balasdjān in 25/645, but the Kurds, forcibly converted to Islām, apostatised en masse (*Kāmil*, ii, 66, 76). Under the caliph ʿAlī, the Kurds, along with the Persians and Christians, took part in the rebellion of al-Khirrīt [*q.v.*] near Ahwāz and in Fārs, but the chief was defeated at Rām-Hurmuz (*ibid.*, iii, 309).

Al-Mukhtār, who had seized Armenia and Ādharbāydjān in the reign of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, appointed in 66/685 a governor at Ḥulwān whose task was to fight the Kurds (*Kāmil*, iv, 187), but the death of al-Mukhtār prevented the plan from being carried out. Under the same caliph the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH] made an alliance in 83/702 with the Kurds of Sābūr in Fārs (*ibid.*, iv, 352). In 90/708 the Kurds ravaged Fārs and were punished by al-Ḥadjdjādj. In 129/746 the Kurds of Sābūr resisted the ally of the Khāridjīs, Sulaymān, who had rebelled against the caliph Marwān II and had besieged Sābūr (*ibid.*, iv, 387, 341; v, 283). The caliph Marwān himself was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii, 51) whose blue eyes and fair complexion he had inherited (Sir William Muir, *The caliphate, its rise, decline and fall*, London 1891, 429).

Under the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr, the invasion of Armenia by the Khazars in 147/764 resulted in numerous risings. A few years later the Kurds (*intishār al-Akrād*) are again mentioned in connection with the rising at Mawṣil and its repercussions in Hamadān (*Kāmil*, v, 448; vi, 9). Djaʿfar, son of al-Manṣūr, was the son of a Kurdish slave-girl (Ṭabarī, iii, 442).

In the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim, a Kurd rebellion is mentioned under 225/839; it broke out in the district of Mawṣil, led by Djaʿfar b. Fahardjis, a scion of a noble Kurd family. Defeated at Bābaghēsh, Djaʿfar took refuge in the mountains of Dāsin, where he defeated the troops of the caliph. A new army commanded by the Turk Aytākh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] put an end to the rebellion (*Kāmil*, vi, 360-1). A Kurd rising broke out in 231/845 in the regions of Iṣfahān, Djībāl and Fārs; it was speedily suppressed by the Turk general Waṣīf.

The Kurds of Mawṣil in 252/866 joined the Khāridjī Musāwir, who had seized Mawṣil. In 262/875 they played a considerable part in the Zandjī slave-revolt (cf. Nöldeke, *A servile war in the East*, in *Sketches from eastern history*, Edinburgh-London 1892, 146-75) led by an ʿAlid Khāridjī (?) ʿAlī Muḥammad, called al-Khabīth, and in the rising of Yaʿḳūb al-Ṣaffār, founder of the Ṣaffārid dynasty [*q.v.*]. At Ahwāz, Yaʿḳūb appointed a Kurd lieutenant, Muḥammad ʿUbayd Allāh b. Hazārmard, who, cherishing ambitious plans, engaged in secret negotations with al-Khabīth. With reinforcements sent by the latter, Muḥammad marched on Sūs, but was defeated by Aḥmad b. Laythūya; the latter, also a Kurd and commander of the Kurd levies, had been sent by the caliph to put down Yaʿḳūb's rising (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. de Slane, iv, 304-8). When Aḥmad had departed, Muḥammad, after securing from al-Khabīth further reinforcements consisting partly of Kurds, seized Shustar where, according to the arrangement he was to have had the *khutba* read in the name of al-Khabīth, but instead he did it in the names of the caliph al-Muʿtamid and his adversary Yaʿḳūb al-Ṣaffār. His Zandjī allies deserted Muḥammad, and Shustar was reoccupied by Ibn Laythūya. Muḥammad retired to Rām-Hurmuz, but he was dislodged from it by al-Khabīth's generals. As a result of difficulties with the Dārnān Kurds, Muḥammad again sought the help of al-Khabīth. The latter sent him troops, which Muḥammad sent into battle but suddenly left them in the lurch and attacked them. To avoid a breach with al-Khabīth, Muḥammad agreed to proclaim him caliph. The death of Yaʿḳūb (265/879) and of al-Khabīth (270/883) put an end to these exploits (*Kāmil*, vii, 264).

About 281/894 the Kurds were among the partisans of the Arab Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn (cf. ḤAMDĀNIDS) when he established himself in Mawṣil. The Kurd rebellion raised in 284/897 by Abū Laylā did not last long (*ibid.*, vii, 325, 337). In 293/906 the Hadhbānī Kurds led by their chief Muḥammad b. Bilāl laid waste the region of Niniveh. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān, the new governor of Mawṣil, pursued them, but suffered a reverse at Maʿṭūba. With reinforcements sent by the caliph he resumed next year the pursuit of 5,000 Hadhbānī families. The Kurds began negotiations to gain time and retired to Ādharbāydjān. ʿAbd Allāh returned to Mawṣil and with new troops set out once more against the Hadhbānīs, who had entrenched themselves at Djabal al-Salaḳ (probably Lāhīdjān, cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ). The Hadhbānīs were forced to surrender, and their pacification was followed by that of the Ḥumaydī tribe and of the people of Djabal Dāsin (*ibid.*, vii, 371). In the reign of the caliph al-Muḳtadir, the Kurds plundered the environs of Mawṣil but were punished by the Ḥamdānid government; the Djalālī tribe put up a particularly stubborn resistance (*ibid.*, viii, 118). Under the year 337/943 Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, GMS, vi, 105, speaks of the expedition of the Ḥamdānid Ḥusayn against Ādharbāydjān; on this occasion he

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had as an ally Djaʿfar b. Shakkūya, chief of the Hadhbānīs who were settled at Salmās.

About this time, Daysam b. Ibrāhīm appeared on the scene, and his adventurous life is closely associated with the Kurds. He himself was the son of an Arab by a Kurd woman. His followers were Kurds with the exception of a small body of Daylamīs. Daysam was a Khāridjī. He seized Ādharbāydjān after Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sādj and in 327/938 used his Kurds to drive out Lashkārī b. Mardī, one of the lieutenants of the Ziyārid Wushmagīr. But the Musāfirid Marzubān, a noted Shīʿī, succeeded in taking Ādharbāydjān from Daisam and the latter took refuge with his friend Hādjīk b. al-Dayrānī (the Armenian king of Vaspurakan Khačik or Gaghik, son of Deranikʿ). Then the people of Tabrīz appealed to Daysam, but again he suffered a reverse and with the consent of the Musāfirids fell back to Ṭārum. In 337/948-9, Marzubān was made prisoner by the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla, who sent a representative to Ādharbāydjān. Marzubān's brother Wahsūdān then thought of Daysam, to whom his Kurds had remained faithful, and sent him against Rukn al-Dawla's representative. Daysam was defeated, but held out in Ardabīl and Bardhaʿa. When Marzubān returned from his captivity, Daysam had to take refuge first in Armenia and then in Baghdād, where the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla treated him generously. As his friends were urging him to return to Ādharbāydjān, he went to the Ḥamdānids of Mawṣil and Syria to ask for assistance. In the absence of Marzubān, Daysam returned to Salmās in 344/955-6, where he had the *khuṭba* read in the name of Sayf al-Dawla of Syria. Once more driven out by Marzubān, Daysam sought refuge with his Armenian friends, Ibn al-Dayrānī (Deranikʿ b. Khačik) had to hand him over to Marzubān, much against his will. Daysam was blinded and died in prison in 345/956-7 (*Tadjārib*, ed. Amedroz, i, 345; ii, 148-51; *Kāmil*, viii, 289, 361, 375-7).

During Marzubān's captivity, in Rayy, several independent governors set themselves up in the north-west of Persia. One of them (about 340/951) was Muḥammad Shaddād b. Karṭū of the Rawwādī tribe, out of which later sprang the great dynasty of the Ayyūbids. The principal fiefs of the Shaddādids were Dabīl and Gandja. The Shaddādids were allies of the Byzantines and of the Saldjūḳs. In 465/1072 Abū Suwār bought Ānī for his young son Manūčeˊ. From this time onwards, the dynasty was divided into two branches: that of Gandja and that of Ānī. In 1124, Ānī was taken by the Georgians but between 520/1126 and 557/1161 and again from 1165 to 1174, Ānī was again held by the Shaddādids. The Shaddādids were enlightened princes and left a number of remarkable buildings. Cf. the articles ARRĀN, DWĪN, GANDJA and SHADDĀD; the Armenian bibliography in Lynch, *Armenia*, i, 363-7; cf. also Barthold in the appendix to his Russian translation of Lane Poole's *Muhammadan dynasties*, St. Petersburg 1899, 294; Barthold, *Pers. nadpis' na ... meˊeti Manūčeˊ*, Aniyskaya Seriya, No. 5; N, Y. Marr, *Eshčeˊ o slove "čelebi"*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1911), 120; E. D. Ross, *On three Muhammadan dynasties*, in *Asia Major*, ii (1925), 215.

In 349/960 a pretender appeared in Ādharbāydjān He was called Isḥāḳ b. ʿĪsā, and was supported by Faḍl, chief of the Ḳaḥṭānī (?) Kurds, while his asversary, the Musāfirid Djastān b. Marzubān relied on Hadhbānī support. Isḥāḳ was soon disposed of (*Tadjārib*, ii, 179). The Kurds and the Daylamīs also played a considerable part in the quarrels between Djastān and his brother Nāṣir al-Dawla and between Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān and his cousin Ismāʿīl b. Wahsūdān (*Tadjārib*, ii, 219, 229; Kāmil, viii, 420-3).

About 348/959, the second Kurd dynasty arose in al-Djibāl (Zambaur, Manuel, 211) founded by Ḥasanwayh (Ḥasanūya) b. Ḥasan [*q.v.*; cf. also the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 20-3], chief of the Barzīkānī (Barzīnī) tribe, who had assisted the Būyid Rukn al-Dawla on his expedition to Khurasān. Rukn al-Dawla showed great tolerance to the Kurds, and when someone complained to him of their excesses he used to say: "Even the Kurds must live" (*Tadjārib*, ii, 281). Ibn al-Athīr (viii, 519) praises the noble character of Ḥasanwayh, his prudent policy and the purity of his morals. When Ḥasanwayh died in 369/979, in his capital Sarmādj (south of Bīsutūn), ʿAḍud al-Dawla overran his possessions (Hamadān, Dīnawar, Nihāwand) to bring them under his authority, but in the end he granted investiture to Badr b. Ḥasanwayh (369-405/979-1014), who remained loyal to ʿAḍud al-Dawla and even fought against his own brothers who had taken the side of the rebel Fakhr al-Dawla. The caliph gave Badr the title of *Nāṣir al-Dīn wa 'l-Dawla*. The historians give an extremely favourable verdict on Badr; he had his tribe educated, distributed taxation fairly and protected the peasants (Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse*, iii, 287-99, 327; Hilāl b. Muḥassin, in *ibid.*, iii, 429, 449-54; ʿUtbī, *Kitāb-i Yamīnī*, tr. Reynolds, 424). Badr's successor Ẓāhir (Ṭāhir?) only reigned a year and in 406/1015 was driven out by the Būyid Shams al-Dawla. Ḥasanwayh's uncle Wandād, chief of the ʿAyshiyya section, died in 349/960, his brother Abu 'l-Ghanāʾim died in 350/961, and a little later his son Abū Sālim Daysam, the last of this collateral branch, was dispossessed of his castles (Ḳasān or Ḳasnān [Ḳaslān? near Bābā Yādīgār on the Zohāb], Ghānimābād, etc.).

ʿAḍud al-Dawla had to deal with the Kurds on several occasions, but he was much more severe with them than his father Rukn al-Dawla. In 368/978 the Kurd Ibn Bādūya with the help of the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib [*q.v.* in Suppl.] became an independent ruler at Ardamusht (= Kawāshī near Djabal-Djūdī, Yāḳūt, i, 199), but soon allowed himself to be seduced by the promises of ʿAḍud al-Dawla (*Tadjārib*, ii, 392). In 369/979 the latter sent an expedition against the Kurds of Shahrizūr whom he wished to separate from the Banū Shaybān Bedouins, who had business and matrimonial ties with them. The town of Shahrizūr was occupied, and the Arabs went back to the desert (*Tadjārib*, ii, 398; *Kāmil*, viii, 516).

Another expedition was sent in 370/980 against the Hakkārī Kurds, who were besieged and surrendered, relying on a promise that their lives would be spared. But the leader of the expedition crucified them along the side of the road for five *farsakhs* between Maʿalthāyā and Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, viii, 521).

Even in the lifetime of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the Ḥumaydī chief, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥusayn b. Dushandj (or Abū Shudjāʿ Bādh b. Dustāk), known as Bādh, had attained considerable notoriety. At first a shepherd, he gradually rose to be lord of Ardjīsh, Āmid and Mayyāfāriḳīn. A rising in Nisībīn brought him into conflict with Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. Bādh defeated the latter's forces at Bā-Djulāʾiya (on the Khābūr al-Ḥusayniyya in the canton of Kawāshī = Ardamusht), seized Mawṣil and was planning a march on Baghdād to end Būyid rule when he was defeated by Ṣamṣām al-Dawla. He fell back on Mayyāfāriḳīn and, by an arrangement with the captain of the army sent against him, secured possession of Diyārbakr and the western part of Ṭūr

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ʿĀbidīn (374/984). Bādh did not relinquish his designs on Mawṣil and in 379/990, having collected a large number of Bashnawī Kurds, encamped under the walls of this town and engaged in negotiations with its inhabitants. But the Ḥamdānid princes, who had just regained possession of their hereditary fief, secured the help of the Banū ʿUḳayl Arabs and attacked the invader. An accident put Bādh *hors de combat* and he was slain. His body was crucified, but the people of Mawṣil obtained his burial with the usual rites because he had fought against the unbelievers (*Kāmil*, ix, 25, 27, 38, 49; Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 83-4, 176-8; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Pococke, 321-3).

In 380-90/990-1000, Ṣamṣām al-Dawla made an attempt to improve his position and with this object, made an alliance with Fūlād b. Mundhir, who was supported by the Kurd cavalry mobilised at Shīrāz. After the failure of the enterprise he sought refuge with the Kurds, but the latter betrayed him and he took refuge with Fakhr al-Dawla, who was notorious for his hatred of the Kurds (Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 184; on Ibn Fūlād, see ʿUtbī, *op. cit.*, 424-5).

The Kurd dynasty of the Marwānids (Zambaur, 136; Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 53-4) is closely connected with Bādh. After the defeat at Mawṣil, Abū ʿAlī b. Marwān b. Dustāk, the son of Bādh's sister and his ally, withdrew to Ḥiṣn Kayfā [*q.v.*] where Bādh's Daylamī wife lived. He married her and took one of the strongholds that had belonged to Bādh. He twice took prisoner Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamdānī who had defeated Bādh, but treated him generously. Ibn Marwān established himself in Diyārbakr and by his conciliatory attitude won the sympathy of the inhabitants. The Marwānids reigned from 380/990 to 489/1096. Their power extended not only over Diyārbakr (Āmid, Arzān, Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ḥiṣn Kayfā) but also to Khilāṭ, Malāzgird, Ardjīsh and the canton to the northeast of Lake Vān. In the west they held Urfa for a time. Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan in 381/991 invaded Syria and took it from the Byzantine Emperor Basil II. He was killed in 387/997 by the people of Diyārbakr, who had rebelled. His brother Abū Manṣūr Mumahhid al-Dawla, who after the death of Bādh had seized Mayyāfāriḳīn, reigned there till 402/1011 (Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales moslemici*, ed. Reiske, ii, 569). His brother Abū Naṣr Aḥmad (Ibn Khallikān, i, 157-8) succeeded him and reigned from 402/1011-12 to 453/1061. In 416/1025 he seized Urfa, but the Byzantines re-established their power in 422/1031 (Abu 'l-Faradj, 342). He earned the reputation of being a just and enlightened ruler, and able, though given to pleasure. In 442/1050 Abū Naṣr had to pay homage to the Saldjūḳ Ṭughril Beg. His son and successor Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Naṣr, called Niẓām al-Dawla (453-72/1061-79), shared the power with his brother Saʿīd (d. in 257/1065. He added to his possessions Ḥarrān, Suwaydā, etc. His successor was Manṣūr b. Saʿīd, who nominally reigned from 472-89/1079-96, but by 478/1085 the Saldjūḳ general Fakhr al-Dawla b. Djahīr [see DJAHĪR, BANŪ] had taken almost the whole of his lands, which were placed under the authority of the Atābeg of Mawṣil (Abu 'l-Fidā', iii, 77-9, 87, 121, 125, 249). On the Marwānids, cf. the special study by H. F. Amedroz, in *JRAS* (1903), 123-54.

On the eve of the Turkish invasions, we find frequent reference to exploits and expeditions of the Kurds. In the reign of the caliph al-Ḳādir (381-422/991-1031), the historians record the exploit of the Kurd Aḥmad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, who killed the Emperor Basil II's general and thus stopped the Byzantine advance (Rūdhrāwarī, iii, 247). Between 366/976-7 and 388/998 the Kurds took part in the struggle between the Būyids and the Ziyārids for the possession of Djurdjān (ʿUtbī, tr. Reynolds, 298-302; Ibn Isfandiyār, abridged tr. E. G. Browne, 226-8). A few years later we find Maḥmūd of Ghazna using Kurds against the Ḳarakhānids (ʿUtbī, 336).

The Kurds took part in the civil wars of the Būyids, in the struggle of the Banū ʿUḳayl for the possession of Mawṣil, etc. In 411/1020 they fought against the Turkish troops who mutinied in Ḥamadān. In 415-20/1024-9 we find them fighting in Fārs and Khūzistān against the last Būyid, Abū Kālidjār (*Kāmil*, ix, 100, 134, 226, 232, 239, 247, 249, 265; Hilāl b. Muḥassin, iii, 348, 376, 381). Thus the Kurdish element was exhausting itself in continual fighting when the Turkish hordes arrived who were destined to modify radically the ethnical aspect of the Near East.

The Turkish conquest. When in 420/1029 the Ghuzz precursors of the Saldjūḳs reached Rayy, Tāsh Farrāsh, the Turkish general of the Ghaznawids, went to meet them with 3,000 horsemen including a number of Kurds. The leader of the Kurds, being captured by the Ghuzz, sent a message to his men to cease fighting. This caused a tumult and Tāsh was killed (*Kāmil*, ix, 268). In the same year the Ghuzz reached Marāgha and executed many Hadhbānī Kurds. The Kurds made an alliance with the ruler of Ādharbāydjān (Wahsūdān II) and the Ghuzz had to retreat. Another body of Ghuzz, after a raid into Armenia, returned to Urmia and the lands of Abu 'l-Haydjā' Hadhbānī; the Kurds attacked the Ghuzz but suffered a defeat. In 432/1041 the Musāfirid Wahsūdān II b. Mamlān massacred a large number of Ghuzz at Tabrīz; the Ghuzz of Urmia went into Hakkārī, a dependency of Mawṣil, and ravaged the country, but while they were involved in the mountains the Kurds attacked them, killed 1,500 men and took many prisoners and much booty (*Kāmil*, ix, 270-2).

On the approach of Ṭughril Beg's troops, the Ghuzz took fright and pushed onwards. Kurdish guides led them through al-Zawzān to the Djazīra. One section of the Ghuzz under Manṣūr b. Ghuzoghlī remained to the east of the Djazīra, while the other under Būḳā marched on Diyārbakr, and going on pillaged the districts of Ḳardū, Bāzabdā, Ḥusayniyya (Yāḳūt, ii, 270: a town between Mawṣil and Djazīra) and Fēshābūr. The Marwānid Sulaymān b. Naṣr al-Dawla, ruler of Djazīra, persuaded the Ghuzz to wait till the spring before traversing his lands to join the other Ghuzz who had settled in Syria. Then by a ruse he seized Manṣūr, and with the help of the Bashnawī Kurds of Finīk, pursued the Ghuzz. But the latter did not cease their depredations; they ravaged the district of Diyārbakr and seized Mawṣil (*Kāmil*, ix, 272-3).

Meanwhile, the dynasty of the Ḥasanwayhids had perished and the power in Djibāl had passed to a new family the Banū ʿAnnāz (see Zambaur, 212, and ʿANNĀZIDS. The *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 22, has ʿAyyār), which is often called that of Abu 'l-Shawk. Previously in 340/951 during a Turkish rising in Hamadān, the Būyid Muʿizz al-Dawla had had recourse to the services of Ibn Abi 'l-Shawk, chief of Ḥulwān (*Tadjārib*, ii, 2). The real founder of the dynasty seems to have been Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAnnāz (*Kāmil*, ix, 158) who ruled 380-401/990-1011. His son Abū 'l-Shawk slew the last of the Ḥasanwayhids, Ẓāhir (Ṭāhir) in 406/1015-16. The possessions of the Banū ʿAnnāz included Shahrizūr, Kirmānshāh (occupied in 431/1039-40; *Kāmil*, ix, 300, 316),

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Bīlawār, Ṣamghān, Daḳūḳa and Khuftidhakān. In 437, Ṭughril sent his brother Ibrāhīm Yināl to pacify Djibāl. Ibrāhīm drove the Kākūyid Garshāsp out of Hamadān and he sought refuge with the Djūzkān Kurds. At Kirmānshāh there was a garrison of Abu 'l-Shawk's composed of Daylamīs and Shādjandjān Kurds. Kirmānshāh was occupied and Abū Shawk died in 438/1046 at Sirwān. Ibrāhīm took Ṣamīrān (Shamirān? Ṣaymara?) and subjugated the Djuzḳān. Sa'dī, son of Abu 'l-Shawk submitted to the Saldjūḳs. The dynasty lasted till 520/1116 (Münedjdjim-bashī).

The defeat of the Emperor Romanus IV at Malāzgird (463/1071) delivered all Armenia into the hands of Alp Arslān. Under the Great Saldjūḳs there arose in Fārs the turbulent dynasty of the Shabānkāra [*q.v.*], but it is very doubtful if this dynasty, the fortunes of which can be traced from 421/1030 to 756/1355, was strictly Kurdish (cf. above). On the other hand, the small Kurd dynasties were ruthlessly wiped out in favour of Turks. In 493/1100 the last Marwānid disappeared in the region of Khilāṭ, where the Turk Suḳmān Ḳuṭbī founded the dynasty of the Shāh Armans which lasted a century until the coming of the Ayyūbids. Under the date 495/1101 Ibn al-Athīr (x, 238) mentions the killing of two thousand Kurds of Surkhāb b. Badr, a scion of the Banū 'Annāz, by the Turkomans of Salghūr Ḳarabulī. Other Turkomans later took all the lands of Surkhāb except Shahrizūr, Daḳūḳa and Khuftidhakān. In spite of these crushing blows, the Kurds are often mentioned in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. In his struggle with Ḳāwurd of Kirmān, Malik Shāh employed Kurdish and Arab forces, whom he later rewarded with fiefs at Kirmān (*Kāmil*, x, 53), where there were already colonies of Kurds (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 88; Ibn Khallikān, i, 516). Raids of Kurds took place at Dudjayl, Mārdīn etc. in 496/1103, 498/1105 and 503/1109-10. In Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh's campaign against Syria (504/1110) there took part the lord of Marāgha, Aḥmadīl b. Wahsūdhān, a Kurd of the tribe of Rawwādī (cf. *Kāmil*, x, 391) and the "Shāh of Armenia" Suḳmān. The campaign was a fiasco, and the Kurds left to lay siege to the Turk Suḳmān (*Recueil des hist. des Croisades, docum. orientaux*, iii, 542, 599).

During this period we often find the Kurds mentioned in Syria, where they came into contact with the Franks (cf. Derenbourg, *Ousāma b. Munḳidh*). Under Sandjar the province of Kurdistān was formed out of the western part of Djibāl. Sulaymān, the nephew of Sandjar, became its ruler with Bahār (to the north-east of Hamadān) as its capital. The province was in a flourishing state. In the reign of Sandjar also the Kurds took part in the troubles of 513/1119. In 516/1122 a punitive expedition passed through the Hakkārī, Zawzān and Bashnawī districts (*Kāmil*, x, 374, 377, 426), but shortly afterwards the Kurds seized the stronghold of the Christian patriarch at Ṭūr 'Ābidīn (Assemani, *Bibl. or.*, ii, 221).

The Atābaks of Mawṣil. The Atābaks, the immediate neighbours of central Kurdistān, played an important part there. 'Imād al-Dīn al-Zangī several times invaded Kurd territory. In 528/1134 he took Ṭanza (on the left bank of the Bokhtān) and to punish the Ḥumaydīs, who had supported the caliph Mustarshid when he was besieging Mawṣil, seized their fortresses, al-'Aḳr, Shūsh, etc. (Shams al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 666-7; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiya*, in *ibid.*, ii, 87). Abu 'l-Haydjā', lord of Arbīl, Āshīb, etc., submitted to Zangī (was he perhaps a Hakkārī? At this period this tribe lived south of the territory which now bears its name; cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 203). After the death of Abi 'l-Haydjā', Zangī intervened in the quarrels among his successors, seized Āshīb and dismantled its defences; the fort of Djalāb received the name of 'Amādiya (= 'Imādiya, in honour of 'Imād al-Dīn). In 534/1139 Zangī took Shahrizūr from Ḳifdjāḳ b. Arslān Tāsh the Turkoman. In 537/1142 he sent a new expedition against the Hakkārī and took the fortress of al-Sha'bānī (= Āshīb?), which he rebuilt. In 538/1143-4 Irūn and Khīzān were taken (Shams al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 685). 'Alī, lord of al-Rābiya (cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 284, Rābiya-bulāk?), Faraḥ and Alḳa (Elk?) joined Zangī of his own accord. The last expedition of Zangī was against the Bashnawī of Fanak (Finīk), but the siege of this town was raised on the death of the Atābak in 541/1146: (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiyya*, in *Recueil*, ii, 86, 114, 129, 188). Karādja Tādjina, *mukta'* (?) of Hakkārī, who was sent in 547/1152-3 by the Atābak of Mawṣil against the Atābak of Ādharbāydjān, seems to have been a Turk foreign to the tribe.

Later, after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (589/1193), the Zangids consolidated their position in central Kurdistān. In 607/1211 'Imād al-Dīn, a younger son of Arslān Shāh Zangī, received as a fief the strongholds of the Ḥumaydīs ('Aḳr and Shūsh). In 615/1218 the same prince seized 'Amādiya and "the remainder of the fortresses of the Hakkārī and Zawzān" which were ceded to him by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbürī of Arbīl (Abu 'l-Faradj, 433, 438). It must have been these events that caused the Hakkārī to be driven back towards the lands at the sources of the Great Zāb.

The Artuḳids [*q.v.*], Atābaks of Diyārbakr, several times came into conflict with the Kurds (Abu 'l-Fidā', iii, 583; Usāma, i, 321). The 'Abbāsid caliphs, freeing themselves from the tutelage of their protectors, negotiated with the Kurds (cf. the case of 'Īsā Ḥumaydī in 528/1134, and *Kāmil*, xi, 7, 188) and sought to weaken the Turks. In 581/1185 under the caliph al-Nāṣir, a minor incident resulted in a war between the Kurds and the Turkomans (*Kāmil*, iii, 342) which extended over a vast area (Syria, Diyārbakr, Djazīra, Mawṣil, Shahrizūr, Khilāṭ and Ādharbāydjān). Two years later the rivals stopped fighting in order to join against the Christians of Armenia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia, but new feuds soon broke out between the Kurds and Turkomans. After many fierce battles, the Kurds fought their way back into Cilicia. The Turks practically exterminated the Kurds of Cilicia and Syria. As the Kurds on leaving their old homes had entrusted their goods to their Christian neighbours, and as the Christians concealed some Kurds, the Turks finally fell upon the Christians at Thelmuzen(?) and Arabthil (= Arabgir?) (Michael the Syrian, in *Recueil, doc. armen.*, 395).

The Ayyūbids. The Kurdish origins of this remarkable dynasty are well-established (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 55-82). The Armenian historian Hayton (Hethum) says on this point: "Postea vero Sarraceni amiserunt dominium Egipti et Medi, qui Cordins vulgariter dicebantur, regni Egipti dominium occupaverunt", *Recueil, docs. arm.*, ii, 225, 343). The grandfather of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Shādhī b. Marwān was a Rawādī Kurd (Rāwadī, Rawanda, a clan of the Hadhbānī) of Dwīn [*q.v.*]; see Minorsky, *Prehistory of Saladin*, in *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 107-57.

The important fact is that it was from Dwīn that the Shaddādī dynasty had come, the memories of which must have been still alive in the time of Shādhī Ayyūb [see AYYŪBIDS] and Shīrkūh [*q.v.*], son

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of Shādhī, were born in the old home (the village of Adjdanakān). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] was born at Takrīt, but Kurd traditions were certainly familiar to him through his father and uncle. The persistence of Iranian names in the Ayyūbid family is significant. Nevertheless, the scene of the main activities of the dynasty was Egypt and Syria. The families of the old Saldjūḳ Atābaks, even when they became vassals of the Ayyūbids, continued to rule in Diyārbakr (Artuḳids), Mawṣil (Zangids) and Arbīl (the Begtegīnids, at first deputies of the Zangids). By the treaty of 585/1187 with ʿIzz al-Dīn Zangī, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn annexed only Aleppo and Shahrizūr (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Atābakiyya*, in *Recueil*, ii, 334; *Kāmil*, xi, 340; Bahā' al-Dīn, in *Recueil*, iii, 85). In 585/1189 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave Shahrizūr to his *mamlūk* Keshtoghdī (?), a relative of Yaʿḳūb b. Ḳifdjāḳ. The only independent way by which the Ayyūbids penetrated into Kurdistān was that of Khilāṭ. This district was at first conquered by Taḳī al-Dīn in 587/1191 (*Kāmil*, xii, 40), but it was only after the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn that his nephew al-Malik al-Awḥad Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb installed himself there in 604/1207. Later, Khilāṭ passed to his brother Ashraf, who assumed the title "Shāh Arman", and finally to the third brother Muẓaffar who ruled there till 642/1244. The peace of this fief was several times broken by invasions of Georgians, of the Khʷārazm-Shāh and of the Mongols. The Georgian troops who were operating round Khilāṭ at this time were commanded by the Armenian princes Zakaré and Iwané, whose genealogies make them descendants of the *Ḵẖel Babirakān*, i.e. of the Kurd tribe of Bāpīrakān; cf. Marr in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1911), 120.

The Ayyūbid forces were composed mainly of Turks, but the Kurdish element was by no means negligible. In 583/1187 Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn addressed an appeal for a holy war to the Kurds on the upper Tigris. The Djazīra forces were disbanded in 584/1188, but the Diyārbakr detachments and particular tribes are often mentioned. These Kurds were sometimes on bad terms with the Turkomans (Bahā' al-Dīn, in *Recueill*, iii, 86, 313, 381).

Kurds were numerous in the civil and military service of the Ayyūbids, but very often they acted against the dynasty's interests. When Shīrkūh died, there were Kurds who opposed the appointment of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his successor (Ibn Khallikān, iv, 494).

An important part was played by the family of Abu 'l-Haydjā' [Hadhbānī], hereditary chief of Arbīl (?). He directed the defence of ʿAkkā against the Crusaders and was appointed *isfahsālār* of the army and governor of Jerusalem. In 592/1196 he was transferred to Baghdād: he conducted an expedition against Hamadān and died at Daḳūḳa. His nephew Ḳuṭb al-Dīn built the Ḳuṭbiyya *madrasa* in Cairo. Another Kurd, of the trībe of Hakkārī, Sayf al-Dīn b. Aḥmad al-Mashṭūb, succeeded Abu 'l-Haydjā' at ʿAkkā. His descendants had exciting careers; his son Aḥmad ended his days in the prison of Ḥarrān; his grandson, the Ḳāḍī ʿImād al-Dīn plotted against al-Kāmil and had to go into exile.

The Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn. In 614/1217 the Kurds of Zagros inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Khʷārazm-Shāh sent from Hamadān to Baghdād. Djalāl al-Dīn's operation against Khilāṭ (623-6/1226-9) disorganised the life of the country, and the Kurds were decimated by famine (*Kāmil*, xii, 207, 308). Defeated and pursued by the Mongols, Djalāl al-Dīn took refuge among the Kurds of Diyārbakr and in 628/1231 was killed, probably by one of them (Djuwaynī, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, ii, 190; *Kāmil*, xii, 325; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, iii, 62). In 634/1237 again the remnants of the Khʷārazm hordes traversed and plundered the region of Kharpūt (Abu 'l-Faradj, 477). After the death of Djalāl al-Dīn, the Mongols laid waste the region of Diyārbakr and Khilāṭ. Another horde had descended from Marāgha on Arbīl; this latter region was three times invaded. In 645/1245, Shahrizūr was laid waste and in 650/1252 Diyārbakr.

The Mongol Īlkhāns. The Kurds are rarely mentioned under the Īlkhāns. As these rulers—at first pagans and later Muslims—were on good terms with the Christians, and the latter had sufficient causes of complaint against their Muslim neighbours, the Kurds so recently involved in the wars of the Ayyūbids had to remain confined to their mountains and to hope for success for the enemies of the Mongols.

The province of "Kurdistān" formed in the time of the Saldjūḳs, the capital of which was Bahār (near Hamadān), was conquered by Malik b. Tūdān, father of the celebrated Amīr Čoban. Leaving Hamadān in 655/1257, Hūlāgū marched on Baghdād. At Kirmānshāh the Mongols began to murder and plunder (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 225, 255, 267). Before the capture of Baghdād, Hūlāgū sent troops to take Arbīl. The governor of this stronghold, Tādj al-Dīn Ṣalāba (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 261), submitted to the Mongols, but the Kurd garrison refused to follow his example. Arbīl was taken with the help of the Atābak of Mawṣil, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ (d'Ohsson, iii, 256). The taking of Baghdād resulted in the depopulation of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*], and its Kurd inhabitants, according to Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, left for Syria and Egypt (cf. d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, iii, 309, 330, 337). An echo of these events is found in the appearance in Algeria of two Kurd tribes: Lawēn and Babīn (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, ii, 461, iii, 413).

Returning to Ādharbāydjān, Hūlāgū set out for Syria in 657/1259. In the Hakkārī country, the Mongols put all the Kurds they found to the sword (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 328). Djazīra, Diyārbakr, Mayyāfāriḳīn (held by the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn) and Mārdīn were taken in succession. After the death of the Atābak Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, who had remained faithful to Hūlāgū, his son Ṣāliḥ went over to the side of Baybars, Sulṭān of Egypt, and received confirmation of his investiture from him. The Kurds around Mawṣil at once fell upon the Christians. The garrison of Mawṣil consisting of Kurds, Turkomans and Shūls, courageously resisted the Mongols.

In Syria also the Kurds threw in their lot with the Mamlūks. In his letter to the Khān Berke, Baybars boasts of the number of his troops, who were Turks, Kurds and Arabs (d'Ohsson, iii, 385). In the time of Abaḳa, the Armenian Hayton tells how after an invasion of Egyptian troops (before 677/1278) the Kurds took 5,000 houses of Kurds (Gordins) living in northern Syria (*Recueil, docs. armén.*, ii, 179). But after the defeat of the Mongols in 680/1281, a body of Muslim troops, made up of Turkomans and Kurds, laid waste Cilicia. The rare cases in which Kurds are found allied to the Mongols were generally in distant Fārs. Under Öldjeytü there were Kurds in the troops that invaded Gīlān in 706/1306-7. A little later a Kurd, Mūsā, who had proclaimed himself the *mahdī* of the Shīʿīs, was executed by Öldjeytü. In 712/1312-13 Badr al-Dīn, the Kurd lord of Raḥba, resisted the Mongols.

The Kurd provinces were governed by the Mongol *amīrs*. The fighting in Arbīl never ceased. The

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"Kayaci", Christian highlanders, forming part of the Mongol army and stationed in Arbīl, brought a charge against their chief Zayn al-Dīn Bālū and came into conflict with the Kurds, whom the Arabs supported. Incidents began in 696/1297 but the situation came to a height in 710/1310. With great difficulty, the Mongols drove the Christians out of the citadel. The Mongols had summoned the Kurds to help them in the siege, but their *amīrs*, who were friendly with the Christians, wanted to use the Kurds to prevent the massacre of the Christians by the Arabs. The massacre took place, but the Kurds had no share in it (*Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, tr. J. B. Chabot, Paris 1895, 152-77).

The country between Marāgha and Arbīl was a kind of high road for the Mongol armies; at this time the country south of Lake Urmia was still for the most part occupied by Turks and Mongols (cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḴ).

The capital of the province of "Kurdistān" under Öldjeytū was moved from Bahār to Sulṭānābād (of Čamčamāl). The extent to which the province had suffered may be judged from the statement of the Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* (ed. Le Strange, 107), according to which its revenues were reduced to one-tenth of what they were under the Saldjūḳs.

When the Īlkhāns had disappeared, two families of Mongol chiefs of the tribes of Sulduz [*q.v.*] and Djalāyir [*q.v.*] became rivals for power. By virtue of the division of the fiefs between "the two Ḥasans" (in 738/1338), (Persian) Kurdistān and Khūzistān returned to the children of the *amīr* Akrandj or Akrash (?). In 784-5/1382-3 the Djalāyir Bāyazīd carved a fief for himself out of Persian Kurdistān and ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī (Zambaur, *Manuel*, 253, and d'Ohsson, iv, 747).

Table of the Kurd tribes in the time of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns. The Mongol conquest had completely eclipsed the political part played by the Kurd tribes, but in Egypt, where the Mamlūk Sulṭāns were cherishing secret plans against the Īlkhāns, much interest was taken in the fate of this Muslim element. The *Masālik al-abṣār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1348) shows how exactly the chancelleries of the Mamlūk Sulṭāns were informed about Kurd affairs. According to al-ʿUmarī, there were Kurds near al-ʿIrāḳ and al-Diyār al-ʿArab and in Syria and Yemen. The mountain country (al-Djībāl) inhabited by the Kurds began near Hamadān and ended in Cilicia (*bilād al-Takfūr*); to the west of the Tigris the Kurds of al-Djazīra and Mārdīn were at the mercy of all their neighbours. At Mārdīn, however, a certain Ibrāhīm al-ʿArs Bālū (?) had shortly before then proclaimed himself independent and had attained considerable power. The author then gives a list of twenty tribes living between Hamadān and the part of al-Djazīra that lies between Mawṣil and Kawār (cf. Kēwar in the *Sharaf-nāma*):

1. The Gūrānī, who were warriors and agriculturists (*djund wa-raʿiyya*).

2. The Gilālī (cf. the mountain called Galāla among the Sohrān; *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 286, and Rich, *Narrative*, i, 123: *Ghellali*). A portion of this tribe migrated to Syria. Their prince Sharaf al-Dīn was governor of Arbīl under the Mongols, but was killed by a Mongol.

3. The Zangalī (Zangana?).

4. The Kūsa and the Mabīr (??) of Shahrizūr [*q.v.*] migrated to Syria and Egypt.

5. The Sabūlī (Sutūnī?), lived in Shahrizūr and Ushnū. Near them lived the Ḳartāwī (? cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 207).

6. The Ḥasnānī (Khushnāwī?), several thousand in number, divided into three branches, one of which living at Karkār alongside of the Ḳartāwī (?) levied tolls on the pass Darband-i Karabolī (the defile of the Little Zāb; cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 263).

7. Near Karḥīn (= Kirkūk?) and Daḳūḳ lived a tribe of 700 men.

8. A tribe living "between two mountains" (*bayn al-djabalayn*) on the territory of Arbīl in winter sought the good graces of the Mongols, and in summer assisted the invasions of Egyptian troops.

9. The Māzandjān [?] to the number of 500 lived near Arbīl and Māzandjān, Nērwa and Bēkhma (these two latter cantons are situated on the Great Zāb east of ʿAḳr). The chiefs of Māzandjān also ruled the related tribe of the Ḥumaydī (of which there were 1,000 men). The chief of the Māzandjān called Kak had received the title Mubāriz al-Dīn from the ʿAbbāsids. The Mongols divided his lands into two and Kak remained *nāʾib* of Arbil. He was dispossessed for a time under Arghūn, but according to the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*ʾ of al-Ḳalḳashandī, his sons and his grandsons retained their fief (ʿAḳr and Shūsh).

10. Near Tell Ḥaftūn was the land of the numerous Sohrī tribe (Sohrān).

11. Their neighbours were the Zarzārī ("children of gold"). They also possessed Malāzgird (= Rūbār-i Barāzgird) and Rustāḳ (the southern part of Shamdīnān).

12. The Djūlāmerg, of Umayyad origin, numbered 3,000 men.

13. The Kurds of the district of Markawān (read Margawar) were allies of their Djūlāmergī and Zarzārī neighbours.

14. Near Djūlāmerg was the canton of Gawār.

15. Near Djūlāmerg beside ʿAḳr and ʿAmādiya was the canton of Zibārī inhabited by 500 men.

16. The Hakkārī lived at ʿAmādiya and numbered 4,000 men.

17. Near the Hakkārī beside Mardj were the Djabal al-ʿAmrānī and the cave of Kahf Dāwūd where lived the Besītkī (??).

18. Near Djūlāmerg towards Mawṣil lived the Bokhtī, rivals of the Ḥumaydī.

19. The Dāsinī had been very numerous, but their chief Badr al-Dīn came down to more accessible country and there were no more than 1,000 Dāsini in the province of Mawṣil; 500 Dāsini lived at ʿAḳr.

20. The Dumbūlī (?) inhabited the high mountains.

To this information given by the *Masālik*, the *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, basing itself on *al-Taʿrīf* composed by Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Nāẓir al-Djaysh about 748/1347, adds a list of 25 Kurd chiefs with whom the chancelleries of Cairo were in correspondence.

Tīmūr and the Turkoman dynasties. After the Mongols, the rival Turkoman dynasties extended their power over Kurdistān. This period, of which little is yet accurately known, was of considerable importance for the Kurds. The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu dynasties penetrated into the heart of Kurdistān, involved the Kurd tribes in political and religious quarrels (cf. the extremist Shīʿa of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu) and provoked considerable movements of the population: it was at this period that the Mukrī Kurds seized the country south of the Lake of Urmia [cf. SĀWDJ-BULĀḴ]. In contrast to this, the conquest by Tīmūr which temporarily swept aside the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu had only a transitory character.

Many incidents in the history of Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Djazīra between 796-897/1393-1491 are recorded in the Syriac Chronicle (written at Haytan) published

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by Behnsch, *Rerum seculo XV in Mesopotamia gestarum liber*, Breslau 1838.

Tīmūr had to deal with the Kurds in his campaigns of 796/1394 and 803/1400-1. After overrunning Baghdād and Diyārbakr, Tīmūr attacked Djazīra, which was destroyed. The dependencies of Djazīra were likewise conquered. Tīmūr next crossed the mountains separating Diyārbakr from Mūsh and gave a favourable reception to Sharaf al-Dīn of Bidlīs "renowned for his kindness and justness throughout all Kurdistān". In 803/1400-1 Tīmūr returned from Baghdād to Ādharbāydjān and on the way was attacked by the Kurds.

After the death of Tīmūr, Ḳara Yūsuf Ḳara Koyunlu [see ḲARĀ ḲOYUNLU] returned to Kurdistān and sought refuge at first with Shams al-Dīn of Bidlīs. He gave him his daughter and with his assistance re-established his power. In 820/1417 Ḳara Yūsuf by a *nishān* confirmed the princes of Bidlīs in their possessions. When in 824/1421, Shāhrukh, son of Tīmūr, arrived in Armenia, homage was done to him by Shams al-Dīn of Bidlīs, Malik Muḥammad Hakkārī, Malik Khalīl of Hiṣn Kayfā, the *amīr*s of Khīzān, etc. The Kurds of Khoy also remained loyal to Shāhrukh's governor (*Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, in, *Notices et extraits*, xiv, 153).

The Aḳ Koyunlu [*q.v.*] (the Bayandur dynasty) whose principal centre was in Diyārbakr, conducted a systematic policy of exterminating the great Kurd families (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 164: *istīṣāl-i khānawādahā-yi Kurdistān*), and in general they persecuted tribes who had compromised themselves by their attachment to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, like the great tribe of Čamishgezek. Uzun Ḥasan's generals Ṣūfī Khalīl and 'Arab Shāh conquered Hakkārī, which was later taken for a brief period by the Dumbulī tribe from Boltān. In 875/1470 (cf. Behnsch, *op. cit.*, 14) Djazīra passed entirely into the power of the Aḳ Koyunlu, who appointed their own governor Čalabī Beg, whose merits are recognised even by the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 123. The Aḳ Koyunlu general Sulaymān b. Bīzan drove out of Bidlīs the Ibrāhīm Khān who was later put to death by Ya'ḳūb b. Uzun Ḥasan.

The Ṣafawid Shāhs and the Ottoman Sulṭāns. Shāh Ismā'īl had invaded Armenia at the beginning of his war with the Aḳ Koyunlu. After the battle of Sharūr (907/1502) he won all the country between Baghdād and Mar'ash. Ismā'īl I's policy with regard to the Kurds did not differ from that of the Aḳ Koyunlu. Like the latter, the Shāh relied on the Turkoman tribes, but being a zealous extreme Shī'ī (cf. KHAṬĀ'Ī in *EI*[1]) he was still more predisposed against the Sunnī Kurds. When eleven Kurd chiefs presented themselves at Khoy to pay homage, Ismā'īl imprisoned most of them and appointed in their stead governors chosen from the Ḳïzïl-bash tribes.

Henceforth, for about three centuries Kurdistān became the arena for the struggle between the Ottoman Sulṭāns and the Shāhs of Persia. The defeat of Čāldïrān [*q.v.*] (920/1514) was a terrible blow to the prestige of the new Persian dynasty. In spite of the temporary successes of the successors of Shāh Ismā'īl, their conquests never attained the importance of his early victories and Persian territory west of the Zagros melted away. Ismā'īl's attempt to thrust Persian governors upon the Kurds was a marked contrast to the Ottoman policy instituted by the able Ḥakīm Idrīs, himself a Kurd, which aimed at giving Kurdistān a feudal organisation securing the predominance of the Kurd nobility.

The battle of Čāldïrān deeply affected Kurdistān. Malik Khalīl (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 155), the dispossessed prince of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, had regained possession of Si'ird and was trying to regain his hereditary fief. Muḥammad Beg of Ṣāṣūn was fighting against the Persians. Aḥmad Beg of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ḳāsim Beg of Agīl, Djamshīd Beg of Pālū, had declared in favour of the Ottomans. The governor of Djazīra had succeeded in repulsing the Persians from Mawṣil. Sa'īd Beg Sohrān had taken Arbīl and Kirkūk. Some twenty other chiefs were wavering in their loyalty to the Persians. A personal visit by Idrīs to all these chiefs won 25 of them over to the Sulṭān.

When Selīm had left Tabrīz, Ismā'īl sent reinforcements to Diyārbakr and Ḥiṣn Kayfā. Idrīs summoned to his flag the Kurd levies and defeated Kurd Beg, a former Persian governor of Kurdistān. The Kurds of Diyārbakr resisted the Persian attack until help arrived from Bïyïḳlï Meḥmed Pasha. Bïyïḳlï and Idrīs met at Ḥiṣn Kayï'ā and defeated the Persians. Then, reinforced by 5,000 Kurds (from 'Amādiya?), the Turks relieved Diyārbakr and took Mārdīn, except for the citadel which remained in Persian hands. The Persian commander then executed a successful diversion from Baghdād and Kirkūk and the people of Mārdīn drove out the Kurds and invited the Persians to re-occupy the town. The two armies met on the Niṣībīn-Urfa road. The Persians were defeated, and Bïyïḳlï forced Sulaymān Khān, who was still at Mārdīn, to surrender. The occupation of Niṣībīn, Dārā, Mayyāfāriḳīn, Diyārbakr and Sindjār followed and Idrīs completed the administrative organisation of the *sandjaḳ*. In the province of Diyārbakr eleven *sandjaḳ*s were put under Turkish officials and eight under Kurds (*Akrād beyligi*). The *wālī*s confirmed the investitures of the new begs, but the latter were always chosen from the same family. Five hereditary *ḥukūmat*s (*Kurd ḥukūmeti*) retained their dynasties with the transmission of power direct from father to son (cf. Tischendorf, *Das Lehnwesen in d. moslem. Staaten*, Leipzig 1872, chs. ii and iv, quoting 'Ayn-i 'Alī Mü'edhdhin-zāde who wrote at the beginning of the 11th/17th century). A similar system was later applied throughout Kurdistān from Malāṭïya to Bāyazīd and Shahrizūr (cf. below the *Sharaf-nāma*, and the very interesting remarks of Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 176-80, 271-316, on the 37 *sandjaḳ*s joined to Vān by the law of Sulaymān I and the order of march of the local army). Only the province of Kirmānshāh remained to the Persians. Idrīs was liberally rewarded and the *firmān*s of investiture were sent him with the spaces left blank for him to fill in the names of the recipients (von Hammer, *GOR*[2], i, 749).

In 936/1530 Shāh Ṭahmāsp recovered Baghdād from Dhu 'l-Faḳār, a Kurd of the tribe of Mūṣlū (Moṣullu?). A long series of wars began again. Sulṭān Sulaymān led armies against Persia in 1533, 1534, 1535, 1548, 1553 and 1554. In this last year the Baghdād troops conquered the Kurds of Belḳās and Shahrizūr while the Persians were occupied in Georgia (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, ii, 236).

By the peace of 999/1590 'Abbās I had to cede to the Turks the western provinces, including Ādharbāydjān, Shahrizūr and Luristān (*ibid.*, ii, 559) but in 1010/1061 fighting was resumed and by the peace of 1021/1612 Persia regained possession of the lost provinces, except Shahrizūr (*ibid.*, ii, 745). Shāh 'Abbās transported 15,000 Kurds to the frontier of Khurāsān to serve as a bulwark against the Turkomans.

Towards the end of the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, Turkish efforts were concentrated on Baghdād.

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During Ḥāfiẓ Pasha's first campaign (1012/1623) his army included the Kurdistān troops. The Kurds fought bravely. The Persians, having defeated the attackers, sent punitive columns to Mārdīn. After the death of Shāh ʿAbbās, the grand vizier Khosrew Pasha [*q.v.*] advanced on Baghdād in 1039/1629. Sayyid Khān of ʿAmādiya, Mīra Beg Sohrān and the mixed Kurdi-Arab tribe of Bādjilān took the side of Khosrew Pasha, while Aḥmad Khān Ardalān threatened the Turkish flank. Khosrew Pasha advanced as far as Sinna [*q.v.*] and Hamadān. On their way back, the Turks defeated at Čamčamāl and Dartang a Persian force. Baghdād still held out, and when Khosrew Pasha had retired, Aḥmad Khān Ardalān reoccupied Shahrizūr (von Hammer, *op. cit.*, iii, 17, 23, 49, 86, 93). Not till 1048/1638 did Murād IV finally take Baghdād, and in the next year the treaty was signed with Persia which *grosso modo* fixed the Turco-Persian frontier down to the 19th century (*Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā*, i, 686). Persia was now completely behind the Zagros chain.

The great struggle between the Ṣafawīs and Ottomans made the Kurds conscious of their political importance. The *Sharaf-nāma* has preserved for us an accurate picture of the feudal life of the Kurd tribes and principalities at the height of its development about 1005/1596.

Sharaf-nāma. This book by the chief of Bidlīs, Sharaf al-Dīn [see BIDLISĪ], finished in 1005/1596, occupies an exceptional place among the sources for Kurdish history. The history of the Kurds in the strict sense (vol. i. in Véliaminof-Zernof's edition) is divided into four parts (*ṣafḥa*): the first of these deals with those Kurd dynasties which have actually enjoyed the privilege of royalty (*salṭanat*); the second with those whose members have sometimes had coins struck and the *khuṭba* recited in their name; the third enumerates the families of hereditary governors (*ḥukkām*) and the fourth is devoted to a detailed history of the chiefs of Bidlīs. Part i. gives five dynasties, the Marwānids [*q.v.*] of Diyārbakr and Djazīra, the Ḥasanwayhids [*q.v.*] of Dīnawar and Shahrizūr; the Faḍlūyids of the Great Lur [see LUR-I BUZURG], the princes of little Lur [see LUR-I KŪČIK] and the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*].

As the distinction between the second and third class of princes is rather subtle and the order in which Sharaf al-Dīn enumerates the dynasties is quite arbitrary, it is better to arrange these dynasties according to the geographical position of the fiefs, taking Djazīrat ibn ʿUmar as the centre. This list will be followed by that of the Kurd tribes in Persia. The fiefs of the second class (including Bidlīs) will be marked with an asterisk (*).

Sharaf al-Dīn distinguished as far as possible between the tribes and the families of their chiefs, and it is necessary always to bear in mind the bases of feudal organisation in Kurdistān. Chiefs of varied origins rule the Kurdish, Kurdicised and Christian tribes, with the help of warlike Kurd tribes (*ʿashīrat*), which are sometimes settled, sometimes nomad or rather semi-nomad.

Group A. Between Djazīra and Darsīm:

1. The chiefs of Djazīra* claimed Umayyad origin, but gave as their ancestor Khālid b. al-Walīd. In such confused genealogies we have a combination of memories of the Kurd alliances of the Umayyads with the local cult of the descendants of the famous general Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], whose tombs are shown near Siʿird (Hartmann, *Bohtān*, 19, 124). These chiefs were at first Yazīdīs and only later became converted to be orthodox Sunnīs. After the death of Sulaymān b. Khālid his three sons divided his possessions: Djazīra fell to Mīr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Gurgīl to Mīr Ḥādjdjī Beg and Finīk to Mīr Abdāl. These three branches each kept their own fiefs in later times.

The *Sharaf-nāma* refers to the possessions of this family as *wilāyet-i Bokhtī* (i, 320), and enumerates in detail but without system the 14 *nāḥiyas* forming this important fief: Gurgīl, Arwakh, Pirūz, Bādān and Ṭanzē (Kalhūk) occupied by the tribe Kārsī; Finīk; Tūr, Haytam (Hethum) and Shākh inhabited by the Christians; Nīsh Atīl; Aramshāt the tribe of which (Brāspī) is the chief among those of Bokht; Kēwar or Ḳamīz (?); Dayr-dih which belongs to Ṭanzē.

In spite of the careful study by M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, in *Mitteil. d. Vorderasiat. Gesell.* (1896), No. 2, and (1897), No. 1, 1-163, the localisation of some of these places is not quite certain.

The fief of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar lay between the right bank of the Bohtān and the Tigris. It did not include the sources of the Bohtān. Towards the east, the neighbours of the Bokhtī were the Sindiyān (cf. under ʿAmādiya) settled on the Khābūr.

2. The ancestors of the rulers of Khīzān, Isbāyerd (Sparhet, Ispert; in Ewliyā Čelebī: Isbaʿird) and Muks (Mukus) were three brothers who came from Balīdjān (Khnis) in the time of the Saldjūḳs *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 217). The tribe of the principal fief was Namīran; this fief lay along the right bank tributaries of the Bohtān and stretched as far as Marwānān.

3. Shīrwān (on the right bank of the Bohtān below Khizān and north-east of Siʿird). The ancestors of the "Shīrawī" chiefs were in the services of the Ayyūbids and came to Shīrwān at the same time as the "Malikān" to Ḥiṣn Kayfā. The Shīrawī played even the rôle of viziers by the Malikān (*op. cit.*, i 155). The capital of Shīrwān was Kufrā. The other dependencies were Āwīl, Shabistān (also called, Garni = Kirnik?) and Īrūn.

Bidlīs. The Rozagī (Rozagī) tribe is said to have taken its name from the fact that 24 clans, assembled one day (*rūzī*) in the village of Ṭāb in the canton of Khoyt (now the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Modkī west of Bidlīs), and formed a confederation which later became divided into two sections: Bilbāsī and Ḳawālīsī. Sharaf al-Dīn (i, 361) enumerates the 24 (read 25) clans of Rūzagī, of which five were old settlers and the others newcomers: Bilbāsī (10 clans) and Ḳawālīsī (10 clans).

The Rūzagī took Bidlīs and Ḥāzo (Ṣāṣūn) from the Georgian king Tāvīt (David the Curopalatus, 984-1001?). Later they brought from Akhlāṭ two brothers of Sāsānid origin. One became chief at Bidlīs and the other at Ṣāṣūn. 18 chiefs of the line of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn had ruled at Bidlīs before 1005/1596. The only interruptions took place under the Saldjūḳs (534-76/1139-80) under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (871-900/1467-95), under Shāh Ismāʿīl (913-20?/1507-14?) and between 941/1534-5 and 986/1578. In this last year Sulṭān Sulaymān wanted to exchange the hereditary fief of Amīr Shams al-Dīn for that of Malāṭiya. Shams al-Dīn had to leave Bidlīs, but fearing new intrigues, went to the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who treated him with generosity. Shams al-Dīn died in Persia in 965/1558. His son Sharaf al-Dīn, born in exile in 940/1533-4, was carefully educated at the court (the Shāh even had him taught painting). He ruled several Persian provinces in succession, and was appointed chief of all the Persian Kurds. After the accession to the throne of Ismāʿīl II, Sharaf al-Dīn fell under suspicion

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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and was sent to Nakhčuwān. From there he succeeded in reaching Vān and received from Murād I investiture for Bidlīs, to which Mūsh was added in 991/1583. For the year 1065/1655 Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 81-121) gives us a detailed description of Bidlīs. The last prince of Bidlīs, Sharaf Beg, was dispossessed by the Turks in 1849 (Lynch, *Armenia*, ii, 149).

The rulers of Ṣāṣūn (Ḥāzo) were called ʿIzzīn from their ancestor ʿIzz al-Dīn, brother of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn of Bidlīs. The *ʿashīrat*s of Ṣāṣūn were at first Shīrawī, Bābūsī, Sūsānī and Ṭamūḳī. The Rūzakī [see BIDLĪS] arrived afterwards; later, after the annexation of Arzan the clans of that district Khālidī, Dayr Mughānī, ʿAzīzān, who had at first belonged to Ḥiṣn Kayfā, came to join those of Ṣāṣūn.

6. The Suwaydī chiefs claimed a Barmakī origin. Their ancestors were adopted by the Suwaydī tribe. The hereditary fief of the Suwaydī was Gandj (this should be read for *Kīkh* in Véliaminof-Zernof, i, 260).

7. The Pāzūkī tribe, which Sharaf al-Dīn places among the tribes of Persia (i, 328), is said to have been of Suwaydī origin. According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 328, it had no definite religion and showed signs of heresy (*rafḍ wa-ilḥād*). The tribe was divided into two branches, Khālid-beglu and Sheker-beglu, and one was under the Amīrs of Bidlīs. Khālid received as fiefs Khnis, Malāzgird and the canton of Uḥkān (?) of Mūsh. They grew so pround that they thought of proclaiming their independence. After the battle of Čāldirān, the Suwaydī dispossessed the Pāzūkī from many of their fiefs (*ibid.*, i, 257). In the time of Shāh Tahmāsp, Ḳilīdj Beg, appointed chief of the Pāzūkī, received Zagam (near Tiflis). Later, Pāzūkī were transferred to Alashkert, where the tribe increased.

8. The Mirdāsī chiefs (*Mirdesī* in the *Selīm-nāma*) claimed to be descended from the ʿAbbāsids. Their ancestor was a religious leader who came from Hakkārī to Agīl and whose disciples the Mirdāsī became. The tribe themselves said they were of Arab origin, being Banū Kilāb from around Aleppo, who migrated about 420/1029 as a result of troubles with the Fāṭimids [see KILĀB B. RABĪʿA and MIRDĀSIDS]. The main one of the three branches, the Bulduḳānī, lived at Agīl; it maintained good relations with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, but under Shāh Ismāʿīl, Agīl was occupied by the Persians. Of the two other branches of the Mirdāsī, one ruled at Pālū, at Bāghin (below Kighī) and at Kharpūt, and the other first at Bardandj and later at Djarmūk (south of Arghana-maʿdan).

9. The rulers of Čamishgezek claimed to be of ʿAbbāsid descent, but their names rather show a Turkish origin (Saldjūḳ). Their *ʿashīrat* was called Malkīshī (Malik-Shāhī?). There were about 1,000 hearths of Malkīshī in the Persian service (in Persia?). The lands of the Malkīshī were so numerous that the name *Kurdistān* had become synonymous with Čamishzezek (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 163). They kept them in the Mongol period, under Tīmūr and Ḳara Yūsuf, but the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu did all they could to weaken the tribes faithful to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu and sent the Turkish tribe to Kharbandalu against Čamishgezek. Shaykh Ḥasan drove out the Kharbandalu and submitted to Shāh Ismāʿīl. The latter put a Persian governor in his place. Selīm I restored the hereditary *amīr* Pīr Ḥusayn.

Group B. Between Djazīra and Kilīs:

10. Ḥasan-kayf* [cf. ḤIṢN KAYFĀ]. The local chiefs (*malikān*) claimed to be of Ayyūbid descent, which seems very probable. Their ancestor was alleged to have received the fief of Ḥiṣn Kayfā from the ruler of Mardīn. The first chief mentioned by the *Sharaf-nāma* is Malik Sulaymān who died in 736/1335. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu seized Ḥiṣn Kayfā, but Malik Khalīl, who had taken refuge in Ḥamā, later regained possession of his fief. At a later date the Ottomans dispossessed the sons of Malik Khalīl. Among the dependencies of Ḥiṣn Kayfā, the *Sharaf-nāma* mentions Siʿird, Bishēri, Ṭūr (which sometimes figures among the possessions of Djazīra, cf. *ibid.*, 117, 127, 157) and Arzan.

11. Sulaymānī, rulers of Marwānid origin (i.e. from the later branch of the Umayyads) established themselves at first at Khūkh in the canton of Ghazālī (between the Ḳulp and the Baṭmān Ṣu before they join) and gradually captured many strongholds and territory as far as the Tigris. They ruled a powerful confederation of tribes, the majority of which were nomads and in summer moved to the Ala Tagh (Niphates). The chief of these tribes was Banūkī, but the more enterprising was Basiyān, 1,000 families of which migrated to Bāyazīd under their chief Shāhsawār. A number of these tribes professed Yazīdī doctrines. The Sulaymānī lived on bad terms with their neighbours of Ṣāṣūn. They were divided into two branches, that of Ḳulp and Baṭmān and that of Mayyāfāriḳīn.

12. Zraḳī (the modern pronunciation attested by Addai Scher, in *JA* [1910], 119-39); according to Sharaf-al-Dīn, Zraḳī is a contraction of the Arabic Azraḳī. The ancestor of the family, who was an Arab holy man from Syria of ʿAlid origin, arrived in Mārdīn in the time of Artuḳ (d. 516/1122; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Muḵhtaṣar*, 379). The family formed connections by marriage with the Artuḳids and later with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. There were four branches of Zraḳī, the principal branches being those of Tardjīl (west of the Baṭmān Ṣu) and ʿAṭāḳ. The two other branches were that of Darzīnī (an old Christian convent Dayr Zīr?) and that of Kurdikān (between Diyārbakr and Mayyāfāriḳīn), the latter descendants of the marriage of a Zraḳī chief and a gipsy woman (*duḵḵtar-i kābulī*).

13. Kilīs. The ruling dynasty believed it was related to those of Hakkārī and ʿAmādiya. Their ancestor Mand (Mantashā) had rendered services to the Ayyūbids, who gave him the canton of Kuṣayr (near Antioch). He united under his rule the Yazīdīs of Ḳusayr and those living between Ḥamā and Marʿash, as well as the Kurds of Djōm and Kilīs. Under the Mamlūk Sulṭāns and under Selīm I, disputes broke out between the Yazīdīs (Shaykh ʿIzz al-Dīn) and the family of Mand, which ended in favour of the latter; but the hereditary rights of this north Syrian fief do not seem to have been on a very solid basis.

Group C. Between Djazīra and Khoy:

14. Hakkārī* [see HAKKĀRĪ and SHAMDĪNĀN]. Sharaf al-Dīn does not seem to know the old quarters of the tribe around ʿAmādiya from which the Zangid Atābegs had driven them northwards. The *amīrs* claimed to be of ʿAbbāsid descent.

The first *amīr* mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* is ʿIzz al-Dīn Shīr (probably simply an arabicisation of the name Yazdān-Shir) who held out against Tīmūr in 789/1387 in the fortress of Vān. Under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the tribe of Dambulī (of Djazīra) took possessions of Hakkarī, but the Christians of Diz (*Āsūri* = Nestorians) went to Egypt to bring back the scion of the ancient family Asad al-Dīn Zarrīn Čang ("Golden arm"). The restored dynasty received the name of Shambō (M. Garzoni, *Grammatica della*

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lingua kurda, Rome 1787, 4: *Sciambò*). In the time of Ismāʿīl I, the Shambo chiefs lived in the castle of Bāy (in Shamdīnān); a member of the family ruled at Vostān (southwest of Vān), but the possession of the *nāḥiya* of Kawāsh west of Vostān was disputed with the Hakkārī by the Rūzakī. Hakkārī rule extended to Albāḳ in the north. The last representative of the Hakkārī house, Nūr Allāh Beg, was dispossessed by the Ottomans after the rebellion of Badr Khān Beg of Bokhtān, and in 1845, Halīme Khānim surrendered Bash-ḳalʿa to the Turks. The tribe of Pinyānish (*ibid.*, i, 97, 100) which still exists is mentioned as living near the Hakkārī.

15. The Maḥmūdī fief lies north of Hakkārī on the rivers which feed the lakes of Vān and Arčak. The rulers (Marwānids or ʿAbbāsids of Bokhtan), who originally professed the Yazīdī faith (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 307) settled there in the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu period and soon came into conflict with the Hakkārī and Dumbulī.

16. The Dumbulī are a tribe of Bokhtān (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 118, 310: *Dumbul-i Bokht*, which for long remained Yazīdī). The Dumbulī later came into Ādharbāydjān where they received as a fief Sukmanābād (Sögmānābād) north-west of Khoy (now Zūrawā). Under the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, the Dumbulī had seized the castle of Bāy (in Shamdīnān) and a part of, Hakkārī (*ibid.*, i, 193). To their *odjaḳ* of Sukmanābād Shāh Ṭahmāsp added Khoy. Under Sulṭān Sulaymān, the Dumbulī received Ḳoṭur and Bārgīrī; later they annexed Abaghā, Sulaymān-Sarāy (the modern Sarāy) and Čāldīrān. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Shirwānī in his *Bustān al-siyāḥa* (beginning of the 19th century) says that all the Dumbulī are Shīʿīs (cf. the allusion in the *Sharaf-nāma*, i, 312) and speak Turkish (!).

17. Brādost. The ruling family was of Gūrān [*q.v.*] or Ḥasanwayhid descent. Its lands lay west of Urmia. One branch ruled at Ṣomāy [*q.v.*]; another at Tergewer and at Ḳalʿa Dāwūd. The remnants of the Brādost tribe now live south of Shamdīnān on the Rūbār-i Brādost (a tributary of the Great Zāb, the sources of which lie west of Ushnū).

18. Ustūnī. The chapter, which is wanting in the manuscripts, must certainly refer to the first dynasty of Shamdīnān, whose headquarters were Sutūnī in the *nāḥiya* of Harkīk [see SHAMDĪNĀN].

19. The history of the Zarzā (cf. the Zar-zarī of Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī) announced in the preface to the Sharaf-nāma is lacking in the text.

20. Tarzā. The paragraph is lacking in the manuscripts and we know nothing of the tribe.

Group D. South of Hakkārī:

21. ʿAmādiya* [*q.v.*]. We have seen that the town of ʿAmādiya was built on the site of an ancient castle under ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī (521-41/1127-46). The local dynasty of Bahdīnān mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma* seems to have settled in the country after the end of the Zangids (7th-8th/13th-14th centuries). The chiefs of ʿAmādiya were known for their fervour in religious studies. The *Sharaf-nāma* gives their names for the Tīmūrid period. Later (under Ismāʿīl I), the Bahdīnān annexed the Zakho district inhabited by the Sindī and Sulaymānī which had at one time formed a separate fief (*wilāyat-i Sindiyān*). In this way the fief of Bahdīnān incorporated the greater part of the mountainous country north of Mawṣil (Mount Gāra, etc.).

22. Ṭasīnī (Dāsinī). The chapter dealing with this important Yazīdī tribe is lacking in the manuscripts, but in the text we find a reference which shows that the *amīr*s of ʿAmādiya took Dohūk from the *sandjaḳ-i Tāsinī* (i, 109) and that in 941/1534 Sulṭān Selīm I gave the *sandjaḳ* of Arbīl and the whole *wilāyat* of Sohrān to Ḥusayn Beg Dāsenī, a Yazīdī chief which provoked a bloody war with the Sohrān (i, 274-7). The latter ended by regaining their patrimony and Ḥusayn Beg was executed at Istanbul. On the region called Dāsen, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 202-7.

23. Sohrān ("the red ones"), descendants of Kalūs, an Arab shepherd of Baghdād who had fled to the village of Hūdiyān in the *nāḥiya* of Āwān (in the Sohrān territory). His son was proclaimed Amīr of Balakān (east of Rawāndiz) and seized the castle of Āwān. The capital of Sohrān, which was embellished by their buildings (Rich, *Narrative*, i, 157) was Ḥarīr (on a tributary of the Great Zāb below Rawāndiz). The Sohrān were still a powerful tribe about 1005/1596-7, but later succumbed to attacks of neighbours and the Bābān (*Narrative*, i, 157) benefited by their decline.

24. Bābān. This name is really applied to several successive dynasties. Their principal fief lay south of the little Zāb and had as its capital Shāri-Bāzēr, but in 1199/1784 the Bābān built a new capital Sulaymāniyya [*q.v.* for details].

25. Mukrī, who now occupy the region south of Lake Urmia [for details see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ] had broken off from the tribe of Bābān.

26. Bāna. The Ikhtiyār al-Dīn chiefs bore this name because they had adopted Islām of their own free will (*ikhtiyār*) (for details see SĀWDJ-BULĀḲ].

27. Ardalān: see the articles, ARDALĀN, SHAHRAZŪR,, SINNA, SĪSAR.

28. Gāl-Bāghī (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii, suppl. 36-45; the addition is dated 1092/1681. Their chief ʿAbbās Agha of the Turkish tribe of Ustādjalu received a "spring of water" in Marīwān [cf. SINNA] from Bīgebeg Ardalān (900-42/1495-1535]. ʿAbbās Āghā later settled at Bilāwar, a former fief of the Kalhur. His followers were recruited from different tribes. Shāh Ṭahmāsp confirmed him in his rule over Bilāwar and the "Twelve Oymāḳ".

Later, the Porte gave ʿAlī Khān Gālbāghī the *sandjaḳ* consisting of Kirind, Shaykhān, Čakarān (?), Khorkhora, Zend, etc., while Yār Allāh received the *timar* of Erekle (?), Rangrazān and Sahbānān (?).

29. Kalhur (Kalhurr). The chiefs claimed to be descended from Gūdarz, son of Gīw, in the Persian epic. The *ʿashirat* of the Kalhur is called Gūrān (i, 317) but some manuscripts talk of "Kalhur and Gūrān" (*Sharaf-nāma*, ii, suppl. 6). There were three branches of the Kalhur; those of Palangān [cf. SINNA], Dartang and Māhī-dasht [cf. KIRMĀNSHĀH].

The possessions of the chiefs of Darna and Dartang (now Rīdjāb in the district of Zohāb) according to Sharaf al-Dīn, i, 319, corresponded to the older Ḥulwān [*q.v.*]. About 1005/1596-7, the power of Kubād Beg stretched from Dīnawar and Bilāwar to Baghdād. Māhīdasht and Bilāwar (south of the Murwārī pass) formed the patrimony (*odjaḳ*) of the third branch of the Kalhurs. The Māhīdasht branch was nomadic. All this perhaps explains the scantiness of the information given by Rashīd al-Dīn. The Gūrān now keep their old patrimony, but the Kalhur tribe occupies the region south of the great Baghdād-Kirmānshāh road.

Group E. The Persian Kurds:

The plan of the section (*firḳa*) of the *Sharaf-nāma* devoted to the *Akrād-i Īrān* is not very clear. The author was writing at a time when the Perso-Turkish frontier was not settled.

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The principal tribes of Persia were three in number: Siyāh Manṣūr, Čiganī and Zangana. Their eponyms were three brothers who came from Luristān or "Gūrān and Ardalān". Besides those tribes and the lesser ones mentioned by Sharaf al-Dīn, there were 24 tribes (*yirmi dört*) of Ḳarābāgh [*q.v.*] (in Transcaucasia), about 3,000 men under one ruler, and the Gīl tribe in Khurāsān without counting tribes of minor importance.

The tribe of Siyāh Manṣūr. In the time of Shāh Ṭahmāsp its chief had become *Amīr al-umarā'* of all the Kurds in Persia (over 24 tribes).

A part of the Čiganī emigrated to Gharčistān.

The tribe of Zangana (Zengene) distinguished itself in al-ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān.

From 1650 to 1730. "Great Kurdistān", as it has been described by Sharaf al-Dīn, and in so far as it consisted of a series of autonomous Kurd chieftainships, had been already reduced in size by the introduction of Turkish rule in the *sandjaḳs* of Diyārbakr and Vān. Not only did the treaty of 1049/1639 put an end to the Persian expansion westwards, but Turkey during the reign of the Ṣafawid epigoni succeeded in re-occupying the western provinces of Persia as well as Transcaucasia (von Hammer, *GOR*[3], iv, 235). Practically all the Kurds in this way were reunited under Ottoman rule. Having no longer cause to fear the Persians, the Turks systematically undertook the task of centralisation.

As early as the reign of Murād IV, we find Malik Aḥmad Pasha, appointed governor-general of Diyārbakr in 1048/1638, making an expedition against the Yazīdīs of Sindjār. Later (1065/1655), the same Pasha after his transfer to Vān subdued all the Kurds in this region.

In 1076/1666 a Kurd, the son of a *shaykh*, declared himself the *Mahdī*, but was captured by the rulers of Mawṣil and ʿAmādiya. The affair ended harmlessly by Sulṭān Meḥemmed IV taking the *soi-disant Mahdī* into his personal service (von Hammer, iii, 589).

In the reign of the feeble Shāh Ḥusayn, the Kurds of al-ʿIrāḳ in 1131/1719 besieged Hamadān and carried their depredations up to the capital itself. In 1134/1722 by order of Shāh Ṭahmāsp II an attempt to retake Iṣfahān, which had been occupied by the Afghāns, was made by the Kurd chief Fandun (Ferīdūn?), but it was confined to an attack on the Armenian quarter. The Afghāns drove off Fandun who went back to his lands and submitted to the Turks (J. Hanway, *A Historical account of the British trade*, London 1753, iii). Fortune deserted the Ṣafawids. Even ʿAbbās Ḳulī Khān Ardalān submitted to Ḥasan Pashā (von Hammer, iv, 211; cf. however, *RMM*, xlix, 87). His example was followed by the chiefs of Djawānrūd, Darna, Djāf, Harsīn and finally by the *sipahsālār* ʿAlī Mardān Bakhtiyārī [Faylī?] (von Hammer, iv, 227).

The Afghāns. During the bloody and transitory period of Afghān rule in Iṣfahān, Ashraf defeated the Turks (battle of Andjīdān in 1138/1726), who had in their ranks 20,000 Kurds under Bebek Sulaymān-oghlu (Sulaymān Bābān?). The Turks attributed their defeat to the conduct of the Kurds, upon whom Ashraf had lavished promises; indeed, shortly before some of the Kurds had gone over to the Afghāns. In spite of his initial success, in the next year 1140/1727 Ashraf had to repurchase his sovereign rights by ceding to the Turks the whole of western Persia, including the Kurd and Lur cantons.

Nādir Shāh. Towards the end of the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad III, affairs began to change. By the treaty of 1144/1732 the Persians regained their western provinces, and soon Nādir invaded Ottoman territory and advanced up to the gates of Baghdād. The Turks tried in vain to check his advance with Kurdish troops until in 1146/1733 Topal ʿOthmān Pasha appeared on the scene with Kurd reinforcements which he had raised in Mawṣil. Nādir was defeated. In 1147/1734, he operated with success in the Caucasus and took Tiflīs, which had a garrison of 6,000 Kurds. By the peace of 1149/1736 the old frontiers of 1049/1639 were restored. In 1743, Nādir again invaded Turkish territory, but in spite of Kurd and Arab help was driven back to Sinna where he was finally defeated (von Hammer, iv, 317, 398-9).

Nādir was not popular with the Kurds, although there is an epic poem in the Gūrānī dialect on his struggle with Topal ʿOthmān Pāshā. Among the Ardalān, Nādir replaced Subḥān Verdī Khān by his brother, which provoked a popular rising (*RMM*, xlix, 88). In 1137/1727 during a revolt of the Turkomans, the Kurds of Khurāsān (Čamishgezek and Ḳaračorlu) refused their help to Nādir, who punished them and transported them to Mashhad. Nādir was assassinated in 1160/1747, while on his way to punish once more the Kurd rebels of Khurāsān (Jones, *Histoire de Nādir*, London 1770, 118-20). The Kurds (Dumbulī, etc.) played their part in the anarchy which followed the death of Nādir, but the Porte refrained from intervention.

The Zand dynasty. After the death of Nādir Shāh, Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*], one of the best rulers Persia has ever had, ruled the greater part of the country. The Zand were a Kurdish tribe of secondary importance (*Sharaf-nāma*, i, 323) living between Hamadān and Malāyir in the district formerly called Īghār. Under Nādir they had been transported to Khurāsān, but after his death they went back to their old homes (*Ta'rīkh-i Zandiyya*, ed. Beer, pp. xi, xviii). With the death of Luṭf ʿAlī Khān in 1209/1794, the dynasty came to an end. The Zand tribe was certainly too weak to be a serious support to the dynasty, but Karīm Khān, like his predecessors, had brought several Kurd tribes from Kurdistān to Shīrāz (Aḥmadāwand, *RMM*, xxxviii; Kōrūnī, who live in a particular quarter in Shīrāz, O. Mann, *Die Tājik Mundarten d. Provinz Fars*, Berlin 1909, p. xxix).

The Ḳādjārs. On the death of Agha Muḥammad Shāh Ḳādjār (1211/1797), Ṣādik Khān Shaḳāḳī seized the crown jewels and for some time tried to gain the throne (*The dynasty of the Kajars*, tr. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, London 1833, 20, 27, 32, 37, 50, 78, 106; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 107, 115, 125). In 1221/1805 the Persians had intervened on behalf of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Pasha of Sulaymāniyya (cf. Rich, *Narrative*, i, 384; Watson, *op. cit.*, 155, and the Mukrī Kurd song in the collection made by O. Mann, No. xvi). In 1236/1821, as a result of troubles caused by the Kurd tribes of Haydarānlu and Sipkān, the Persians invaded Turkish territory as far as Bidlīs and Mūsh; at the same time they advanced as far as Sherābān near Baghdād by the Kirmānshāh road. The peace of 1238/1823 signed at Erzerūm restored the frontier of 1049/1639, but the Persians refused to evacuate the district of Zohāb peopled by Kurds. The fate of Sulaymāniyya remained in suspense. A new war was about to break out in 1842 when Great Britain and Russia intervened to mediate, and in 1246/1847 a new treaty was signed at Erzerūm by which Zohāb was to be divided into two parts, while Persia gave up all claim to Sulaymā-

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niyya in favour of Turkey. During 1848-52, a mixed commission composed of representatives of four powers went over the frontier, but the attitude of the Ottoman delegate Darwīsh Pasha prevented an agreement being reached. Darwīsh Pasha not only had the canton of Kotūr occupied by soldiers, but in a secret memoir (published at Istanbul in 1286/1869 and 1321/1903) developed the thesis that all the Kurd cantons south and west of Lake Urmia belonged to Turkey.

Turkey in the 19th century. In 1826, the governor of Sīwās, Rashīd Meḥmed Pasha, was given the task of pacifying the Kurds and installing Turkish governors in Kurdistān. About 1830 a great Kurd rising broke out in several places. Its leaders were Badr Khān and Sa'īd Beg, Ismā'īl Beg and Muḥammad Pasha of Rawāndiz. About 1820 (1830?) he had declared himself independent and attacked the tribes of Khushnāw; in 1831 he seized Arbīl, Altun Köprü, Koy-Sandjak and Rāniya. The following year he extended his power towards Mawṣil; at Alkosh 172 Christians were put to death. 'Akra, Zībar and 'Amādiya were next taken. In 1833 the troops of Rawāndiz penetrated as far as Zakho and Djazīra to re-establish Badr Khān in power there. The Yazīdīs were severely punished on several occasions. Their chief 'Alī, who refused to become a convert to Islām, was executed (cf. the popular ballad commemorating this event, *JA* [1910] 134-6), and a whole body of Yazīdīs were massacred on the hill of Koyundjik. In 1835 Ottoman troops were sent against Rashīd Meḥmed Pasha from Baghdād, Mawṣil and Sīwās, and in 1836 the Mīr of Rawāndiz was captured by a ruse. Risings and their suppressions continued for several years longer (cf. Poujoulat, *Voyages*, i, 373; Moltke, *Briefe*, Berlin 1841, 259-84).

The defeat at Nizīb (1839) inflicted on the Ottomans by the Egyptians released new troubles in Kurdistān. In 1843 began the rising of Nūr Allāh Beg of Hakkārī and of Badr Khān of Djazīra. The Nestorians of Hakkārī had lodged a complaint in Mawṣil against the oppressions of Nūr Allāh Beg. In reply, the latter laid waste the Nestorian canton of Barwārī. The massacres went on for several years and the number of victims is said to have reached 10,000. The powers made representations at Constantinople, and in 1847 a large army under 'Othmān Pasha attacked the Kurds. Badr Khān and Nūr Allāh, defeated in several battles, surrendered and were deported from Kurdistān (cf. Sir H. Layard, *Nineveh*, vii; *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* [1900] v, 649-53; Addai Scher, in *JA* [1910], *loc. cit.*; on Kurd-Nestorian affairs in general see: A. Grant, *The Nestorians*, New York 1841; G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians*, London 1852; J. Perkins, *A residence of 8 years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians*, New York 1852; C. Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul und durch Kurdistan und Urumia*, Stuttgart 1857; Riley, *Christians and Kurds*, in *The Contemporary Review* [Sept. 1889]; F. N. Heazell and J. Margoliouth, *Kurds and Christians*, London 1913; W. A. and E. T. A. W. Wigram, *The cradle of mankind*, London 1914; W. W. Rockwell, *The pitiful plight of the Assyrian Christians in Persia and Kurdistan*, New York 1916; H. C. Luke, *Mosul and its minorities*, London 1925).

The Russo-Turkish Wars. In 1804-5, the Russians came into contact with the Kurds and this new influence soon made itself felt. The Russo-Turkish wars of 1828-9, 1853-8, 1877-8, each had far-reaching effects in Kurdistān (the question has been specially studied by Averianov, *Kurdi v voinakh Rossii*, Tiflis 1900). As early as 1829 the Russians had raised a Kurd regiment. As a result of the expatriation of Christians, the Kurds after the war began to spread considerably farther north and west. During the Crimean campaign, the Russians raised two Kurd regiments. On the other hand, when the Turkish troops had left for the north, a considerable rising was stirred up in Bohtān by the popular Yazdān Shīr, nephew and a former rival of Badr Khān.

The war of 1877-8 was at once followed by a rising among the Hakkārī Kurds of Bahdīnān and Bohtān directed by the sons of Badr Khān and later by the rebellion under Shaykh 'Ubayd Allāh of the Nakshbandī order. The Kurd invaders in 1880 ravaged the Persian districts of Urmia, Sāwdj-Bulāk, Miyāndoāb and Marāgha and threatened Tabrīz itself. The chief victims were Shī'is. Russia sent a detachment of troops to protect the Araxes frontier. Persia mobilised considerable forces including the Mākū [*q.v.*] cavalry. Turkey, which had barely finished the war with Russia, endeavoured to avoid complications. Finally, the Shaykh returned to Shamdinān, whence he was sent to Istanbul. He soon escaped from the capital, and via the Caucasus returned to Shamdinān, but he was again captured and in 1883 died in Mecca.

The *Ḥamīdiyya* troops. The weakening of Turkey after 1878, art. 61 of the treaty of Berlin securing for the Armenians reforms and security against the Kurds and Circassians, the stubborn reaction of the Ottoman government against reforms, and from 1885 the development of the Armenian revolutionary movement with branches in Russia, Switzerland and London, brought complications into the hitherto quite peaceable relations of Kurds and Armenians, in as much as the latter had hitherto submitted to the authority of the Kurd feudal chiefs. About 1891 Shākir Pasha, later appointed to bring into operation the reforms in Anatolia, conceived the idea of creating irregular Kurd regiments, like those of Russian Cossacks. The object of the reform was to train the Kurds and attach them to the Ottoman government. The attempt was not considered satisfactory, for later the *Ḥamīdiyya* levies were transformed into regulars (*Khafīf suwārī*). The creation of the *Ḥamīdiyya* in any case, by the part given to the Kurds and the ambitions aroused, made a considerable stir. There was even bloodshed between the tribes.

Armeno-Kurd relations. At the same time, relations between the Armenians and the Kurds (these "brothers of land and water" according to a phrase recorded by the European consuls) were changing for the worse. The summer of 1894 was marked by bloody encounters at Ṣāṣūn which ended by the devastation of five villages and the whole of the canton of Talori (Dalvorikh) inhabited by Armenians. The events at Ṣāṣūn were the first of a long series of Armenian demonstrations and their sanguinary suppressions, in which the Kurds took an active part. In 1895 an attempt at a rising had been made among the Hakkārī Kurds, but was speedily suppressed; it was not directed against the Christians. From the beginning of the 20th century to the World War, the relations between Armenians and Kurds seem to have been fairly peaceful. On the question in general, see Abovian, *Kurdi*, in the *Kavkaz* newspaper, Tiflis 1848, Nos. 46, 47, 49, 50, 51 (where the "father of Armenian literature" gives a very sympathetic picture of the Kurd character); Creagh, *Armenians, Koords and Turks*, London 1880; A. S. Zelenoy, *Zapiska k karte raspredeleniya armianskikh*

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naseleniya, in *Zapis. Kavkaz. Otd. Geogr. Obshč.* (Tiflis 1895), xviii; A. Vambéry, *Armenier u. Kurden*, in *Deutsche Rundschau* (1890), lxxxvi, 216-31; Rohrbach, *Armenier u. Kurden*, in *Verhand. d. Gesell. Erdkunde* (Berlin 1900), 128-33; Baron L. de Contenson, *Chrétiens et musulmans, voyages et études*, Paris 1901; H. B. Lynch, *Armenia, passim*; Mayevski, *Opisaniye Vanskago i Bitlis vilayetov*, Tiflis 1904 (the authoritative work); N. Y. Marr, *Yeshče o slove "čelebi"*, in *ZVOIRAO*, xx (1910); Zarzecki (consul of France at Vān), *La question kurdo-arménienne*, in *La Revue de Paris*, 15 April 1914, and the diplomatic correspondence, publ. in the "Livres jaunes", the "Blue books" and the Russian "Orange book" of 1914.

The 20th century. At the beginning of the 20th century a new figure appeared on the Kurd horizon outside of the usual centres of Kurd movements: Ibrāhīm Pasha b. Maḥmūd b. Timawī b. Ayyūb, chief of the Millī (Milān) tribe in the canton of Shariwērān (between Diyārbakr and Aleppo). Ibrāhīm Pasha had made himself an almost independent position. When the constitution of 1908 was proclaimed, he openly rebelled and retired to the mountains of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz where he was killed (M. Wiedemann, *Ibrahim Pascha's Glück und Ende*, in *Asien*, viii, 1909, 34-7, 52-4, and Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, 317-27).

A considerable agitation was aroused among the Kurds when the question of the Turco-Persian frontier was re-opened. After the check to the Russians in the Far East (Russo-Japanese War), Turkey in 1905 occupied the disputed cantons of Urmia and Sāwdj-Bulāḳ inhabited by the Kurds. The latter were drawn into the very complicated political game. Turkish occupation only ceased at the beginning of the Balkan War (in October 1912), but only to make room for Russian troops sent into the districts of Khoy and Urmia. Scions of noble Kurd families travelled in Russia. On 17 November 1913 a protocol of delimitation was signed at Istanbul and just before the World War, a Four-Power Commission (Turkey, Persia, Britain and Russia) succeeded in settling the frontier of the disputed regions by re-establishing generally the *status quo* of the beginning of the 19th century (cf. Minorsky, *Turetsko-persidsk. razgraničeniye*, in *Izvestia Russ. Geogr. Obshč.*, Petrograd, lii [1916], 351-92).

The War of 1914-18. In the course of the war from 1914 to 1918, the Kurds were between two fires. On the activities of Ismāʿīl Agha Simko, see SHAKĀK. On the inter-allied plans (March 1916) regarding Kurdistān, cf the documents in *Razdel Aziatskoi Turtsii*, Moscow 1924, 185-7, 225.

After 1917-18, the situation was radically changed. Kurd committees were formed everywhere (cf. Driver, *Report on Kurdistan*, Mount Carmel, Palestine 1919; this publication is in the British Museum). Sharīf Pasha assumed the role of Kurd representative in Paris and on 22 March 1919 and 1 March 1920 presented to the Peace Conference two memoirs on Kurd claims with a map of "Kurdistan intégral" (cf. *L'Asie francaise*, No. 175, 1919, 192-3). At the same time, on 20 December 1919, an arrangement was reached between Sharīf Pasha and the Armenian representatives, and the two parties made conjointly declarations to the conference (cf. the text of the agreement in the newspaper *Peyām-i Ṣabāḥ*, Istanbul, 24 Feb. 1920; cf. also *Le Temps*, Paris, 10 March 1920). The Treaty of Sèvres of 10 August 1920 having created Armenia (Arts. 88-93) out of the four *wilāyets* (of Trebizond, Erzerūm, Vān and Bidlīs), provided in articles 62-4 for "a local autonomy for the land where the Kurd element predominates, lying east of the Euphrates, to the south of the frontier of Armenia and to the north of the frontier of Turkey with Syria and Mesopotamia". If the Kurd population within the limits mentioned showed to the Council of the League of Nations "that a majority of the population of these regions desires to be independent of Turkey and if the Council then thinks that this population is fit for independence", Turkey agreed to conform to the recommendation, and in this case the Allied Powers would raise no objection to the voluntary adhesion to this "independent Kurd state" of the Kurds living in the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil. As a result of later events, the Kurd question reduced itself to the fate of the Kurds in the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil. The Turkish representatives held that "the Kurds differed in nothing from the Turks and that although speaking different languages, these two peoples formed a single bloc as regards race, faith and customs" (Conference at Lausanne, speech of ʿIṣmet Pasha at the meeting of 23 Jan. 1923). By the decision of the Council of the League of Nations on 16 December 1925, the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil was allotted to ʿIrāḳ, buth with a stipulation reserving to the Kurds the fulfilment of their desires, notably that "officials of Kurd race should be appointed for the government of their country, for the administration of justice and for teaching in the schools and that the Kurd language should be the official language of all these services".

During the long negotiations concerning Mawṣil, serious troubles broke out in the region of Kharpût and Diyārbakr as a result of the insurrection of Shaykh Saʿīd Naḳshbandī. Shaykh Saʿīd was captured on 16 April 1925 and executed at Diyārbakr. After the settlement of the Mawṣil question, the Turkish government in Ankara enforced a policy, the tendency of which was to eliminate from Kurdistān feudal and tribal influences; cf. Gentizon, *L'insurrection kurde*, in *La Revue de Paris*, 15 Oct. 1925.

Bibliography: A history of the Kurds, the preliminaries of which have been outlined above would necessitate a great deal of preparatory work and research in Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Aramaic and Georgian sources. A systematic ransacking of sources like the *Selīm-nāma* of Ḥakīm Idrīs and his son Abu 'l-Faḍl and the *Taʾrīḫ-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* would yield a rich reward. The basis of our knowledge of Kurd history is certainly the *Sharaf-nāma* (down to 1005/1596). The text was published (mainly from a manuscript collated by the editor himself) by Veliaminof-Zernof, *Scheref-nameh*, i (history of the Kurds), St. Petersburg 1860; ii (variants of volume i, and general history of Turkey and Persia from the beginning of the Ottoman dynasty to 1005/1596), St. Petersburg 1862. New editions of it exist by M. ʿA. ʿAwnī, Cairo 1931, and by M. A. ʿAbbāsī, Tehran 1343/1965; Arabic translations by M. J. Bendi Rojbayani, with copious notes and comments, Baghdād 1372/1953; M. ʿA. ʿAwnī and Yaḥyā al-Khashshāb, Cairo 1958-62, 2 vols.; a Russian translation by E. I. Vasil'eva, i, Moscow 1967; the French translation by F.-B. Charmoy, *Cheref-nâmah ou fastes de la nation kurde*, in 2 volumes and four parts, St. Petersburg 1868-75, includes commentaries (including a translation of the relevant chapters in the *Ḏjihān-numā* of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa), but is now in many respects out-of-date and lacks an index. Cf. also the works of H. Barb, *Über die Kurden*-

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Chronik von Scheref; *Geschichtliche Skizze d. 33 verschiedenen kurdischen Fürstengeschlechter*; *Geschichte v. 5 Kurden-Dynastien*; *Gesch. v. weiteren Kurden-Dynastien*; *Geschichte d. kurdischen Fürstenherrschaft in Bidlis*, which appeared respectively in *SB Ak. Wien*, x (1853), 258-76; xxii (1857), 3-28; xxviii (1858), 3-54; xxxi (1859); xxxii (1859), 145-50. The lost history of Kurdistān by Muḥammad Efendi Shahrazūrī (d. 1073/1662 at Medina, cf. *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. *Kurd*), had not come to light by 1927. For the histories of the house of Ardalān, cf. SINNA, where should be added the history (to 1254/1834) of Khusraw b. Muḥammad b. Minūčihr, cf. E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibl. Nationale*, i, 305, No. 498. On the *Risālat Ansāb al-Akrād*, belonging to the Asiatic Museum of Petrograd, cf. Romaskevič in *Mélanges Asiatique*, new ser., Petrograd 1918, 392. The newspaper *Zār-i Kurmāndjī* (of Rawāndiz) published in Kurdish a short history *Ghunča-yi Bahāristān* (1926) and announced the early publication of the *Taʾrīkh-i Kurdān* of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Beg. General information on Kurd history will be found in G. Campanile, *Storia della regione di Kurdistan e delle sette di religione ivi existenti*, Naples 1818; E. Quatremère, *Notice sur le Masālik al-abṣār*, in *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 1838; C. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836 (cf. SULAYMĀNIYYA); Charmony, in the preface to his translation of the *Sharaf-nāma*; P. Lerch, *Izsledovaniya ob iranskikh Kurdakh*, St. Petersburg 1856, i, 20-33; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Martyren*, Leipzig 1880; W. Tomaschek, *Sasun*, in *SB Ak. Wien* (1895), 133-4; M. Bittner, *Der Kurdengau Uschnuje*, in *ibid.*, 133; H. Rawlinson and A. Wilson in the *Encycl. Britannica*, 1911, xv, 949-51; Addai Scher, *Episodes de l'histoire du Kurdistan*, in *JA*, xv (1910), 119-40 = the events of 1202, 1508, 1510-12 (Djazīra), 1523, 1689, 1712 (ʿAmādiya), 1820-36 (Rawāndiz); E. B. Soane, *To Mesopotamia . . . in disguise*, London 1912, ch. xvi; V. Minorsky, *Kurdā*, St. Petersburg 1915; G. R. Driver, *Studies in Kurdish history*, in *BSOS*, ii (1922), 491-513; V. Minorsky, *La domination des Daïlamites*, in Publ. Soc. Ét. Ir. et Arts persans, Paris 1932 (also in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 1964, 12-30); idem, *La Perse au XV^e s. entre la Turquie et Venise*, in *ibid.*, No. 3, Paris 1933; A. Sakisian, *Abdel Khan, seigneur kurde de Bitlis au XVII^e s. et ses trésors*, in *JA*, ccxxix (1937), 253-70; A. Safrastian, *Kurds and Kurdistan*, London 1948; M. Canard, *H'amdanides*, i, Algiers 1951; M. A. Zakī, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal wa 'l-imārāt al-kurdiyya fi 'l-ʿahd al-islāmī*, Ar. tr. M. ʿA. ʿAwnī, Cairo 1364/1945; Cl. Cahen, *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, Damas, xii (1947-8), 1-163; V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history. I. New light on the Shaddādids of Ganja. II. The Shaddādids of Ani. III. Prehistory of Saladin*, London 1953; idem, *Thomas of Metsopʿ on the Timurid-Turkman wars*, in *Prof. Muhammad Shafi volume*, Lahore 1955, 145-70; *Mongol place-names in Mukri Kurdistan*, in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 58-81; Cl. Cahen, *Contribution à l'histoire du Diyār-Bakr au quatorzième siècle*, in *JA* (1955), 65-100; H. A. R. Gibb, *The armies of Saladin*, in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, Boston 1966, 74-90; idem, *The achievement of Saladin*, in *ibid.*, 91-107; M. S. Lazarev, *Kurdistan i Kurdskaya problema*, Moscow 1964; A. Khalfin, *Borʾba za Kurdistan, Kurdskiy vopros v meždunarodnikh otnosheniyakh XIX veka*, Moscow 1963; Džalile Džalil, *Vosstanie Kurdov 1880 goda*, Moscow 1966; N. Kh. Mahmudov, *The Kurdish people* [in Armenian], Erivan 1959; M. M. ʿUmar al-ʿAbbāsī, *Imārat Bahdīnān al-ʿabbāsiyya fī Kurdistān al-wusṭā*, Baghdād 1972; S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern ʿIraq*, Oxford 1925.

(V. MINORSKY)

C. From 1920 to the present day.

The First World War (1914-18) led to many political upheavals in the Near and Middle East. The Arab countries (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and ʿIrāḳ) were detached from the Ottoman Empire. The sultanate was abolished in 1922, the republic proclaimed in Turkey on 23 October and the caliphate suppressed on 3 March 1924. Finally, the Council of the League of Nations assigned to ʿIrāḳ the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil on 26 December 1925. For his part, General Riḍā Khān overthrew in Persia the Ḳādjār dynasty and founded the Pahlavī dynasty on 23 October 1925. These rectifications of frontiers resulted in rendering still more complicated the situation of the Kurds who, instead of living under only two governments, the Ottoman Empire and the Persian Empire, were henceforth to find themselves divided between five different countries: Turkey, Iran, ʿIrāḳ, with some quite important minorities in Syria and several colonies in the lands of Soviet Transcaucasia, sc. Armenia, Georgia and Ādharbaydjān. From now on, their destiny would evolve differently, according to the different states which sheltered them.

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In TURKEY, from after the First World War and during the long negotiations concerning Mawṣil, some Kurdish nationalists, disillusioned at seeing their hopes of an independent Kurdistān vanish, a Kurdistān foreseen by the Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) but suppressed by the Treaty of Lausanne (24 June 1923), provoked troubles. Shaykh Saʿīd Nakshbandī of Piran led a rebellion in the regions of Urfa, Severek and Diyarbakir, either through religious fanaticism and respect for the caliphate (Gentizon) or at the alleged instigation of Britain (Muṣṭafā Kemāl). The Shaykh was soon made a prisoner, judged by the Tribunals of Independence (April-June 1925) and hanged at Diyarbakir with 53 other insurgents. The whole trial was followed by the Turkish newspaper *Vakit*, from 20 April 1341/1925 to the 28 June, insisting upon the nationalist character of the movement. The failure of the attempt forced the leaders who had escaped to seek refuge abroad.

On 3 October 1927, the Kurdish National League

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Hoyboun ("Independence") was constituted by the fusion of all the old committees or associations. Iḥsān Nūrī Pasha of Bitlis was nominated commander-in-chief and a civil administration was established. Some conversations even took place with the representatives of the Turkish government in September 1928 at Shaykh-i Köprü with the promise of a general amnesty for those who had been compromised. The few Kurds who came forward were massacred. After that, the revolt of Ağrī Dağ (Ararat) (1930-2) broke out in the spring. Well-organised militarily, the Kurdish troops, who were supported by the tribes in the region of Diyarbakir, achieved some spectacular successes, but ended by succumbing under the blows of a Turkish army, 45,000 men strong and supplied with modern equipment in artillery and aircraft. The Second International, in its session at Zurich, published a resolution of its executive in favour of the Kurdish people (Vol. vii, no. 60, 30 August 1930). The attitude of the Soviets at the time has been interpreted differently by Agabekoff, in his *Mémoires*, published in French in 1930, and by M. A. Kondkarian in the Russian newspaper of Paris, *Dni*, of 31 August 1930, the former speaking of a Soviet activity among the Kurds themselves and led from Tauris by a certain Minossian who represented the G.P.U. there, and the latter asserting to the contrary that the Turks found an aid and complete assistance from the Russian Bolsheviks outside. From 1931 to 1934, some periodic convulsions were felt at Menemen, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, and, in a series of articles of the *Hakimiyet-i Milli*, Burhan Assaf Bey denounces Armeno-Kurdish intrigues. Soon a Turkish law was promulgated on 5 May 1932 which established a plan destined to organise an actual deportation of Kurds to the interior of Turkey. This law, however, was only to be applied after the visit of the Shah of Iran to Ankara in the summer of 1934. But henceforth, officially there were no longer Kurds in Turkey. All the inhabitants of the eastern provinces were from now on regarded as "mountain Turks".

This psychological error and the assimilation of the Kurds by force were to trigger off in 1937-8 a new revolt, as its centre, the mountainous region of Darsim, inhabited by the Zaza Kurds. It was Sayyid Riḍā, *shaykh* of the Naḳshbandī brotherhood, who headed it. This revolt was the most terrible for the Kurds, for it was suppressed with the utmost harshness by the Turks. After having hanged the *shaykh* and ten of his companions at al-ʿAzīz on 15 November 1937, the Turks erased Darsim from the map and replaced this ill-fated name with that of Tunceli. The Kurds disappeared from the official vocabulary, and the region remained under martial law until 1946.

After this, there was no more armed uprising in Turkey. Kurdistān stayed calm throughout the Second World War, during which Turkey moreover remained neutral. There followed a certain softening of the régime for the Kurdish regions. Meanwhile, intellectuals were always strictly watched; 49 of them were even arrested in December 1959 and accused of separatism. The military coup d'état of the 27 May 1960 was followed by a new more liberal constitution. Despite some declarations by official personages (cited in the Swedish journal *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 November 1960; cf. *C.E.K.* Paris, no. 12, 8), some articles on Kurdistān and the Kurds were able to appear in the Turkish press and, between 1965 and 1968, some bilingual, Turko-Kurdish journals: *Dicle Ferat* and *Deng*, a Kurdish grammar, a Kurdo-Turkish dictionary, a play *Birîna reş* "The black wound", and the long classical poem *Mem-o-Zin* saw the light of day. But soon everywhere the journals were forbidden, published works confiscated and their authors prosecuted. In addition, to avoid all possible contamination by events in ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān, which had been in revolt for several years, a presidential decree of 25 January 1967 and published in the official journal no. 12,527 of 14 February 1967 declared: "It is illegal and forbidden to introduce the country and to distribute, under whatsoever form, every publication, record or tape registered of foreign origin and in the Kurdish language". Some virulent articles against the Kurds appeared in the Turkish nationalist review *Ötüken* (no. 40, April 1967, no. 42, June 1967; cited in Vanly, *Kurdistan irakien*, 298-300). It was this which led to a retort by the associations of Kurdish students of 19 Kurdish towns, protesting that such an attitude was contrary to art. 12 of the Constitution and art. 37 and 44 of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). In April 1970, brutal police operations in the town of Silvan, in the province of Diyarbakir, provoked the condemnation of the Kurdish students and of liberal Turks (cf. *Milliyet*, June-July 1970), as well as the question, on 24 July 1970, in the House, of a Kurdish deputy, Mehmet Ali Aybar, an old president of the Labour Party of Turkey (TIP). The Fourth Congress of the TIP (29-31 October 1970), in a resolution, recognised the right of existence of the Kurdish people in Turkey (Vanly, *Survey*, 51-4). More than the ethnic and political side, it seems that from now on the economic and social question must play a role in the solution of the Kurdish problem in Turkey (Rambout, 23-44; Nikitine, 196-8; J. Blau, 35-40; Ghassemlou, 50-62; Arfa, 33-46).

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In IRAN, the situation of the Kurds has always been different from that which they experienced in Turkey. Indeed, the Iranian government often insists on the affinities, as much racial as historic, which unite the two peoples. But this does not prevent political and social malaises appearing from time to time, and conflicts, often latent, sometimes bloody, must be recorded. Already during the Great War, the province of Ādharbāydjān in northern Persia had been troubled by the movements of the Turkish or Russian armies on this territory. The chief of the Shakāk, Ismāʿīl Agha Simko, profited from it to attempt to carve out for himself a small Kurdish state of which he intended to assume the leadership. He also succeeded in uniting under his command the Kurdish tribes of the north of the country, achieving several victories over the Turks, the Assyrians and the Iranian troops, changing camp according to the circumstances. He also became the only authority of the region, to the west of Lake Urmiya, finally to be assassinated at Ushnu by the Iranians on the 21 June 1930 (Arfa, 48-54), in the same manner in which he had murdered the Assyrian Patriarch, Mar Shimun Benjamin, on the 3 March 1918 (Joseph, 140-1).

For his part, further to the south, in the province of Kurdistān, Sālār al-Dawla Ḳādjār, related by marriage to the great Kurdish families of Sanandadjī, rose in revolt, but was defeated. Some Kurdish chiefs refused to be disarmed, and it was not until 1930 that Djaʿfar Sulṭān surrendered (Arfa, 64-7; Ghassemlou, 73-5).

But the Second World War was also bound to have a great influence on Kurdish nationalism in Iran. Indeed, the occupation of the provinces of the north and west of the country by the Soviet and British troops (25 August 1941), followed by the abdication of Riḍā Shāh (16 September 1941) favoured, by the enfeeblement of the central power, the movements of emancipation, and, for several months, the Iranian army had to confront harshly Hama Rashīd Khān of Bāneh who, aided by numerous neighbouring tribes, had made himself master of the Sardasht-Bāneh-Marivān region in the summer of 1942 (Arfa, 67-70). But this was only the prelude to a real independence movement. First of all, the Kurds profited from the situation to form (September 1942) in the no-man's-land where central authority had disappeared an organisation *Komelat jiyanī Kurdistan* "Committee for the Life (Resurrection) of Kurdistan" (Eagleton, 34). This nationalist but quite conservative committee was composed of city intellectuals and of petits bourgeois from Mahābād, the ancient Sāwdj-Bulāḳ [*q.vv.*], but to which the religious *shaykh*s and chiefs of tribes soon rallied. Soon Ḳāḍī (Kazi) Muḥammad, from a family of rich notables and a jurist himself, adhered to it in his turn (October 1944) and after the end of the war, all these judged the occasion favourable and proclaimed on the 22 January 1946 the Kurdish Republic of Mahābād, in the heart of the autonomous Republic of Ādharbaydjān, which had been established at Tabrīz. In fact, Ḳāḍī Muḥammad wished rather for internal autonomy within the framework of the Iranian empire. This small state, with its limited area, to the west and south of Lake Urmia, was well-organised; schools and hospitals were opened, classical books and reviews in the Kurdish language were published, attempts were made to promote the development of agriculture, commerce, industry and hygiene. A small army was constituted of tribal elements with four generals, among them Mollā Muṣṭafā Barzānī, who came from ʿIrāḳ with his well-equipped contingent of armed men. But on the departure from the Iranian territories of the Russian army (May 1946), who had helped the autonomous republic of Ādharbaydjān, the government of Tehran was to recover the dissident provinces of the north of the country. Ḳāḍī Muḥammad surrendered, but was hanged at dawn on 31 March 1947 together with several other chiefs. The Kurdish Republic of Mahābād had lasted eleven months. But this event had a great repercussion among all the Kurds (Arfa, 70-102; Ghassemlou, 76-82; Rambout, 94-108 and especially Eagleton, *passim*). Then, in September 1950 and February 1956, for economic reasons, the tribe of Djavānrūdī was taken to task by the troops of the Shāh and harshly repressed, on the pretext that it refused to pay its taxes, give up its arms and devote itself to the cultivation of *ḫashīsh*. According to Rondot (*Vie intel.*, 1956, 107-9), the efficacy of the intervention of the Iranian troops was the first positive result of the Baghdād Pact (1955). Since these last backwashes, the Iranian government, by constructive social reforms, attempted to gain the sympathy and even the help of its numerous Kurdish population. It published at Tehran, from May 1959 to May 1963, the weekly *Kurdistān*, in which literature, religion, sciences, history and even politics were competently treated. Later on the ʿIrāḳī government accused that of Tehran of having aided, materially and morally, the insurrection movement of the Kurds in ʿIrāḳ. But this political attitude has in no way changed the distrustful position of the Iranian authorities with regard to its own Kurds.

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In ʿIRĀḲ, the period from the end of the First World War to the revolution of 1958 saw the foundation of the new ʿIrāḳī state and the establishment of the Hāshimite monarchy. The British who, at San Remo (1 May 1920) were to receive from the League of Nations a mandate over ʿIrāḳ and Palestine, were charged with organising the land which they had already occupied militarily. Few among them knew the Kurds and their problems, which rendered their task difficult. In December 1918, Major Noel installed at Sulaymānī Maḥmūd Barzandjī (1880-1956) as governor, *ḥukmdār*, with authority over the Kurdish tribes situated between the Great Zāb and the Diyālā. At the end of six months, Shaykh Maḥmūd proclaimed the independence of Kurdistān (end of May 1919), and the British army had to intervene to

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overcome him. Wounded at the battle of Bazyan (17 June 1919), Maḥmūd was taken prisoner and condemned to death, but, with his sentence commuted, was sent into exile to India. Meanwhile, several British officers had been assassinated at Zaḵho, ʿAmādiyya and ʿAkra. Major Soane governed instead of the *shaykh*, and calm soon returned. Difficulties arose with the installation as king in Baghdād (23 August 1921) of the Amīr Fayṣal of Arabia, who had been chased from Damascus by the French, and the intention of attaching to the ʿIrāḳī crown the *wilāyet* of Mawṣil, which the Turks continued to claim and which the Kurds wanted to organise for their own profit. The recent Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920) recognised in effect the right of the Kurds to independence. Since agitation did not cease to spread over the whole of Kurdistān, Shaykh Maḥmūd was recalled to Sulaymāniyya (September 1922) and was no longer content with the title of *ḥukmdār*, but proclaimed himself king of the whole of Kurdistān (November). He set up a government of eight members, issued postage and fiscal stamps, levied taxes on tobacco and published a newspaper *Roj-i Kurdistan* "The sun of Kurdistan" which gives many details of all these events (Edmonds, *A Kurdish newspaper: Rhozh-i Kurdistan*, in *JRCAS*, xii [1925]). On 24 December 1922, His Britannic Majesty's government and the government of ʿIrāḳ recognised "the right of the Kurds living within the frontiers of Iraq to establish a Kurdish government within these frontiers, in the hope that the different Kurdish elements would reach agreement as soon as possible on the form to give to this government and the extent of its frontiers, and that they would send to Baghdad some responsible delegates to discuss their economic and political relations with His Britannic Majesty's government and the government of Iraq" (Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, 312; Rambout, 58-9). But there were soon frictions between King Maḥmūd and his British protectors, as well as with some Kurds who envied his authority. His intrigues with the Turks also triggered off raids by the R.A.F., who forced him to take refuge at Sardash (3 March 1923), where he published a newspaper, *Bangē haqq* "The call of truth". He stayed there until 1930, the year which saw the end of the British mandate.

This new political régime did not help the situation of the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ much, for the ʿIrāḳī government wanted immediately to withdraw from the Kurdish regions the local Kurdish officials in order to install Arabs and to suppress the teaching of the Kurdish language in the administrations of the north. Whence a malaise which degenerated into open revolt when ʿIrāḳī soldiers opened fire on the civil population of Sulaymāniyya (6 September 1930). Shaykh Maḥmūd once more headed the movement. The ʿIrāḳī army was incapable of bringing it to an end (September 1930-April 1931), and asked for the intervention of the R.A.F. This was very severely criticised by a number of Britons, and especially in a Note of General H. C. Dobbs, former High Commissioner at Baghdād; Maḥmūd was sent into house arrest in Baghdād. In 1931, Shaykh Aḥmad of Barzān, a less balanced personage, as Longrigg says (86, 103), quarrelled with a neighbouring Kurdish chief. In order to restore calm, the government undertook a winter campaign which also necessitated the intervention of the R.A.F. (cf. Mumford and Wilson, *The Crisis* ...). There was a new uprising in 1933-4, and Shaykh Aḥmad and his young brother Mollā Muṣṭafā, who had helped him militarily, were forced to reside at Kirkūk and then at Sulaymāniyya. In 1941, during the abortive insurrectional adventure of Rashīd ʿAlī Gaylānī and the "Golden cadre", Shaykh Maḥmūd, who had profited from it to escape from Baghdād, had tried to raise a levy of Kurdish troops to help the British (Longrigg, 295). In 1943, Mollā Muṣṭafā Barzānī, in residence at Sulaymāniyya, unhappy with the food supplies and the social conditions of his supporters, succeeded in escaping as far as his territory of Barzān, accompanied by Shaykh Laṭīf, son of Shaykh Maḥmūd, and raised the standard of the revolt. A Kurd, Madjīd Muṣṭafā, named as Minister of State, intervened to settle the affair. Barzānī surrendered on condition that the Kurdish districts would be better provisioned, that Kurdish and non-Arab officials would be sent there, and finally that schools and hospitals would be opened in Kurdistān. These conditions, accepted by Nūrī Saʿīd, the Prime Minister, who even foresaw the establishment of an entirely Kurdish *liwā*[3] (Longrigg, 325), were not agreed by the regent ʿAbd al-Ilāh and, in the spring of 1945, the revolt broke out more fiercely. This time it was more serious. The Kurds achieved several spectacular victories, while the army underwent heavy losses. Once again the R.A.F. came to play its role of saviour of ʿIrāḳ and the Hāshimite monarchy. At the end of August, the operation was completed. Mollā Muṣṭafā withdrew to Iran with a party of his troops and his plunder (Rambout, 74-80). Four of his officers who had had faith in governmental promises of amnesty, Muṣṭafā Khushnavē, ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Muḥammad Maḥmūd and Khayr Allāh ʿAbd al-Karīm, were tried and executed on 19 June 1947.

After these events determined by force, all that remained for the Kurdish nationalists of ʿIrāḳ was to go underground, and this is what they did. They founded the Democratic Party of Kurdistan (D.P.K.) with leftist tendencies, and published two bulletins *Azadi* "Liberty" and *Rizgari* "Liberation". In its second issue (October 1946), the latter extolled an Armeno-Kurdish Union. At the same period, Colonel Elphinston, chief of the Intelligence Service in the Levant, asked himself if these efforts were not going to lead to the constituting of a Republic of the Soviet Union with an Armeno-Kurdish character. In any case, the calm returned, the Kurds profited from the liberty which had been left them to work with more ardour in the cultural domain. Literary reviews saw the light of day. Collections of poetry and articles on the history of Kurdistan and famous Kurds of the past were published. Sulaymāniyya became a very active cultural centre and a lively seat of Kurdish nationalism.

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ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān since the proclamation of the ʿIrāḳī Republic (14 July 1958) until 1970 underwent many vicissitudes. This Republic aroused the enthusiasm of the Kurds who, with the other political parties, had participated in the overthrow of the Hāshimite monarchy. For the first time in history, the (provisional) Constitution of the state proclaimed in effect, "the Arabs and Kurds are associated in this nation". The Constitution guaranteed their national rights within the heart of the ʿIrāḳī entity (art. 3) (cf. *Orient*, no. 7 (3rd quarter 1958), 191-9). For his part, General ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḳāsim [*q.v.*] reinstated the Kurdish officials suspended in 1947 and authorised (2 September 1958) Mollā Muṣṭafā, who had taken refuge in the Soviet Union since this date, to return to ʿIrāḳ. He received him there with joy on the 7 October 1958, while his companions in exile returned in April 1959. Ḳāsim gave him a personal guard and a house in Baghdād and, for some time, made him his counsellor to whom he paid attention. The Kurdish Democratic Party, which had prepared itself in secret for the great day and, from April 1959 published its weekly newspaper *Xebat* "Struggle", was authorised to appear. The Kurdish reviews and newspapers prospered, and from now on had a political aspect no longer simply a literary one. But this state of euphoria was not to last much longer, and the struggle of the Kurds for liberty broke out again and lasted ten years, interrupted by arrests and by more and more terrible reprisals. Four periods may be distinguished here:

Difficulties—as much external as internal—were not lacking for the "Faithful Leader". His see-saw politics ended by his setting everyone against him. The Kurds themselves, impatient to see him fulfil the promises which were late in coming, ended up by taking up arms against his dictatorial régime. Naturally, Mollā Muṣṭafā headed the movement (9 September 1961). This uprising was in no way tribal, for it was truly all the ʿIrāḳī Kurds, peasants and townsfolk, intellectuals and feudalists, who formed a bloc against Ḳāsim. The riposte was terrible: a strict economic blockade to starve the north of the country; massive bombardments with napalm, burning villages and harvests and shooting women, old men and children as well as combatants, but which only electrified the courage of the Kurds who, in March 1962, were the uncontested masters of all the ʿIrāḳī north, with the exception of the cities where the government troops were garrisoned. The losses of the army quickly rendered this war in the finest colonialist style unpopular. The soldiers deserted or went over to the enemy; business and commerce were reduced to nothing. A coup d'état was afoot, and the Kurds—without whom nothing could be done—were kept well-informed. At dawn of 8 February 1963, Ḳāsim disappeared tragically from the political scene and, from the next day, the Kurds declared the ceasefire. The Baath (Baʿth) took power in Baghdād. But when the Kurds reminded the new government of their neutrality, they were met with excuses. However, negotiations were embarked on and, on the 24 April 1963, the Kurds even presented a detailed *Memorandum* in which they expressed their desiderata (*Orient*, no. 26 (2nd quarter 1963), 207-11). Meanwhile, once it considered itself quite strong, the Baʿthist government imprisoned the Kurdish deputies, issued an ultimatum (10 June 1963) and the same day resumed hostilities with an increased violence. As in the interval, the Baʿth had also assumed power in Damascus, the Syrians lent assistance to their ʿIrāḳī friends by sending aircraft and the Yarmūk Brigade. The Kurds had soon eliminated the latter. They multiplied their ambushes, seized military posts and convoys of munitions and took prisoners by hundreds. The ʿIrāḳī army, beaten and humiliated, then brought in the "National Guard", aid of the Baʿthist government, whose atrocities against the communists and all the opponents of the régime aroused universal reprobation. By a new coup d'état, aided by the army, General ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif ousted the Baʿth and took all power into his own hands (18 November 1963). Military actions did not continue any the less. Barzānī launched an appeal to the International Red Cross (September 1963; Vanly, 319-21), and the Kurds addressed themselves to the Pope on the occasion of his journey to the Holy Land (2 January 1964; *L'Orient*, Beirut, no. 5240 (4 January 1964); complete text in *C.E.K.* no. 30, 82-8; cf. Mauries, 95, 96).

With a view to finally settling the Kurdish problem, Field-Marshal ʿĀrif negociated a ceasefire (10 February 1964) which Mollā Muṣṭafā accepted without even consulting the political bureau of the D.P.K. The Kurds who, as much as the ʿIrāḳīs, needed a breathing space, profited from it to make known to the outside world the true situation, thanks to foreign journalists who came to visit them; they renewed their provisions in livestock and munitions. The ʿIrāḳī government, occupied with still-born projects of Arab unity, left things to settle down, persuaded that in the end everything would be settled through weariness. Nothing came of it and the Kurds, disillusioned at seeing that no-one was seriously occupied with their demands, after October 1964 resolved to organise in effect their internal autonomy. They nominated administrative officials at all levels, levied dues and taxes, meted out justice in their tribunals. Naturally too, their troops were better-and-better equipped and trained. For the Sixth Congress of the D.P.K. (1-7 July 1964), the general state of the revolution (9-10 October 1964) as well as the new organisation of the Party and Constitution (17 October), cf. Vanly, 227-44 and texts: Constitution, 375-6, Administrative Law, 376-7. On the military organisation, *ibid.*, 244-8; Pradier, 210-23.

But the ceasefire of February was bound to provoke a serious crisis in the heart of the Kurdish insurrectional movement between Barzānī and the political bureau of the D.P.K., which in a brochure published on the 19 April, *L'accord ʿĀrif-Barzānī, une paix ou une capitulation?* accused him of having by this accord betrayed the objectives of the revolution. There was even a bloody engagement at Mawat, on 17 July, between antagonistic groups. At the Sixth Congress, 14 out of the 17 members of the political bureau were excluded from the party, among them Ibrāhīm Aḥmad and Djalāl Talabānī, and took refuge in Iran. This crisis due to differences of view between theoreticians and realists, despite its miseries, did not have any repercussions on the later military

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events (cf. Vanly, 218-25; Pradier, 203-9, Viennot, 95-111; Arfa, 149-52).

But the ambiguity of the situation between Kurds and ʿIrāḳīs was bound soon to be dissipated. On 10 May 1964, the ʿIrāḳī government promulgated a new provisional Constitution which passed over in silence the rights of the Kurds explicitly recognised in the 3rd art. of the Constitution of 1958. This would not do for the Kurds who, for their part, had not disarmed their troops. The spring offensive was launched on the 4th March 1965 by almost the entire ʿIrāḳī army (infantry, armour, aircraft) with at its head General ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿĀrif, brother of the President. It began by achieving some local successes (March-May), but in summer (June-September) some murderous combats developed in the chain of Safin. The small town of Pendjwīn, which had been destroyed, was occupied by the ʿIrāḳīs. Throughout this period, while the Kurds used artillery for the first time, the ʿIrāḳīs used toxic gases, but suffered heavy losses (4,194 killed, 2,201 wounded, 12 tanks destroyed and 5 aircraft shot down). Egypt helped ʿIrāḳ (*Le Monde*, 23 October). The winter campaign (22 December 1965-end February 1966) was resumed with intensity. On 1st January 1966, Barzānī sent a Memorandum to the U.N.O. (text in Vanly, 378-9). On 13 April 1966, Marshal ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif was killed in a helicopter accident. His brother, the general, was chosen to replace him as head of state. The same day as this death a new offensive began to liquidate definitively the rebellion. This campaign, which lasted from 12 April to 15 June, was particularly notable in May for the battle of Rawāndiz or Hendrin, the "Kurdish Verdun", as an eye-witness called it, R. Mauriès (171-213), and was transformed into a rout for the ʿIrāḳīs who, despite intensive use of napalm, lost 1,056 killed, 476 wounded, 600 mercenaries, the "cavaliers of Saladin" were put out of action and an enormous booty taken. The Kurds for their part only had to lament 38 killed and 85 wounded. Despite proclamations of victory, after a new ceasefire demanded from the 15 June by the government, an accord negociated by the Prime Minister Bazzāz (d. 28/6/73) was signed on 29 June 1966 (Vanly, 379; Viennot, thesis, ii, 189-92). Some secret clauses recognised in effect a certain autonomy for the Kurds of ʿIrāḳ; ʿĀrif made a visit to Barzānī (28 October) to try to reach agreement with him, for the ʿIrāḳī General Staff, unhappy with the "Bazzāz plan" did everything to torpedo it. Again, things dragged on for a long time. But the war of 5-11 June 1967 was bound to have its counter-effect in several Arab lands, as also in ʿIrāḳ, where a new coup d'état (17 July 1967) saw General Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Bakr install himself as President of the Republic, followed by a second coup d'état (30 July 1968) in which al-Bakr took over all power and re-established the Baʿthist dictatorship, whose "National Guard" in 1963 had hardly left behind good memories. While the Kurds maintained their material and moral potential and made a great effort in the field of primary instruction by opening 300 schools in 1968, the government flirted with the Kurdish dissidents, created an (Arabic language) University at Sulaymāniyya and the new administrative division (*liwāʾ*) of Duhok among the Kurds, but nevertheless prepared to resume hostilities. These, preceded by several skirmishes, began in April around Koy-Sandjaḳ. The ʿIrāḳī troops had to abandon the towns of Kala-Diza, Pendjwīn and Čwarta, and then attacked in June the peasant population of Arbīl, Ḥalabdja and Badīnān, spraying the harvests with napalm and sulphuric acid. In July, cholera broke out at Kala-Diza. In August there was the massacre of Dakan, at Shaykhān. In January (5 January 1970, *L'Express* mentioned that between September and December 1969, the Kurds had stopped the ʿIrāḳī offensive outright; 151 aircraft had been shot down during the last six months. Also in January 1970, the Baʿthist régime opened negociations with Barzānī and the executive bureau. A Kurdish delegation, headed by Dr. Maḥmūd ʿUthmān, went to Baghdad and, on the 11 March, an accord on 15 points was signed at Nawperdan, in Kurdistān, between the two parties, which put an end to a war of nine years (text in *Kurdish facts*, February-March 1970). The Kurds obtained their internal autonomy and the Vice-Presidency of the Republic. The Kurdish language became the second official language of ʿIrāḳ (Arabic text in *al-Djumhūriyya*, Baghdad no. 704, of 12 March 1970; English text in *Kurdish facts*, February-March 1970; German text, Nebez, *Kurdistan*, 232-5). Five Kurds were named as ministers, the amnesty was declared on both sides. Great festivities celebrated the event. However, all the problems were not solved. There was an attempt against Mollā Muṣṭafā (29 September 1971), troubles at Sindjār (summer 1972) and controversies over the attribution of the territories of Kirkūk after the nationalisation of the I.P.C. (1st June 1972). In June 1973, an *Appel en faveur du Kurdistan irakien* for the application of the accord of 11 March 1970, emanated from combined groups and from Black Africa (*Le Monde*, 15 June 1973).

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The Kurds of Syria and Lebanon, apart from some great families and their entirely arabised dependants, such as the Barazī of Ḥamāt, the beys of ʿAkkār, the Djumblāṭ Druze chiefs (Djān Bulād "soul of steel"), have preserved their original characters, although some may often have been settled for several centuries and, in every case, well before the establishment of the French mandate. They posed practically no political problem to the mandatory

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power and were able to develop freely a very lively cultural movement. They had a large share in the economic prosperity of the Djazīra (Rondot, *Les Kurdes de Syrie*, 94, 99 and passim; A. Muʿawwad, *al-Akrād fī Lubnān wa-Sūriyā*, Beirut 1945). But difficulties of a political order arose under the various régimes after 1957 and the plan for the "Arab Belt" (1963). Then, on the pretext of agrarian reform, the lands of the peasants were confiscated, and 120,000 Kurds forfeited their Syrian nationality, also loosing the right to become civil servants, to send their children to state schools and to be admitted to the public hospitals. All Kurdish books and music were forbidden. The names of villages were changed to give them Arab names and to settle Arabs there instead and expel Kurds (I. C. Vanly, *Le problème kurde en Syrie*, 1968 (cf. Muḥammad Ṭālib Hilāl, *Dirāsa ʿan muḥāfaẓat al-Djazīra min al-nawāḥī al-ḳawmiyya al-idjtimāʿiyya al-siyāsiyya*, 1963, ed. I. C. Vanly, and 1968); idem, *La persécution du peuple kurde par la dictature du Baas en Syrie*, Amsterdam, October 1968.

(Th. Bois)

iv. — Kurdish Society

The social and economic life of Kurdistan is strongly structured. If a small part of the Kurdish people still leads a nomadic life, its great majority is now sedentarised in numerous villages, but "it survives as well today, and in the countryside Kurdish society is essentially tribal" (Edmonds, 12), as always among nomads. But in the detribalised villages the organisation of the group comes under the influence of the government administration, landlords and religious leaders. This leads to a certain number of transformations of fundamental structures at present clearly evolving in Kurdish society, family, tribe and landlord, which we are going to examine first before considering the religious impact, then drawing attention to the social customs which are attached to them.

A. The fundamental structures of Kurdish society.

1. *The Kurdish family.*

The normal Kurdish family consists of a cell or household composed of the father, mother and children. This household, founded on marriage, is ordinarily monogamous and not patriarchal. Marriage is essential. In Kurdistān there are no old bachelors or spinsters, and also no celibacy nor free love at all. Prostitution does not exist in the small Kurdish villages of ʿIrāḳ or Iran. Adultery is practically unknown because too dangerous. People marry young, the boys at 20, the girls at 12. But in the towns, and since the young Kurds prolong their studies, marriage is delayed. Cousins frequently marry one another. The agnatic cousin is preferred and has rights over his cousin. This way of doing things has many advantages, for the father of the bride knows his nephew better; who, himself, is more in a position to protect the girl. Moreover, in the case of tribal conflicts, especially in the past, this would make one rifle more. At the same time, the marriage portion is diminished. To renounce his cousin, the agnatic cousin will exact the price of his renunciation. If not, he will be able to abduct the girl or even to shoot her as well as her parents (Daghestani, 22-3). So abduction is not therefore unknown, with all its risks (ʿAḳrāwī, 130; Daghestani, 17). Marriage can also be conducted by the exchange of sisters, *berdêlî* (Avdal, 222; Daghestani, 3). In this case, the marriage portion is not exacted and only the costs of the wedding feast remain. Marriage can also be conducted between people who are not related, but there is a preference for the same village or the same tribe, more than for a stranger, so that marriage is always endogamous in the broad sense. Barth (61) was able to ascertain a much greater frequency of marriage between cousins in the tribal populations (57%) than in the non-tribal populations (17%). Hence the importance of knowing lineage and names well (cf. genealogical table: Leach, 63; Barth, 31; Hansen, 116). Among the Yazīdīs and the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ strict endogamy is obligatory between some families (Avdal; Mokri, 44). The marriage portion, except in the cases cited, is exacted everywhere (Daghestani, 28; Leach, 44-5; Hansen, 123-4) and is not necessarily considered by the interested parties as being a sale, as it is often seen in the West. On the contrary, they like it as an appreciation of their value. This marriage portion, which varies according to the regions and especially the social situation of the family, is paid in kind, livestock, lands, a mill, etc., or in cash, of which the sum varies enormously, and its high sum may at times cause the aspirant to despair. Despite the critics, even among the Soviet Kurds, it has not completely disappeared. Cf. on this subject some poems translated in *Machriq*, 1958. The virginity of the girl before marriage must not be in doubt and proof must be given on the night of the wedding and kept for a year at least (Nikitine, 109, 115; Hansen, 13-4; Mokri, 68).

Polygamy exists legally as much among the Muslim Kurds as among the Yazīdīs. Horizontal or simultaneous polygamy was very frequent in the past, and was still so in the 19th century. The chiefs of tribes did not always keep to the four legitimate wives authorised by the Ḳurʾān. Ibrāhīm Paşha, founder of Sulaymāniyya, had 40 wives (Campanile, 107); the great Bedir Khān had 14 and 99 children. At his death, 21 boys and 21 girls remained to him. These customs are now ended. In the past, polygamy was a luxury and a sign of power; today it is sometimes an economic need. It can still be encountered in the urban poorly-educated milieu (Hansen, 138), but also in the peasant milieu (Barth, 25). In any case, where it is found, it does not exceed 2% in the Kurd Dagh (Daghestani, 79), 4% in ʿIrāḳ (Barth, 24), and there are never more than two wives. Among themselves, they are called *hewî*. In Turkey and among the Soviet Kurds, polygamy is forbidden by the civil law. But vertical or successive polygamy always exists, thanks to divorce or repudiation, for three *ṭalāḳ*s suffice for a husband to be able to repudiate a wife who no longer pleases him in order to marry another. Also, the *shaykh* of Shadala at 70 had been married 19 times (Hansen, 138), and similarly old Ibrāhīm, *agha* of the Dizai (Hay, 43). The wife can also be repudiated because of sterility or the impossibility of bringing male infants into the world. In this case, she may remain with her husband. If she is repudiated for other reasons, she returns to her father and has few chances of remarrying. A woman guilty or even simply suspected of adultery will not only be repudiated, but will run a high risk of death, which her own father or brother or one of his parents will be entitled to inflict on her. The children of the repudiated wife remain with their father. The widow remains in the house of the father or brother of her husband (Barth, 29). The levirate is practised at times, and a little everywhere (Daghestani, 99; Avdal, 221; Barth, 29; Edmonds, 348; Hansen, 136), not as a rule of law, but for convenience. In the Kurdish family, the husband has great authority,

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but the wife also has her word to say. Speaking of the situation of the two spouses, Mrs. Hansen (117) finds that of the woman inferior to that of the man in the humble villages, equal in the village aristocracy and the educated urban milieu, but superior in the uneducated urban milieu.

The birth of a child is always desired, even if a son is not necessarily preferred to a daughter. Also, the children are numerous but decimated by a fairly severe infant mortality. The children are always welltreated, but without excessive refinement, for life is harsh. The name is given at birth and ordinarily by the women (Nikitine, 106), but at times by the mollah (Barth, 112; Hansen, 108). This name is often that of an Islamic personage or a hero of history or national legend, or it may well be one of the virtues which one wishes to see possessed by the newborn, or the name of a flower, fruit, animal with qualities appreciated by everyone. Hypocoristic forms of the name are very widespread. Some names possess at the same time the desinence *o* of the masculine and the desinence *e* of the feminine. But curiously, the masculine forms are used to address individuals who are not noble, while the feminine forms are reserved for personages of distinguished birth (Celadet Bedir Khan, *Grammaire* 98). On names, diminutives, surnames, see Edmonds, 42.

Circumcision, *sinet*, is practised a few days after the birth, either by a specialist *sinetker* or by a simple barber (Barth, 112; Nikitine, 106). In some places, the ceremony may be carried out later, when the child is 5 or 7 years old and often with several children at the same time. The chief or notable whose son has to be circumcised organises a small festivity, and offers a meal to the families concerned (Barth, 112).

2. *Tribal organisation.*

(a) *Listings of the Kurdish tribes.*

A fundamental element of Kurdish society is without dispute the tribe. We possess at present the nomenclature of all the Kurdish tribes. In 1826 Lerch already made a good summary of the Kurds of Turkey (63-87), the Russian territories (88-9) and the Persian territories (92-121). Jaba (1860) specified some numbers of them (1-8 of the Kurdish text). A map of their habitat in Transcaucasia was published at Tiflis by E. Kondratenko (1896) and Col. Kartsov (1897). In 1908 Sir Mark Sykes recorded 305 names of Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire, and G. R. Driver (1919) drew up Sykes' list differently and added the Kurdish tribes of southern Kurdistān (ʿIrāḳ) and those which remain outside the Kurdistān foreseen after the Great War (19-74). But the different political events which have occurred since then have led to many changes in the distribution and situation of the Kurdish tribes. In the Kurdish edition of his *History of Kurdistan* (1931), M. A. Zakī draws up a complete table of all the tribes (319-98, Arabic tr. [1939], 373-468 with map). The Kurdish tribes of Syria were counted by the French services of the Levant in 1930 (5th part, 137-90), and with more care and exactitude by P. Rondot in 1939. The lists published in Kurdish in *Roja nû* of the Kurdish tribes of ʿIrāḳ (No. 66,14—January 1946) and those of Iran (No. 68,4 of February 1946) are not of much use, given the few precise figures, in particular. M. Mokri in Persian gives information on the Sandjābī tribes of Iran (1946), and A. ʿAzzāwī presented in Arabic (1947) an excellent study on the Kurdish tribes of ʿIrāḳ (27-222). A good account of the tribes and sub-tribes of ʿIrāḳ, northern Kurdistān (18-27), and southern Kurdistān (45-51), is supplied for us by H. Field in his *Anthropology of Iraq* (1953), with their numerical importance, the names of the chiefs and the habitat. But in fact, his information is earlier than that supplied by ʿAzzāwī. In Persian, the name of 490 tribes are to be found in Mardūkh (1953), i, 75-119, and a long study on the tribes of Sanandadj, ii, 10-48. Finally, in B. Karabudat there are eight sketches of the position of the Kurdish tribes and clans of Turkey in the *vilayets* of Urfa, Mardin, Diyarbakir, Siirt, Bitlis, Muṣ, Van and Hakkâri, and similarly in the border districts of Syria, ʿIrāḳ and Iran. As for the Yazīdī tribes, they were in their turn enumerated and placed by A. ʿAzzāwī in 1935 (90-110), and those of Sindjār and Djabal Akrād especially by R. Lescot (1938), 251-61). The interest of this vast table and listing is particularly to show the universality of the tribal phenomenon in the history and life of the Kurdish people. Clearly, it is not our concern to write at length on these different tribes. The fundamental work remains the *Sharaf-nāma* (1596). Much historical and ethnographical information is to be found in the different works of Soane (1912-26). Longrigg (1925), Leach (1940), Nikitine (1950), Barth (1953) and Edmonds (1957). An exhaustive study of the Yazīdī tribes, clans and villages with statistics is given us by S. Damlūdjī (1949) in his work on the Yazīdīs in Arabic (224-60).

(b) *The Kurdish tribe and its components.*

"The Kurdish tribe is a community or a collection of communities which exists for the protection of its members against an external aggression and for the maintenance of the old racial customs and way of life" (Hay, 65). It is evident that a land of mountains, such as Kurdistān, favours the birth and development of groups more or less closed and shut in on themselves, as perhaps was the tribe in its origin. Although constituted like every human grouping which is formed from a kernel like the family, it would be wrong to believe that the Kurdish tribe is an enlarged family, a little in the manner of which the Bible speaks of the Twelve Tribes of Israel (F. Millingen, 284). Indeed, some contemporary Kurdish sociologists are opposed to this way of seeing things. If the vertebral column of the Arab tribe (*ḳabīla*) is a kinship line (*nasab*), among the Kurds it is the soil (*arḍ*), i.e. the region inhabited by all and submissive to the chief of the group (Khesbak, 68; ʿAkrāwī, 18).

However, the western sociologists who have studied tribal organisation among the Kurds (Leach, 1940; Barth, 1953; W. L. E., 1956) seem to have remarked some differences among the nomads on the one hand and the sedentaries on the other. Barth also examined the political organisation of the Djaff, a powerful federation of tribes, almost entirely nomadic until very recently (34-44 and diagr. no. 3); political organisation among the Hamawend (45-9 and diagr. no. 4 and 5), where the economy is based on agricultural exploitation and where non-tribal elements are mixed with the population; and finally, the organisation and political structure of the Baban, a princely family (60-6 and diagr. no. 6). For his part, the anonymous W.L.E. (432) was able to distinguish in the rural population various types of social and economic organisation, e.g. the classical tribe under an *aghā* claiming a common origin and divided into *tira* or fractions, such as the Girdi and the tribe under a "feudal" chief of different lineage, such as the Dizai and Djaff. The influence and the social role of the landlords and religious *shaykhs*, who are not chiefs of a tribe, are another aspect of the problem (cf. Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes*, 39-47).

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Furthermore, real social classes are recognisable in Kurdish society. The most evident distinction exists between the villagers of tribal origin, *eşîr* (ʿaṯīra) and those who are not and are named after the regions and dialects, either *kurdmanč* (Kurdmandj), *goran* or *miskîn*, some of them being sometimes almost the serfs of the landlords of the village (Nikitine, 124). The last name *miskîn* should be preferred, says Edmonds (123), for the two others denote different meanings (dialect or tribe). Perhaps they are to be seen as the descendants of the autochthonous populations conquered by the warlike tribes? But even within the same tribe, there is no uniformity of rights and duties. There are the noble families, one might say, *torîn*, such as the Begzādas; and the commoners who comprise firstly a military caste, the *xulam* (ġulām) (Nikitine, 125) or *piştmala* (Barth, 42), a kind of praetorian guard of the chiefs who are recruited in all the *tira* of the tribe (Barth, 46) and who, in the past, had almost the status of slave (Nikitine, 125), and finally the class of peasants.

Perhaps one may now give the classical scheme of the organisation of a Kurdish tribe according to Rondot (*Tribus*, 18 ff.) with regard to the Omeran. At the base is the house or household or family in the strict sense of father, mother and children. A group of houses form a *bavik* or *mal*, an extended family. The union of many *baviks* constitutes the clan or *ber*. The collection of all these clans gives us the tribe or *eşîr* (ʿaṯīra). The terminology is different in Barth, who divided e.g. the Djaff ʿaṯīra into a certain number of tribes or *tira*, a political group not to be confused with the *hoz*, a group of the same lineage. The *tira* is subdivided into many *ḫel*, each *ḫel* composed of 20 to 30 tents or households united by economic links as well as by family links. At the head of the ʿaṯīra there is, or used to be, a *paṯa* of the family of Begzāda; each *tira* has at its head a *raîz* (raʾîs); and at the head of each *ḫel* an elected chief of a village, the *kiḫa*. Among the Hamawend, the chief of a *tira* is called *aġa*. For his part, Leach (13-14), distinguished the ʿaṯīra whose "name describes at the same time the people and the territory which occupies it". It is essentially descriptive of a political grouping. It is formed of one or several clans or *ṭāʾifa*, descriptive of a kinship grouping and divided into several subsections or *tira*. He also finds, he says, the normal anthropological classification: ʿaṯīra, *ṭāʾifa* and *tira*, i.e. tribe, clan and lineage. This divergence in vocabulary where Arabic and Kurdish words of different dialects are mixed together hardly favours clarity of exposition.

Let us draw attention to the system of the *oba* (cf. the *ḫel*), which is particular to the semi-nomadic tribes and which makes its appearance towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. It is a temporary association of stock-breeders from different villages, formed in the spring to lead the herds to the pastures and to return at the end of the autumn. Neither kinship nor tribal relations are necessary to be a member of the *oba*. The *ser-oba* or *oba başî* organises the transhumance on condition that he has dues appropriated in kind. There are still to be remarked the differentiations in the groups: the chief *ser-oba* and his family, the different more or less important landlords and the simple shepherds. On this organisation of the *oba*, see Ereb Şemo, *Şivanê kurd* (ed. Beirut 1947, 29), Nikitine, 149-52; Ghassemlou, 158-60. According to O. L. Vilčevsky, *Economie de la communauté agricole chez les Kurdes*, 1936, it is around the *oba* that the "class struggle" is concentrated in Kurdistān.

(c) *The chief of the tribe, his obligations, his responsibilities and his compensations.*

The chief of the tribe, whatever its importance, is ordinarily called *aġa*, a relatively recent title, at the earliest after the conquest of Baghdād by Sultan Murād IV in 1637 (Edmonds, 223). He always comes from the family of the chiefs. He normally acquires this rank by heredity, but not always. The eldest son generally takes the place of his deceased father, but not necessarily, for a younger brother, judged more able, because more competent or better-liked, can supplant his elder brother. But the choice can also be made after the election of other chiefs or clans, or even, if necessary, by violence. In some cases even, the central government can intervene and nominate the chief directly.

In the feudal age, the chief, almost autonomous in his tribe, had to supply the suzerain, sultan or shāh, with levies in the form of troops or tributes which, naturally, he levied on his dependents, whom he had besides to aid protect in time of war and danger. But this is ancient history. Today the chief has other obligations, and especially it is to him or his representative, the chief of the village, that there falls the duty of sheltering guest travellers, Kurds or foreigners, more or less numerous according to the seasons or circumstances. To collect his expenses, the chief imposes on the people of his tribe certain dues, which bear the general name of the *aġa*'s right, *axatî*, either taxes on all the revenues of the shepherd or peasant, or corvées, *herewez*, days of obligatory work, not to mention some obligatory presents, *êdanî*, in certain circumstances (marriages, feasts) and the rights of justice or fines in cash which he can exact for theft, abduction or murder, if recourse is had to his good offices and to his intervention to regulate the litigation (details of all levies due to the chief will be found in Th. Bois, *Connaissance . . .*, 36-8 or *La vie sociale*, 610-11 and notes 46 and 47 with the references). These tribal rights should not be confused with the other rights to which the Kurdish shepherds or peasants are obligated by the landlords.

3. *The economic structures.*

(a) *Kurdish nomadism.*

The nomads are essentially organised around the tribe and are devoted almost exclusively to stock-breeding in a fairly closed economy. The life of a nomad is harsh and is submissive to the heavy authority of the chief. But this way of life, both for social and economic reasons, is tending to be transformed and to disappear. On nomadism and its repercussions on the economy of Kurdistan, see J. Frölin, *Les formes de la vie pastorale en Turquie*, in *Geografiska Stockholm Annalen* (1944), 219-72; H. Christoff, *Kurden und Armenier*, Hamburg 1935; O. L. Vilčevsky, *Economie de la communauté agraire nomade kurde de la Transcaucasie et des districts environnants dans la 2e moitié du xixe s.*, in *SE* (1936), No. 4-5, 135-61; N. Bogdanova, *L'exploitation féodale des nomades*, in *Arch. Hist. Acad. Sc. URSS*, ii (1939); I. P. Petrushevsky, *Essai sur l'histoire des relations féodales en Azerbaidjan et en Arménie, du xvie au debut du xixe s.*, Leningrad 1949, 389; W. D. Hütteroth, *Bergnomaden und Yaylabauern im mittleren kurdischen Taurus*, Marburg 1959, 190; T. R. Stauffer, *The economics of nomadism in Iran*, in *MEJ* (Summer 1965), 284-302; V. Monteil, *Les tribus du Fars et la sedentarisation des nomades*, Paris-The Hague 1966. Also, X. de Planhol, *Les fondements géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1968, 442; H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Aperçu sur le problème du*

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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nomadisme au Moyen-Orient, in Documentation française, *Notes et Études*, doc. No. 2095 (3 November 1955).

Some efforts at sedentarisation were undertaken between the two World Wars, in the different states where nomadic tribes, Kurds or others, were living; but both in Turkey as well as in Iran, with Mustafa Kemal or Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī, the methods used were not always well received by the interested parties. This is the reverse of Russian policy with the tribes of the Caucasus, according to R. J. M. Goold-Adams (*Middle East journey*, London 1947, 95), who says that the Russians succeeded better than anywhere else in the Middle East. "In fact, their way of approaching the problem was economic as much as political and military ... For they offered the nomads lands, water and the advice of agricultural experts to make them capable of augmenting the harvests necessary for their subsistance." Elsewhere, sedentarisation has been effected without violence and in stages, as for the Djaff, for example (Edmonds, 146).

(b) *The Kurdish peasantry.*

The Kurdish population is essentially rural. The Kurd is thus a peasant in a rough proportion of 65 to 80%, although industrialisation is beginning to take place. If such are the facts, it is understandable that the land must play a fundamental role in the life of the peasant. The land system in force among the Kurds poses more of a problem. Until the First World War, the major part of Kurdistan was contained in the Ottoman Empire, and the land system came under the Ottoman Land Code (1858), for military fiefs had been abolished in 1839. This system existed until around 1930, in the lands (Syria, ʿIrāḳ) which were inheritors of the Ottoman Empire (Warriner, 66). This Code recognised various kinds of properties: *mulk* property, in the absolute form *raḳaba*, recognised by a title deed or *senet tapo*, or in the form of usufruct, *taṣarruf*; property of the state, *mīrī*, absolute for the state, with usufruct possible for some private individuals; properties of *wakf* or mainmorte, either *khayrī* if the beneficiaries are works of charity, such as mosques, schools or students, hospitals, or *ahlī* if the beneficiaries are minors; public properties for the use of all, *matrūka*, e.g. roads, rivers, village commons etc.; and finally dead properties, *mawāt*, desert and empty lands which all belong to the state. In Iran the *khāliṣa* crown properties must be added here (Lambton, 238-58).

The extent of these different types of property varies between the countries, and in general leaves little room for the small landowner ($^2/_3$ of the rural population in Turkey, $^1/_4$ in ʿIrāḳ). Everywhere large landownership is the rule. In ʿIrāḳ, out of 10 million hectares of arable land, 4 millions belong to the state and 6 million to private landowners. In Iran 10% of the peasants possess 8% of the land, from 1 to 3 hectares or a *cot* per household. The *cot* is both the pair of oxen used for labour and the work carried out by the peasant in one day (Ghassemlou, 128). The great landowners, i.e. the state, the chiefs of tribes, the religious *shaykhs* and the great bourgeois businessmen, lease out on short lets their immense lands at a price which renders the situation of the peasant highly precarious. Indeed, the dues are heavy. If, in Iran, the annual revenue of the great landowners reaches 5,600 dollars a head, that of the average peasant only reaches 60 dollars (Ghassemlou, 168). In ʿIrāḳ, before the Second World War, the income of the Kurdish peasant came to £ 10 a year (Khosbak). There are the dues in kind or in corvée labour (80%), in kind (15%) and for the rest (5%), which fall so heavily on the peasant. In Turkey, several systems are distinguishable: *yarıcılık*, where the peasant uses his own tools, plough and livestock and gives half of the harvest; *resimcilik*, where the amount of the rent depends on the situation and fertility of the soil, the manpower, the rentability of the cultivation and the degree of dependance of the peasant; and *murabbacılık*, where, in exchange for his work the farmer only touches $^1/_4$ of the harvest (Moiselev, 13). In Kurdish Iran, the same servitudes under different names and rather similar systems are to be found: *nimekare*, in which the landowner leases out the irrigated lands and supplies the seed, and the peasant supplies the work, with the landowner taking $^2/_3$ of the harvest and the peasant $^1/_3$; *sêykbar*, in which the landowner supplies the land, the water, the seed and the beasts of labour, and takes $^1/$ of the harvests; *sèqut*, in which the landowner supplies soil and water and receives $^2/_3$ of the harvest; and *dawudu*, in which the landowner, in return for supplying earth and seed, takes $^2/_{10}$ of the harvest (Ghassemlou, 132-8). In ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān the same problems are encountered. Thus for the summer harvests, tobacco or cotton, the landowner takes $^1/_2$ and $^1/_3$ in the case of the rice; for the winter harvests, wheat or barley, $^1/_{10}$ or $^1/_8$. In addition, there is that which is owned or levied: 7,5% for the *serkal*, the agent of the landowner, 10% for the government, and in addition, all that there is set aside for the *qahwaçi* or coffeemaker of the master, the *mudhif* or guest house, etc. (Khosbak, 48). Also, for the detribalised villages under landlords, the revenues of the soil are distributed roughly as follows: $^3/_4$ for the landowner, $^1/_4$ for his representative in the case of the landowners who do not always live on the spot but are settled in the towns, $^1/_4$ for the share-cropper or farmer, and $^1/_6$ for the agricultural worker who has neither land nor beast, but only his labour. If account is made at the end of the year, the poor Kurdish peasant is left with empty hands and overwhelmed by debts (Rossi, 86), for he is often forced to take on usurious loans in order to survive until the next harvest.

If such are the conditions of life of the Kurdish peasant, one can understand the rebellions which break out from time to time, e.g. that of the *mouroud* of the Kurd-Dagh (Syria) directed by Ibrāhīm Khalīl between 1930 and 1940 (cf. Th. Bois, *Les Kurdes*, 15-115), and the revolt of 20,000 families of Dizai, in 1954, who demanded the reduction of the tax to $^9/_{20}$th of the harvest, the suppression of forced labour, and the suppression of gifts on the occasion of feasts or marriages (Gavan, 19).

To remedy this feudalism of the land which makes the Kurdish peasant a taxable serf, subject to forced labour at pleasure, some projects of agrarian reform have been envisaged by the governments of the regions inhabited by the Kurds. In all these lands however, the feudalists, chiefs of tribes or religious *shaykhs*, privileged in the past, have been the stubborn enemies of these attempts at reform.

In Iran, since 1955, a law provides for the distribution of the lands belonging to the crown and state (Muḥammad Shāh, 205). In 1960, an agrarian law aimed at regulating the property of private lands by fixing the maximum at 400 hectares for irrigated lands and 800 hectares for non-irrigated lands. Provision was also made for rural co-operatives which, from 500 in the beginning, rose to 4,500 in 1965 and 8,000 in 1969. But above all, the Shāh proclaimed the "White Revolution" (26 January 1963), approved by referendum and which, in its

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twelve points, was among other things to lead to the abolition of feudalism and the liberation of the peasant. In Turkey, since 1938, provision has been made for the purchase of the lands of the great landowners to distribute them to the peasants, but few have benefited from it. A legal project regarding agrarian reform was promulgated on the 21 June 1945, which envisaged the distribution of the lands of the state and of landowners whose area exceeded 500 hectares, but this art. 17 was abrogated in 1950. The price had to be paid within 20 years (Mouseiev, 14). A new agrarian project began in 1961. The deplorable situation of the peasants was acknowledged, hence it was concerned with the distribution of the lands belonging to the Treasury, 8 million *dönums* (in Turkey 1 *dönum* = 1,000 m² approx.); those managed and cultivated by the state, quite extensive in the provinces of the east and south-east; those of *wakfs*, of which there still remained 1 million *dönums* to distribute; and finally the private estates, whose total area exceeded 38 million *dönums* (Vatan, 14-15). In 1965, out of 13,591,622 members of the active population, nearly ³/₄, i.e. 9,764,652 lived by agriculture (Esenkova, 116). They were also the most unprovided for (cf. M. Makal, *Bizim köy*, Fr. tr. *Un village anatolien, récit d'un instituteur paysan*, Paris 1963, Eng. tr., *A village in Anatolia*, London 1954).

In ʿIrāḳ, the agrarian policy of the royal government was originally rather favourable to the chiefs of tribes, Arabs or Kurds. In 1932, law No. 50 (Dowson) assigned landed property, pasture or arable, to the tribes, then law no. 51 (called *lazma*) assigned to the chiefs the ownership of the properties of the tribe. In 1933, Law No. 28 forbade the peasant "in debt" to leave the land of his master, unless his house was destroyed. Finally, in 1954, Decree No. 11 allowed the Minister of Justice to assign the national properties. Furthermore, e.g. in 1952-4, 1,794,560 *dönums* (in ʿIrāḳ a *dönum* = ¼ hectare) were distributed to 6,863 peasant families from the region of Sindjār, but the major part was assigned to Aḥmad al-Adjil, *shaykh* of the Shammar (Warriner, 160).

Such a situation could not continue. After 30 August 1958, the new Republic published an agrarian law which was aimed at putting an end to feudalism, to raise the social level of the peasant and develop agriculture. According to this law, the area of properties should not exceed 250 hectares in irrigated lands and 500 hectares in non-irrigated lands. The benefits of cultivation were strictly regulated. The lands thus freed had within five years to be distributed to the peasants, from 30 to 60 *dönums* of irrigated lands or from 60 to 120 *dönums* of non-irrigated lands. The landowners had to be compensated in goods from the Treasury at 3%, reimbursable in 20 years (Vernier, 398). There was euphoria among the peasants, who did not wait to help themselves, and a general outcry on the part of the landlords, and many rebellions had to be faced.

In these different lands, the Kurdish peasant was bound to benefit from these agrarian reforms. But it is not sufficient to have the land; he still had to have the means to cultivate it. The means are lacking or insufficient: seed is expensive, the agricultural equipment rudimentary and primitive, everywhere mediaeval ploughing methods are still in use, the indispensable irrigation works are expensive and the co-operatives cannot answer all needs. The Kurds of ʿIrāḳ, as Kurds, are the only ones to have their word today. Thus the D.P.K. at the time of its Seventh Congress, in November 1968, published its programme whose long article 14 presents its views on the group of projects which take account of the special needs of their region (Vanly, *Le Kurdistan irakien*, 365-6). A witness records a partition of lands at which she was present in Kurdistān in 1964, Joyce Lussu, *Anche i Kurdi conquistano il loro socialismo*, in *Rinascità Sarda*, an. ii, No. 9, 10 March 1964, 19.

These problems of the land are not posed in the same manner for the Kurds of Soviet Armenia. Indeed, the First World War was still not finished when the peasants of the Alagöz rebelled with the cry of: "We want the land. How long are we to remain slaves?" They were excited by their young compatriot who relates it himself (Ereb Şemo, *Şivanê kurd*, Beirut 1947, 62). After many struggles against the *kulaks*, the dream was realised, but perhaps not in the fashion originally envisaged. From then onwards, property has been collective and the peasants enrolled in the *kolkhoz* (cf. Aristova, *Kurdi Zakavkaz'ya*, 1966, 64). Instead of the plough and cart of the past, it is the tractor and the combine-harvester which serve to cultivate the lands of the *kolkhoz*. Hence the standard of living of the Kurdish peasant has been noticably raised. But perhaps this new life is somewhat idealised in the work (in Armenian) of Emine Evdal on the *Manners and customs of the Kurds of Transcaucasia*, 1957 (cf. Th. Bois, *La vie sociale des Kurdes*, 605-9; P. P. Mouseiev, *Le problème agraire en Turquie*, in *Sovietskoie Vostokovedenie*, 1956, No. 1 (Fr. tr. in *Doc. Franc., Articles et Documents*, No. 0.369, 14 June 1954, 8-15); Warriner, *Land reform and development in the Middle East, a study of Egypt, Syria and Iraq*, 1957, 1962; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia, a study of land tenure and land revenue administration*, London 1953, 1969; P. Rossi, *L'Irak devant la réforme agraire*, in *Orient*, vii/3 (1958), 81-93; *La réforme agraire en Irak*, in *al-Bilād*, Baghdād, 12 September 1960, Fr. tr. in Doc. Franc., *Articles et Documents*, No. 01027, 29 November 1960; *Un projet (ture) de réforme agraire*, in *Vatan*, Istanbul, of the 9 and 12 October 1960, Fr. tr. in Doc. Franc., *Articles et Documents*, No. 0.1174, 9-10; Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, *Mission for my country*, London 1961; B. Vernier, *L'Irak aujourd'hui*, 1963, ch. 19, *Structure du secteur rural*, 371-7, ch. 22, 1, *La réforme agraire*, 397-406; H. Mandras and Y. Tavernier, *Terre, paysans et politique*, Paris 196; Jaafar Khayyat, *The Iraqi village, a study in its condition and reform*, Beirut 1950 [in Arabic]; anon., *Notre question de l'Est aux yeux d'un sociologue*, in *Yön*, 3rd yr., No. 90, 18 December 1964 (in Turkish); Ismail Besikçi, *Doğu Anadolu'da geri bırakılmışlığı oluşumu* ("*The under-development of Eastern Anatolia*"), in *Ant*, No. 10, February 1971, 46-73; idem, *Doğu Anadolu'nun duzeni: sosyo-ekonomik ve etnik temeller*, ("*The situation of Eastern Anatolia: its socio-economic and ethnic causes*"); *Iran-Shahr, a survey of Iran's land, people, culture, government, economy*, Tehran Univ. Press 1963, published with the assistance of UNESCO, i, 117 pp.).

B. The religious impact.

Kurdish society, based on the land (tribe and village) and blood (family), is coloured by a religious aspect which appears often in daily life (cf. Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes*, 47-8). The central kernel of the present Kurdish habitat, to the east of the Tigris, around Lakes Van and Urmiya, as well as in the north and east of ʿIrāḳ, was contained before Islam within the Sāsānid empire (224-642) where Zoroastrianism became the state religion. But already before that, in the time of the Parthians, Christian evangelisation had encountered there some Jewish groups against pagan populations who worshipped trees, had

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a solar cult and sacrificed to the devil. Some of them were converted. The *Acts of the martyrs of Persia* (Syriac ed. Bedjan, Leipzig 1892) report that these autochthonous Christians suffered under Sapor II (309-63). But at the beginning of the 5th century the church was reorganised, bishops were installed in all the Kurdish lands (cf. P. Labourd, *Le christianisme dans l'Empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide* (224-632), Paris 1904, *passim*) and a number of monasteries were built, some of which were maintained until the invasions of Tīmūr (1336-1405); cf. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, *passim*. But the mass of the people followed the official cult, and the Kurds recognise that their ancestors could have been *madjūs* [*q.v.*] or followers of Zoroaster (Sir Mark Sykes, *The caliphs' last heritage*, 424).

The fall of the Sāsānid dynasty (642) favoured the Islamisation of the country that the Arabs had begun to invade a decade or so previously. This happened neither without a blow nor without regret. But after many combats in which they allied themselves sometimes with the Sunnīs, sometimes with the heretical Khāridjīs, the Kurds ended by rallying collectively to the new religion. Having become Muslims faithful to the *Sunna*, the Kurds follow almost in their entirety the juridical school of al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820), as the *Sharaf-nāma* already recognised (i, 14) and also Ewliyā Čelebi (iv, 75).

In the course of history, the Kurdish chiefs of the community have shown a fine religious zeal without the national factor intervening, beginning with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn or Saladin (1137-93). They immortalised their passing by building mosques, schools, hospitals or simple fountains (*Sharaf-nāma*, ed. Cairo, 96-7). Alongside these builders, an intellectual élite, *ʿulamāʾ* and *fukahāʾ*, devoted itself to the study of theology and law. Also to be noted are the famous *madrasas* of Bitlis (*Sharaf-nāma*, 455, 495), of Djazīra (*ibid.*, 171) and of Zakho (*ibid.*, 147). At Akhlāṭ, one of these scholars worked on the construction of the Observatory of Marāgha in the 7th/13th century (*ibid.*, 409). ʿAmādiyya is also a centre renowned for its masters (cf. Damloodji, *Imārat Bahdīnān*, 59-61; al-ʿAbbāsī, *Imārat Bahdīnān*). The famous university of al-Azhar in Cairo counts numerous Kurds as teachers of theology (cf. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 210). The cemetery of Eyyūb in Istanbul and that of Scutari contain the tombs of numerous Kurds who, in the Ottoman period, held the post of *Shaykh al-Islām* (cf. Th. Bois, *La religion*, 7).

But over against this official and institutionalised Islam, there has sprung up a popular Islam, often on the fringe of the authorities, civil as well as religious, and which leads a very active life. It is the world of the small folk, peasants or artisans, illiterate for the most part, a kind of secular tertiaries attached to a mystical *ṭarīḳa* and linked directly to a *shaykh* who serves them as spiritual guide, *murshid*. From the 6th/12th century onwards Ṣūfīs entered Kurdistān and prospered there (cf. Lescot, *Enquête*, 23-4). Today, the principal brotherhoods strongly implanted among the Kurds are the Ḳādiriyya, who trace their origin to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Gīlānī (1078-1166), who died at Baghdād and was a Kurd himself, and the Naḳshbandiyya, who claim attachment to Bahāʾ al-Dīn of Bukhārā (1317-89) and are quite widespread in the Islamic world, especially in India and as far as China. This *ṭarīḳa* was introduced into ʿIrāḳī Kurdistān at the end of the 19th century by Mawlānā Khālid after a journey to Dihlī. He was of the Djaff tribe, born at Kara Dağ in 1779 and dying at Damascus in 1826 (cf. Rich, *Residence*, i, 140-1, 320-1; Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 212-15; Edmonds, *Kurds*, 77-8). He was to encounter strong opposition on the part of the Ḳādirī *shaykh*s, but ended by supplanting some of them. In south Kurdistān, the disciples of the Ḳādirī order are ordinarily called *darwish* and those of the Naḳshbandīs are termed Ṣūfī (Edmonds, 63). The meetings of the brotherhood are held with the *shaykh* in his residence, *khānḳāh* or *takiyya* or simply *tekke*, a kind of monastery-hospice where the *shaykh* who keeps open table there dispenses his teaching to his *murīd*s. But in every place where a mystical *tekke* is established, in a tribe or in a village, some tensions are going to be produced almost automatically. For the *shaykh* is rich, he is the owner of numerous villages, and because of that he is opposed to the *agha* of the tribe who sees there competition with his authority; he is endowed, it is believed, with supernatural and miraculous powers and also is regarded askance by the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* who have almost no faith in him and distrust him; finally, and above all, he often has the ambition to play a political role; whence the suspicion which he meets with from the government authorities. On the other hand, the credulity of the *murīd*s is well imaginable, and their fanaticism can lead to many excesses and eccentricities. Hence from time to time some individuals with an inner light arise who claim to be their *mahdī*, or who are reformers without a mandate but preaching social revolution. Examples abound (Campanile, *Storia*, 91-3; Nikitine, *op. cit.*, 221; Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes*, 43; Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes*, 52-3; Edmonds, *Kurds*, 74-6). A recent group of Naḳshbandīs, the Nurcular, was founded by the Kurd Saʿīd Nūrsī (1870-1960) in Turkish Kurdistān (cf. *MW* [1960], 232-3, 338-41, [1961], 71-4). The hand of the *shaykh*s and their adepts, especially Naḳshbandīs, is to be found in many uprisings in Turkey and in ʿIrāḳ, with the bloody government reactions which follow, as e.g. the movement of Shaykh ʿUbayd Allāh of Nehrī (1880) and that of Shaykh Saʿīd of Pīran (1925), which brought about the closure of all the mystical *tekke*s in Turkey, and also the insurrections of Shaykh Maḥmūd of Barzindja (1919 and 1922).

The teaching of certain *shaykh*s, in order not to be revolutionary, must be heard and followed with prudence. Such is the mystical doctrine and procedures for contemplation of Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī al-Shāfiʿī al-Naḳshbandī of Arbīl (d. 1904) in his *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb*, in numerous editions (7th in 1961), cited by A. J. Arberry, *Sufism*, London 1950, 129-32, and the French translation of his mystical technique of *dhikr* by J. Gouillard, *Petite philocalie de la prière du coeur*, Paris 1953, 234-48.

But these different brotherhoods, despite all their excesses and political involvements, are always considered as integral parts of orthodox and official Islam. It is not the same with some sects who, pushing their theories to the extreme, have left Sunnī Islam, such as the Yazīdīs [*q.v.*] who, born of the ʿAdawiyya of Shaykh ʿAdī b. Musāfir (*ca.* 1073-1162), have diverted their spirituality completely from it to the point of having forgotten their origins (cf. Th. Bois, *Les Yazidis, essai historique et sociologique sur leur origine religieuse*, in *Mashriq*, lv (1961), 109-28, 191-242). Similarly, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] are really Shīʿī extremists. Dr. Mohammad Mokrī has published numerous Gurani and Persian texts concerning them, e.g. *L'ésotérisme kurde*, Paris 1966. Edmonds studies the members of the sect of the ʿIrāḳ-Iranian frontier, known by the name of Kakai, *op. cit.*, 182-201; idem, *The beliefs and practices of the Ahl-i Haqq of Iraq*, in *Iran, Journ. Brit. Inst. of Persian Studies*, vii (1969),

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80-101. Also to be encountered among the Kurds are some aberrant small groups in ʿIrāḳ, such as the Sarlī who are connected with them and, around Mawṣil, the Shabāk who are Kurdish Ḳizilbāsh, not without contact with the Bektāshīs, formerly so powerful in Turkey (Edmonds, 268-9).

Bibliography: In Nikitine, *Les Kurdes*, 228-33, is to be found an excellent account of the theories of N. Marr, *Eshče o slove Čelebi*, in *ZAP*, xx (1912), 99-151; G. R. Driver, *The religion of the Kurds*, in *BSOS* (1922), 197-215; Nikitine, *Les Kurdes et le Christianisme*, in *RHR* (1922), 147-56; idem, *Une apologie kurde du sunnisme*, in *RO*, viii (1923), ii, 116-60; idem, *Les thèmes religieux dans les textes kurdes de ma collection*, in *Actes du Cong. intern. d'histoire des religions*, Paris 1925, ii, 415-34; idem, *Les Kurdes racontées par eux-mêmes*, in *Asie française* (1925), No. 231, 148-57; P. Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes de l'Asie antérieure, Quelques aspects sociaux des populations kurdes et assyriennes*, in *BEO*, Damascus, vi (1936), 1-50; Th. Bois, *La religion des Kurdes*, in *Proche-Orient Chrétien*, Jerusalem, xi (1961), 105-38; J.-M. Fiey, *A la recherche des anciens monastères du nord de l'Irak*, in *POC*, ix (1959); idem, *Assyrie chrétienne. Contribution à l'étude de l'histoire et de la géographie ecclesiastiques et monastiques du Nord de l'Irak*, Beirut, i, ii, 1965, iii, 1969; Bois, *Monastères chrétiens et temples yezidis dans le Kurdistan irakien*, in *Mashriq*, lxi (1967), 75-102; D. N. MacKenzie, *Pseudoproto-kurtica*, in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1967), 170-3; J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971; R. Lescot, *Enquête sur les Yezidis de Syrie et du Djebel Sindjar*, Beirut 1938; C. J. Edmonds, *A pilgrimage to Lalish*, London 1967.

Religious texts in Kurdish: Cl. Huart, *La prière canonique musulmane*, in *JA* (1895), 86-109; K. A. Bedir Khan, *Dersên şerîete*, in *Kitêbxana Hawarê*, 12, Damascus 1938; idem, *Tefsîra Quranê*, sûra i-iv, v. 48, in *Hawar*, Nos. 27-57 (15 April 1941 to 15 March 1943); idem, *Hedîsên Cenabê Pêxember*, in *Hawar*, Nos. 27-47 (27 July 1942); D. N. MacKenzie, *A Kurdish creed*, in *A locust's leg, studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 162-70.

C. Customs and social traditions.

1. *Dress.*

Clothing is characteristic of man. The style of clothing changes from one country to another and varies with the social rank [see LIBĀS]. It also evolves with the times. So it is among the Kurds. Today, the costume of the Kurds tends to fall into line with Western costume, in order to conform with the law (September 1925) in Turkey, and to follow the fashions, especially the masculine ones, for the other Kurds of the towns. But all the Kurdish women and the men in the villages keep to the traditional national costume. The evolution of Kurdish clothing can be followed through the accounts of travellers and the sketches that they give us, e.g. Campanile (1810), 135-40; Rich (1820), i, 180-1, 287-9; Frazer (1834), i, 71, 85-7; or in addition Binder (1885), 172 n. 1; Soane (1912), 399-402 and Nikitine (1956), take up the descriptions of their predecessors. One must wait for the women to have detailed information on the modern dress of the Kurds. Mrs. Aristova (1965), 108-26, speaks of the Kurds of Transcaucasia and gives some photographs of the women's jewels, and Mrs. Hansen (1961) has a very long chapter (65-98) to explain to us in detail the materials and colours of different parts of the clothing, with what is specifically Kurdish, what is the consequence of Islamic customs, and what derives from Western influence, together with measurements, diagrams and numerous photographs, so that one may have an exact idea of the present national Kurdish costume, for men as well as for women. While jewels of every kind and in every material, gold, silver, precious stones, necklaces, bracelets and pendants, sparkle on the costumes of the women, the pride of the men is to be noted in their arms, cartridge pouches and damascened belts, chased daggers and lethal revolvers. The pipe and the tobacco pouch also form part of the Kurd's accoutrement.

2. *Marriage and burial customs.*

From the cradle to the grave, man is everywhere accompanied by customs or traditional rites, which vary with civilisations. Among the Kurds are to be found some customs very much alive which have been preserved from time immemorial. The choice of a fiancée, her toilette before the wedding, the price of prenuptial virginity, whose linen bloodied by the ruptured hymen will bear clear proof, the crossing of the threshold and introduction into her new household, the joys at the birth of the first baby, after a confinement which has nothing of a story about it (cf. A. Brunel, *Gulasar, contes et légendes du Kurdistan*, Paris 1946, 109-11), are the occasion of usages respected by all. It does not concern us to give a systematic and exhaustive account, but to indicate some examples, according to the various Kurdish regions. Kurds in general: Campanile, 103-5; K. A. Bedir Khan, *La femme kurde*, in *Hawar*, 19 (1933), 6-8/294-6; Tawûsparêz, *Le mariage chez les Kurdes*, in *ibid.*, 52 (1943), 12-16/764-8. Kurds of ʿIrāḳ: Barth, in *op. cit.*, 24-9/29-37; Edmonds, 225-6; Hansen, 115-38. Kurds of Iran and the Urmiya region: *ibid.*, 113-15. Kurds of Syria and the Kurd Dagh: K. Daghestani, *La famille musulmane contemporaine en Syrie*, Paris 1932, *passim*. Kurds of Azerbaidjan: Nikitine, 108-11. Kurds of Transcaucasia: E. Avdal, *op. cit.*, 22-83 (cf. Nikitine, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xlix [1960], 61-6). Kurds of the Alagöz: Ereb Şemo, *Şivanê kurd, The Kurdish shepherd*, ed. Beirut, 44-7, 114-8. Kurds of Alamut: Freya Stark, *The Valley of the Assassins*, 1946, 270-1. Yazidī Kurds: Giamil, *Monte Singar. Storia di un populo ignoto*, Rome 1900, 45-9, Isya Joseph, *Devil worship*, Boston 1919, 186-91; E. S. Drower, *Peacock angel*, London 1941, 17-25, 86; S. Damlûdjī, *al-Yazīdiyya*, Mawṣil 1949, 276-88. Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ Kurds: M. Mokri, *Le mariage chez les Kurdes*, in *L'Ethnographie* (1962), 42-68.

The funerary rites are no less varied, whether in regard to the toilette of the dead, the funeral cortège or *kotel*, the ceremonies of mourning and the tree of the deceased, *dara şîn*, or the collective meal of condolences. Descriptions of them are found for the Kurds in general: Campanile, 81-6, with a fine elegy; Nikitine, 115-8; Mukri Kurds: O. Vilčevsky, *Mukriskie Kurdi*, in *Peredneaziatskiy etnograficeskiy Sbornik*, i (1958), 214-18. Kurds of Turkey: Ahmed Mêrazî, *Bîranîyêd min* ("My memoirs"), Erivan 1966, 89-91. Yazîdî Kurds: Lescot, *op. cit.*, 154-6; Drower, 97-8, 185-6; I. Joseph, 192-3; Damlûdjī, 70-2. Children's funerals: Hansen, 139-43.

3. *Festivals and seasonal rites.*

Among the numerous festivities which punctuate periodically the life of the Kurdish people, the Islamic religious festivals are famous everywhere and so do

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not merit special mention, with perhaps an exception for the *mawlid* or festival of the birth of the Prophet. Indeed, the brother-in-law of Saladin, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbüri, governor of Arbil, is perhaps at the origin of this festival which he had celebrated with much solemnity and gaiety in 604/1207. An account of it has been given by a native of Arbil, Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), French tr. J. Sauvaget, *Historiens arabes*, Paris 1946, 118-25. On the occasion of the festival, a panegyric is read, of which numerous specimens are to be found in Kurdish. Let us cite simply the *Mewlûdnâme* of Mela Aḥmad of Batê (1425-95 ?) edited in Cairo in 905 and re-edited in Istanbul in 1919 and always used; Bîyisa Pêxember, *Life of the Prophet*, edited in Damascus, in *Kitêbxana Hawarê*, 4 (1933); Shaykh Mohammad Khâl, *Mewlûdnâme-i new-eser* ("The new account of the birth of the Prophet"), Sulaymānī 1937; idem, *Mewlûdnâme*, in *Kurdistan* (Tehran) Nos. 166 ff.; Mela Ḥasan Hartûşi, *Mewlûdnâme*, in *ibid.*, Nos. 43-134 (1960-2).

A very popular festival among the Kurds, and now official in ʿIrāḳ since the establishment of the Republic (1958), is *Novruz* (see NAWRŪZ), or the festival of the new year, i.e. in spring (21 May). It is a sort of national festival of the Kurds. Moreover, it has always been celebrated by the Yazidīs, who are supposed to have preserved many ancient traditions and who call it *Serîsal*. There is also the Festival of the New Year (cf. Lescot, *op. cit.*, 71). The festival is in any case earlier than Islam, as "myth of the eternal spring" which was always celebrated in the Iranian world (cf. G. Widengren, *Les religions de l'Iran*, Paris 1968, 58-67). It is said to have been instituted by the mythical King Djamshīd (H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, 145). Today, the official festival is accompanied by speeches, poems, dances and theatrical scenes, where the myth and struggle of the smith Kāwe against the dragon Zahhāk or Aži Dahaka is mimed, a prefiguration of the struggle of the Kurdish people for its independence. In Sulaymānī, the festivities are associated with all kinds of entertainment and masquerades with a false *amîr*. It is a real carnival (Edmonds, 84-5; Taufiq Wahbi, *The rock sculptures of Gunduk caves*, in *Sumer*, iv/2 [1948], Fr. tr. in *BCEK*, vii (1949), 1-13. Ereb Şemo cites another form of carnival: *Kose geldi, Berbang*, in *Berevok*, Erivan 1969, 61-2. It is in connection with this festival that a special cake, *samani pazan*, is baked, which, by night, ʿĀʾişha or Fāṭima will come to bless by touching it with their hands. It is eaten in the family and with friends, with the aim of having offspring (Wahbi, 11-12). In Iran, on the eve of the New Year, magical rites are mixed with the rejoicings (M. Mokri, *Les rites magiques dans les fêtes du "Dernier Mercredi de l'Année" en Iran*, in *Mélanges Massé*, Tehran 1963, 288 ff.). The girls make vows then: Thirteen at the door, New Year. Husband in the house, baby in the lap (Massé, *op. cit.*, 159). Abroad, the Kurdish students celebrate this national festival with gaiety (Deichî Delair, *Nawroz and the legend of Kawa*, in *The Kurdish Journal*, U.S.A., ii/1 [March 1965], 3-5). Let us note further in *Kurdistan*, London, organ of the K.S.S.E., Nos. 7/8 (1961), the poem *The festival of Newroz* of Salih Karadaghi, 32.

Other seasonal festivals are celebrated above all by the shepherds on the occasion which concerns them particularly: the first lambing, *serapez*; the departure for the *zozan* or summer pasturage, *berodan*; the shearing of the sheep, *berxbir*; and above all the releasing of the rams, *beran berdan*. Ereb Şemo, *ibid.*, 58, has described these entertainments with many picturesque and lively details. Stig Wikander believed that he had discovered in this last festival reminiscences of ancient myths (*Ein Fest bei der Kurden und im Avesta*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, ix [1960], Uppsala 1961, 7-10. The peasants also have their traditions. At the time of the harvest, the first sheaf reaped is offered to the stranger who passes by (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 51), and the gathering of the mulberries is the occasion of a festival with a special dance, *gzîdan*, the sweeping, which consists of sweeping the soil under the trees before the children climb them to shake them so as to allow the women to gather the berries (Edmonds, 170, n. 1).

Although it does not really concern us here as a festival properly so-called, let us indicate some more or less superstitious practices which relate to the cycle of nature and whose origins stretch back without doubt into remote antiquity. If activities to make the rain stop are mentioned only rarely (cf. Nikitine, *Une apologie kurde*, 16), by contrast T. Wahby, *op. cit.*, 7-9, counts no less than nine different rites, more or less laughable and doubtless efficacious, to combat drought and obtain rain. If the prayer *noja berana* does not suffice, a dervish is to be thrown into a water tank or women are to harness themselves to a plough and till the river. Still other singular acts are to be performed in order to have one's prayers finally answered (cf. S. Reinach, *Charme pour obtenir la pluie (en Kurdistan)*, in *L'Anthropologie*, xvii [1906], 633).

4. *Dances and music.*

The Kurd sings always and everywhere. All the family festivals, birth, circumcision, and especially marriage, are accompanied by dances and songs, and equally the tribal or peasant gatherings and some religious ceremonies. The name of the dances varies according to whether it designates the region or the tribe where it is danced, e.g. Botanî, Serhedî, Şêxanî, or according to the different figures which distinguish them, *sêgavî*, *giranî*, *royne*, or the rounds *govend* and *çopî*. The students have a special dance *bêlîte* or *bêlûte*, of which Tawûsparêz has given us some examples and has described the rhythm (*La vie universitaire au Kurdistan*, in *Hawar*, No. 53 [15 March 1943], 772-6). The old or more recent travellers admired the particularities of these Kurdish dances (e.g. F. Millingen, *Wild life*, 378-9, or Edmonds, *Kurds*, 84; Drower, *Peacock angel*, 130-4; Bois, *Connaissance*, 61-2, cites the name of twenty dances). Let us note that these folkloric dances are mixed, which distinguished the Kurds from the other neighbouring Muslim peoples.

Kurdish music, inseparable from the dances and songs, is part of what it is convenient to call oriental music, but it cannot be confused either with Arabic music or with Armenian or Turkish music at all, although it has had an influence at times on the songs of the neighbouring countries, such as Iran or Mesopotamia (cf. S. Jargy, *Chant populaire et musique savante au Proche Orient arabe*, in *Orient*, vi/2 [1958], 108-9). Kurdish music today is not learned, but popular, and knows neither harmony nor polyphony. Its melodies, as numerous as varied, preserve a serious, pathetic, quite often melancholy character, as a consequence quite astounding among this warlike people (cf. Dulaurier, *Chants opulaires de l'Arménie*, in *Rev. des deux Mondes*, 10 April 1852, 224-55). Western travellers have not failed to draw attention to the originality of this music. Some have felt the attraction and very palpable charm of these chants; others, on the contrary, e.g. Mrs. Hansen, 129-9, have found this music "flat and false" with its 17 tones. It was an Armenian priest, Vartabed Comitas (1869-

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1935) who was the first to gather and note down some popular Kurdish songs (*Quelques spécimens des mélodies kurdes*, in *Recueil d'Emine*, Moscow 1904, and re-edited in Erivan in 1959). In Erivan precisely, the Malikian School of Music is formed of young Kurds who study the traditional songs with the old *dengbēj* or troubadours. Thus Nura Cewarī noted 33 *Chansons de danse kurdes*, 1960, gathered at Tiflis. For her part, Cemīla Celīl has published two annotated collections of *Chants populaires kurdes*. The first, at Erivan (1964), gives the Kurdish text and the musical annotation of 75 pieces; the second, at Moscow in 1965, apart from the Kurdish text, gives the musical notation and Russian translation of 100 varied songs. In ʿIrāḳ, since 1958, a society of Kurdish music has been organised with a view to preserving, standardising and developing in Kurdish music (cf. B. A. Ali, *An approach to Kurdish music*, in *Kurdistan*, K.S.S.E., 1 March 1958), 3-6; S. S. Gavan, *Divided nation*, London 1958, 15). But Europeans too are interested in Kurdish music (cf. Dr. D. Christensen, *Tanzlieder der Hakkari-Kurden. Eine materialkritisch Studie*, in *Jahrbuch für musikalische Volks- und Völker-Künde*, Berlin i [1963], 11-47). This is a very serious study of the dance, instrumental and vocal music of Hakkâri, whose melodies the author analyses and whose style and rhythms he studies scientifically. See also Edith Gerson-Kiwi, *The Music of Kurdistan Jews. A synopsis of their musical styles*, in *Yuval, Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre*, ii, Jerusalem 1971.

The Islamic religion does not authorise music at all in its liturgy, and music has taken refuge in the rites of the different *ṭarīḳas* where its use probably dates from the foundation of these groups (cf. Trimingham, *op. cit.*, 195, 196 and *passim*; M. Mokri, *Le Soufisme et la musique*, in *Encycl. de la Musique*, Paris 1961, 1014-15). From there, music has passed without any problems into the aberrant sects of the Yazīdīs, into their processions and their gatherings for *samāʿ* or religious recital. Three religious songs of the Yazīdīs had already been noted by H. Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon*, 1853, 507, Nos. 667-9. Similarly, E. S. Drower (*op. cit.*, 118-19), recorded the rhythm of the drums in the course of a ceremony. As for the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, Mohammed Mokri enlightens us on their musical customs in his article on *La musique sacrée des Kurdes "Fidèles de Vérité" en Iran*, in *Encycl. des musiques sacrées*, Paris 1968, 444-55.

Musical instruments among the Kurds are often manufactured by artisans. The most usual are, among wind instruments, the pipe, *bilûr*, which every shepherd carries in his bag, the *zorna*, a kind of clarinet or oboe which has a place in all the dances, and the *duzale*, a flute with two pipes of reed or bird bone, pierced with holes and whose mouthpiece has a kind of vibratory tongue. The sound resembles that of the Scottish bagpipes. The percussion instruments include the *dahol* or bass drum which is beaten on both sides, the *tepil*, a narrow drum, a kind of kettledrum in pottery covered with a skin which is beaten with the fingers; and the cymbals, *xelîle*, are sometimes used by the Yazīdīs in their religious ceremonies. Among the stringed instruments, there are the *ribāb* or monochord viol, the *keman* or *kemanca*, violin, and especially the *tenbûr*, the lute, whose player plucks the strings in the sacred and heroic songs. The nomenclature of all these instruments varies with the regions. A description of some clumsy impressions of musical instruments is found in *Serincîk le derwaze-i folklor-i kurdiwe*, Notes for an introduction to Kurdish folklore, Hewlēl/Erbil n.d., 36-7.

5. *Games, sports and hunting.*

On the occasion of seasonal or other festivals, travellers have remarked among the Kurds the practice of certain popular games or sports, always in use. It is not possible to recount them all. Among the indoor games, cards, *iskenbil*, can be cited among the most frequent, especially among the townspeople; backgammon, *nard*; and above all chess, *şetrenc*, the noble game par excellence. Among the outdoor games are the *cerîd* or horseback fantasia; the ball game *çowgan*; a kind of hockey; and many games of pursuit or throwing, not to mention some modern sports like football and basketball and some games reserved for children. Worth noting are the fights of rams, buffaloes or partridges. Much information is to be found in Tawûsparêz, *Les jeux kurdes*, in *Hawar*, 42 (15 April 1942), 654-6; Kurdî we Mêrîwanî, *Kitâb-i Yarî*, Baghdād 1932, 32; M. Mokri, *Bazîhâ-ye Kordî: Khurmâyla*, in *Yaghmā*, 2nd year, Tehran 1331/1951; *Bazîha-ye Kordestân*, in *Tamaddon*, 2nd ser. 7, 317-20, Tehran 1332/1952. In his *Kurdish dialect studies*, i, Oxford 1961, 147, 218, D. N. MacKenzie gives the name of several Kurdish games; Bois, *La vie sociale*, 32-3/628-9 and notes 136-41.

The abundance of game in Kurdistān, furred and feathered, already mentioned above, is at the origin of the Kurd's passion for hunting. The best way of learning about this national sport is to read the two articles of Osman Sabrī, who explains in them the methods employed with the art of an experienced hunter. *Nêçîr* ("Hunting") in *Ronahî*, 17 (1 August 1943, 317-23, 18 (1 Sept. 1943), 347-50. The bear is hunted in three ways (317), also the hyena (317), the ibex (318), the fox (319) and the hare (319). There are five ways of hunting the partridge, with the spear, the decoy, the rifle or the running noose, depending on whether one wishes to capture it alive or to kill it (320). Game can also be hunted with the help of birds, sparrow-hawks or falcons of three different kinds and at a more or less expensive cost (321-2). The way in which these birds are trained is also indicated (347-8). O. Sabrî very much appreciates hunting the hare with the help of a hound, of which there are several kinds (348-9). The author does not forget fishing (319), which may be done with the net, hook or harpoon. Hamilton devotes a whole chapter to the hunting of the ibex, so picturesque and so difficult (*op. cit.*, 165-73). There are also to be found patterns of different bird-calls or whistles, traps, nets, running nooses or snares used for certain forms of hunting, in *Serincîk*, *op. cit.*, 99-102.

Bibliography: General works on sociology and ethnography: B. Nikitine, *Quelques observations sur les Kurdes*, in *Mercure de France*, clv (1921), 662-74; idem, *Les valis d'Ardalan*, in *RMM*, xlix (1922), 70-104; idem, *La vie domestique kurde*, in *Rev. d'ethnologie et traditions populaires* (1923), 334-44; idem, *La féodalité kurde*, in *RMM*, lx (1925), 1-20; K. Daghestani, *La famille musulmane contemporaine en Syrie*, Paris 1932; P. Rondot, *Les tribus montagnardes de l'Asie antérieure. Quelques aspects sociaux des populations kurdes et assyriennes*, in *BEO*, vi (1936), 1-50 + vi Pls.; ʿA. al-ʿAzzāwī, *ʿAshâ'ir al-ʿIrāḳ*, Baghdād 1937-43; E. R. Leach, *Social and economic organization of the Rowanduz Kurds*, London 1940; E. Avdal, *Kurdish woman* [in Armenian], Erivan 1946; idem, *Običai krovno mesi u Kurdov Zakavkaz'ya* ("The custom of the vendetta among the Kurds in Transcaucasia"),

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Erivan 1953; Fr. Barth, *Principles of social organization in southern Kurdistan*, in *Univ. ethgr. Mus. Bull.*, vii, Oslo 1953; W. L. E., *Iraqi Kurdistan, a little-known region*, in *The World today*, October 1956, 417-32; C. J. Edmonds, *The Kurds of Iraq*, in *MEJ*, xi (Winter 1957), 52-62; Nikitine, *L'état social des Kurdes et du Kurdistan, d'après les publications russes récentes*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xlvi/2 (1959), 49-55; L. N. Kotlov, *Le soulèvement de libération nationale de 1920 en Iraq*; O. L. Vilčevsky, *Les Kurdes Moukri*; T. F. Aristova, *Aperçu de la culture et du mode de vie des paysans kurdes de l'Iran*; cf. also A. N. al-Saadi, *The Kurds in Iran*, in *Kurdistan*, KSSE, iv (April 1959), 11-14; Nikitine, *La structure sociale des Kurdes de Transcaucasie*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xlix/1 (1960), 61-6 (i.e. E. Avdal, *Way of life of the Kurds of Transcaucasia*); Sh. Khosbak, *al-Kurd wa 'l-mas'ala al-kurdiyya*, Baghdād; N. Erdentung, *A study on the social structure of a Turkish village*, Ankara 1959; Dina Feitelson, *Aspects of the social life of Kurdish Jews*, in *The Jewish Journal of Sociology*, i/2 (Dec. 1959), 201-16; H. H. Hansen, *Daughters of Allah among Moslem women in Kurdistan*, London 1950; idem, *The Kurdish women's life, field research in a Muslim society, Iraq*, Copenhagen 1961; Barho Karabuda, *Uster om Eufrat, i Kurdensland*, Stockholm 1960; Mokri, *Le foyer kurde*, in *L'Ethnographie* (1961), 79-95; Th. Bois, *La vie sociale des Kurdes*, in *Mashriq*, lvi (1962), 599-661; P. Gache, *Les Kurdes*, in *Rev. de Psychol. des Peuples*, 1962/1, 23-57, 2, 191-220; Maḥmūd Bāyazīdī, *Nravï i običai Kurdov*, *ʿĀdāt u rusūmātnāma-yi Akrādiyya*, Russian tr. and Kurdish text by Mrs. Rudenko, Moscow 1966; ʿAkrāwī, *Fondements psychologiques et sociologiques des tribus kurdes*, Kirkūk 1971.

(Th. Bois)

v. — Language

The many forms of speech known to outsiders as Kurdish do not constitute a single, unified language. Instead it can be said that the various Kurdish dialects, which are clearly interrelated and at the same time distinguishable from neighbouring but more distantly related Western Iranian languages, fall into three main groups. The differences between dialects are generally proportional to their distance apart and beyond a certain distance certainly make them mutually unintelligible. The Northern group of dialects comprises all those spoken in the Turkish republic, the Armenian and Azerbaidjan S.S.Rs, the Mawṣil *liwā'* of ʿIrāḳ (Bahdīnān [*q.v.*]), and some areas bordering on these, together with those of Kurdish colonies in Khurāsān and the Turkmen S.S.R. All these dialects are known as *Kurmānd̲j̲ī* (*Kirmānd̲j̲ī*), as the speakers all call themselves Kurmānd̲j. Within the group a sub-division into Eastern and Western Kurmānd̲j̲ī can be made, from each of which a literary language has emerged. The Central group is made up of the dialects spoken in the Arbīl, Sulaymāniyya and Kirkūk *liwā*'s of ʿIrāḳ and the neighbouring districts of Persian Kurdistān, Mahābād (Sāwd̲j̲ Bulāḳ) and Sanadad̲j̲ (Sinna), These dialects are generally called *Kurdī*, but are also now known collectively as *Sōrānī*, from the name of the former principality of Sōrān. The dialects of Sulaymāniyya and Sanandad̲j̲, especially, have gained pre-eminence as literary languages. The remaining Kurdish dialects, a heterogeneous group spoken in the areas south and east of Sōrānī, of which Kirmānsh̲āhī is probably the most important, may be classed together as a Southern group. Some of these dialects, e.g. Lakkī, appear to merge with the neighbouring non-Kurdish dialects of Lurī. Between the Central and Southern groups of Kurdish an island of non-Kurdish speech, with mixed dialects on its shores, is formed by the area occupied by the Gūrān [*q.v.*]. Other Kurdish dialects are spoken by isolated colonies of Kurds scattered throughout Iran.

Northern Kurdish is more archaic than the other dialects in both its phonetic and morphological structure, and it may be inferred that the greater development of the Central and Southern dialects has been caused by their closer contact with other (Iranian) languages, or, indeed, their absorption of such a substrate. On the other hand, Northern Kurdish appears to have been somewhat more open to the penetration of Arabic and especially Turkish loanwords. Traditionally Kurdish has been written in various modifications of the Arabic script and still is so written in ʿIrāḳ and Iran. The Armenian script has also been used on occasion, and in recent years alphabets based on both the Latin and Cyrillic scripts have been devised, especially for Northern Kurdish.

The common "Iranian" phonemic inventory of Northern Kurdish is: *a i u, ā ē ī ō ū, p t č k, b d ǰ (d̲j̲) g, f s š (s̲h̲) x (k̲h̲), v z ž (z̲h̲) γ (g̲h̲), m n l r* (flapped) *r̄* (rolled), *h w y*, to which most dialects add the "Arabic" phonemes *q* (*ḳ*), *ḥ*, *ʿ*, and emphatic *ṭ, ṣ, ẓ*. In the north-east, probably under Caucasian (Armenian) influence, a further distinction between aspirated phonemes *pʿ*, *tʿ*, (*čʿ*), *kʿ* and unaspirated *p, t*, (*č*), *k* is found. In a large part of the Kurmānd̲j̲ī area *o, ū* are replaced by *u, ü* respectively. In Central and Southern Kurdish the distinction between *v* and *w* is lost, in favour of *w*. A new distinction is made, however, between palatal *l* and velarised *ł* (though this coincides with *r* in Arbīl), and *y* has acquired phonemic status in Sulaymāniyya and other more southerly dialects. In general, Kurdish is marked by a greater degree of phonetic development than Persian, notably of postvocalic stops to fricatives, e.g. *āv/w* "water", P(ersian) *āb*; *šav/w* "night", P *šab*. Many post-vocalic consonants, especially dentals, have been lost, e.g. *birā* "brother", P *birādar*; *dān, dāin* "to give", P *dādan*; *sipī* "white", P *safīd*; *sa* "dog", P *sag*; *čiyā* "mountain", P *čakād*. The development of the ending of the past participles of verbs is noteworthy, e.g. North. *mirī*, Cent. *mirdū*, South. *mirdig* "dead", cf. Cent. *zīndū, zīyū*, South. *zīnig* "alive", P. *zinda*.

There is no single early historical sound change which characterises Kurdish, but a combination of two later changes and one conservative feature serves to identify a dialect as Kurdish, viz. (i) *-m-, -šm-, -xm-* > *-v-* (*-w-*), e.g. *nāv/w* "name", P *nām*; *čāv/w* "eye", P *časm*; *tov/w* "seed", P *tuxm*; (ii) Iranian initial *x-* > *k-*, e.g. *kar* "donkey", P *xar*; *kānī* "spring, source", P *xānī*; *kirīn* "to buy", P *xarīdan*; (iii) Ir *čy-* > *č-* (other West. Ir. > *s-*), e.g. *čūn* "to go", P *šudan*. Kurdish shares many phonetic developments with non-Persian dialects, e.g. *z*:*d*, *zān-* "know": P *dān-*; *s*:*h*, *āsik* "deer": P *āhū*; *ž*:*z*, *žin* "woman": P *zan*; *ǰož* "day": P *rūz*, but others with Persian, *e.g.*, *y-* > *ǰ-*, *ǰo*, P *Jaw* "barley"; *hw-* > *xw-*, *xwa, xo*, P *xwad, xud* "self"; *-rd-* > *-l-* (*-ł-*), *pālew-*, P *pālāy-* "to filter". Taken in conjunction with a number of characteristic lexical items, these isoglosses show proto-Kurdish to have been a close, if not the closest, neighbour of Persian. There is no sound evidence to suggest a Median origin for Kurdish, though it has been suggested that the name Kur-

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māndj may combine Kurd with a form from *Māda* "Median".

Old morphological features preserved in North. Kurd. are a distinction of case (nominative and oblique) and gender (masculine and feminine) in nouns and pronouns and the "agential" construction of the past tenses of transitive verbs, e.g. *az hātim* "I came", but *min xawnak dīt* "I saw a dream (lit., of me ... seen)". Both case and gender have been lost in South. Kurd. and in the literary forms of Central Kurdish. In these dialects the pronominal suffixes, absent from North. Kurd., have largely taken over the functions of the cases, cf. *min hātim* "I came", *xawēk-im dī* "I saw a dream". In some Central dialects, at least, the agential construction has developed in a remarkable way, with the verbal stem sometimes taking two personal endings, one representing a person only indirectly affected, e.g. *xawim pēwa dīw-īt* "I have seen a dream about thee (*-īt*, lit. "art")", and even the agential suffix as well, *dā-m-ī-n-ē* "he (*-ī*)" gave me (*-m*, lit. "am") to (*-ē*) you (*-n*, lit. "are"). Note the 3rd person pronominal *-ī*, plural *-yān*, in contrast to Persian *-š*. All dialects have an indefinite suffix, North. *-ak*, Cent., South *-ēk*, but only Central and Southern share (with Gūrānī) the definite suffix *-akā*. In all dialects the *iḍāfa* [*q.v.*, ii], appearing in various forms, plays a considerable rôle both as relative pronoun and simple connective particle, e.g. North. *xawnak-a xwaš*, Cent. *xawēk-ī xōš* "a pleasant dream", North. *xawn-ā min dīt*, Cent. *xawaka-y dī-m* "the dream which I saw". In the north-east, the *iḍāfa* construction of both Northern and Central dialects has been contaminated, especially in the plural, by a particle *da*, *-d*, *-t*, probably of Aramaic origin, e.g. Cent. (Mukrī) *pyāw-ī da pāšā* "the king's men", North. *kuř-et xwa* (= *kuřē di xwa*) "his sons". (This is not, however, a "*t*-plural" comparable with those of Eastern Iranian, Ossetic, Sogdian, etc.). Central and Southern Kurdish, unlike Northern dialects, have developed a secondary passive conjugation of the verb, formed from the active present stem, e.g. *kuštin*, *kuž-* "to kill", Cent. *kužrān*, *kužre-*, South. *kužyān*, *kužye-* "be killed".

Bibliography: A comprehensive list of all studies and monographs on Kurdish to 1926 is given in Minorsky's (otherwise outdated) article on "Kurdish Language", in *EI*[1], ii, 1153 f. This is supplemented by a select bibliography in D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies I*, London 1961. Fuller, but uncritical, lists of relevant publications appear in Ž. S. Musaélyan, *Bibliografiya po Kurdovedeniya*, Moscow 1963, and S. van Rooy and K. Tamboer, *ISK*'s *Kurdish bibliography*, Amsterdam 1968 ff. The following are most readily available: (1) *History*. D. N. MacKenzie, *The origins of Kurdish*, in *TPhS* (1961), 68-86. (2) *Grammars, dialect studies*. D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies*. i; K. Kurdoev, *Grammatika kurdskogo yazíka* (*Kurmandźi*), Moscow-Leningrad 1957; Dj. Bedir Khan and R. Lescot, *Grammaire kurde* (*dialecte kurmandji*), Paris 1970; Č. Kh. Bakaev, *Govor Kurdov Turkmenii*, Moscow 1962; idem, *Yazík Azerbaydžanskikh Kurdov*, Moscow 1965. (3) *Dictionaries*. A. Jaba and F. Justi, *Dictionnaire kurde-français*, St. Petersburg 1879; Č. Kh. Bakaev, *Kurdsko-Russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1957; T. Wahby and C. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish-English dictionary*, Oxford 1966.

(D. N. MacKenzie)

vi. — Folklore and Literature

A. Popular and folk literature.

As among all peoples whose scholarly instruction is little developed, the oral literature of the Kurds is superabundant and very rich; Prof. O. Vilčevsky was able to speak of the "hypertrophy" of their folklore. A mass of documents has also been collected and published by foreign orientalists: A. Jaba, *Recueil et notices et récits kurdes*, St. Petersburg 1860; E. Prym and A. Socin, *Kurdische Sammlungen*, St. Petersburg 1890; O. Mann, *Kurdische u. Persische Forschungen. iv. Die Mundart der Mukri*, Berlin, i, 1906, ii, 1909; H. Makas, *Kurdische Texte* (Mardin), Leningrad 1926; B. Nikitine, *Kurdish stories from my collection*, in *BSOS*, iv (1926), 121-38; idem, *Quelques fables kurdes d'animaux*, in *Folklore*, xl, (1929), 228-44; E. Lescot, *Textes kurdes*, i, Paris 1940, ii, Beirut 1942; Th. Bois, *L'âme des Kurdes à la lumière de leur folklore*, in *Cahiers de l'Est*, Beirut, Nos. 5 and 6 (1946); S. Wikander, *Recueil de textes kurmandji*, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1959; D. N. MacKenzie, *Kurdish dialect studies*, London 1961-2. Kurds themselves, since the end of the First World War, have gone about collecting their treasures of folklore from the old folk or the decreasingly numerous professional storytellers and singers. Firstly, the Bedir Khān *amīrs* from 1932 to 1946 in their reviews *Hawar*, *Ronahî*, and *Roja nû*; H. Cindî and E. Evdal, *Folklora kurmança*, Erivan 1936; Cindî, *Folklora kōrmancî*, Erivan 1957; and there is a comprehensive survey in I. M. Resul, *Edeb-i folklor-i kurdî*. Lêkolînewe, Baghdād 1970 (cf. Th. Bois, *Connaissance*, 117-25).

This folkloric richness is found, firstly, in the proverbs, popular sayings, enigmas or riddles. The Kurd likes to embroider his conversation with rhymed and rhythmic sentences which denote a real sense of observation. Proverbs also supply a racy summary of practical wisdom. Thousands of them have been published: E. Noel, *The character of the Kurds as illustrated by their proverbs and popular sayings*, in *BSOS*, iv (1921), 79-80; D. P. Margueritte and Emir K. Bedir Khan, *Proverbes kurdes*, Paris 1938; Lescot, *Proverbes et énigmes kurdes*, in *REI*, iv (1937), 307-50, reprinted and added to in *Textes kurdes*, i, 189-237; Prampolini, *Proverbi kurdi*, Milan 1963; MacKenzie, *Some Kurdish proverbs*, in *Iran*, *JBIPS*, viii (1970), 105-13; Ismail Heqî Şaweys, *Oise-i pêşînan*, Baghdād 1933; Marûf Çiyawok, *Hezar bêj û pend*, Baghdād 1930; Cegerxwîn, *Gotina pêçîna*, Damascus 1957; M. Xal, *Pend-i pêşînan*, Baghdād 1957; Djamîl Kenna, *Amthāl kurdiyya*, Aleppo 1957; O. Celîl, *Mesela û met'elokê cima'ta k'ōrda*, Erivan 1969-71, 2 vols.; O. Celîl and C. Celîl, *Kurdskie poslovíčí i pogovorki*, Moscow 1972; J. Nebez, *Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Kurdistan*, Munich 1970. There are numerous proverbs and sayings cited in Cindî, *Folklor*, 1957, 249-81, and in the grammars of Jardine and Beidar, as well as in the dictionary of Mardukh, ii, 1-86.

The songs are infinite in number and variety: dance songs, *dîlok*, songs of love, *lawik*, or war, *şer* or *delal*; songs which accompany the transhumance in the spring, *serêle*, or in the autumn, *pahîzok*; lullabies, *lorî*; epithalamia, *hevalê* or *serêzavano*; also songs of mourning, *şîn* or *qewil*, punctuate the daily life of the Kurds from the cradle to the grave and throughout their days of hard labour. The reviews *Hawar*, *Ronahî* and *Roja nû* have published hundreds of them, as have Cindî and Evdal, *Folklor*, 342-474; Cindî, *Folklora kōrmancî*, 189-248; see also Rondot, *Trois*

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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chansons kurdes, in *Cahiers du Sud*, No. 274 (1945), 817-24; Nikitine, *La poésie lyrique kurde*, in *Ethnographie*, xlv (1945-50), 39-53; Mokrī, *Gūrānī yā taranahā-yi kurdī*, Tehran 1951; G. Chaliand, *Poésie populaire des Turcs et des Kurdes*, Paris 1961; Cindī, *K'lamēd cmae'ta K'ōrdaye Irīkte*, Erivan 1972. Furthermore, see the collections with musical notation mentioned earlier.

Stories and anecdotes (*çîrok*) abound and are full of imagination. The stories of marvels allow one to forget the worries of life; the anecdotes are replete with humour; the satirical stories do not hesitate to criticise the faults of individuals, rival tribes, religious leaders, in the spirit of the fables of the Middle Ages. Above all, the Kurds are fond of animal stories which always contain a spiritual moral. M. Duiresne, in *Un conte kurde de la région de Sō'ōrt*, in *JA* (1910), 107-17; Nikitine and Soane, *The tale of Suto and Tato*, in *BSOS*, iii (1923), 69-106; Nikitine, *Kurdish stories*, in *ibid.* (1926), 121-38; Lescot, *Textes*, i, 2-185; Cindī and Evdal, *Folklor*, 1936, 579-651; Cindī, *Folklor*, 1957, 161-88; M. Khaznadar, *Aleman kurdi and other Kurdish short stories*, Baghdād 1969; A. Brunel, *Gulasar, contes et légendes du Kurdistan*, Paris 1946; Joyce Blau, *Trois textes de folklore kurde*, in *Études*, Brussels, vii (1965), 29-50; J. Nebez, *Kurdische Märchen und Volkerzählungen*, NUKSE, 1972.

Alongside these minor genres, the numerous much longer legends constitute choice morsels of Kurdish folklore. They can be classified in different categories which, however, are often combined. Some legends basically concern the supernatural, such as *Mamê Alan* (Lescot, *Textes*, ii, 2-369) or Sêvahcê or Hozbek; others are a purely idyllic form, such as *Zelixa û Fatûl*, *Layla û Mejnûn*, *Siyabend û Xacê*, *Zambilfiroş*, "the basket-seller", *Xurşid û Xawer*, *Şîrîn û Xoşnew*, *Şîrîn û Ferhad*, *Faxîr û Sitiye*, *Manica û Bîjan*; finally, the epics with an historical plot, such as *Dimdim*, *Julindî*, the adventures of Rustem with Zoraw, Cihangir or Zendeheng and more recently the exploits of Nadir and Topal, the Twelve Cavaliers of Meriwan, Abdul Rehman Baban or Ezdînşêr Bedir-Xan. These accounts were the glory of the *dengbêj* or professional troubadours, whose class is on the point of disappearing. All these texts can be read in the collection of Mann, Socin, Cindī etc., and also Bois, *Poètes et troubadours au pays des Soviets*, in *al-Machriq*, liii (1959), 266-99; various authors, *Kurdskie épičeskie pesni skazî*, texts and trs. Moscow 1962; V. Minorsky, *The Gūrān*, in *BSOS*, xi (1943), 75-103; O. Dž. Džalilov, *Kurdskiy geroičeskiy épos "Zlatorukiykhan...*, Moscow 1967; O. F. Qazi, *Mehr-o-Vafa*, Tabrīz 1966; A. Ayyubian, *Çirîke kurde*, Tabrīz 1961; idem, *Çirîke Xec û Siyamend*, Tabrīz 1956; Piremerd, *Diwanzde siwarê Meriwan*, Sulaymānī 1935; Gew Mukriani, *Zembîlfiroş*, Hewlêr 1967; Mokri, *La légende de Bîzan-û Manîja*, Paris 1966; idem, *Le chasseur de Dieu et le mythe du Roi-Aigle*, Wiesbaden 1967; K. A. Bedir-Khan and A. de Falgairolle, *Le Roi du Kurdistan. Roman épique kurde*, Gap, n.d.; K. A. Bedir-Khan and Herbert Oertel, *Der Adler von Kurdistan*, Potsdam 1937; Cegerxwîn, *Serpêhatiya Resiwê Darî*, Damascus 1956; J. Blau, *Le kurde de ʿAmādiya et du Djabal Sindjār*, thèse de doctorat du 3e cycle, Paris 1973.

B. Written and learned literature.

Alongside the mass of illiterate people, there has always been among the Kurds a highly cultivated intellectual élite. The fact was already mentioned by the Kurd Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) in his *Kāmil* (ix, 7-8) and taken up many times in the *Sharaf-nāma* and also by other witnesses, such as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (1658) (cf. Adnan Adıvar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939, 92, 106), or the traveller Ewliyā Čelebi in his travel account (1682), who was justly ecstatic when confronted with the so well-stocked library of Abdāl Khān, the lord of Bitlis, cf. A. Sakisian, *Abdal Khan, seigneur kurde de Bitlis au XVII^e siècle et ses trésors*, in *JA*, ccxxix (1957), 253-76. Unfortunately, these men of letters preferred to write their scientific works either in Arabic, the language of the Ḳur'ān, if the works were concerned to deal with law, theology or history, as did Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), author of biographical notices of famous men, or Abu 'l-Fidā (672-732/1273-1331), historian and geographer; or else in Persian, as did Sharīf Khān Bidlīsī (*q.v.*) himself in his *History of the Kurds* or *Sharaf-nāma* (1005/1596-7), as also Idrīs Ḥakīm of Bitlis (d. 926/1520), who wrote the first history of the Ottoman Empire, *Hasht bihisht*, "The eight paradises" [see BIDLĪSĪ, IDRĪS]. The great poet in the Turkish language Fuḍūlī (d. 963/1556) [*q.v.*] was a Kurd, as was the modern sociologist Ḍiyā' Gök Alp (cf. J. Deny, in *RMM*, lxi [1925], 3). Even today, many poets in the Arabic language—al-Zahāwī (1863-1936), Aḥmad Shawḳī, the prince of poets (1868-1932), al-Ruṣāfī (1875-1945), the sociologist Ḳāsim Amīn (1865-1908), the novelists al-ʿAḳḳād (1889-1964), Muḥammad Taymūr (1892-1921) and his brother Maḥmūd (born in 1894)—are all of Kurdish origin. The following historians who write in Persian, such as Muḥammad Mardūkh Kurdistānī, Rashīd Yāsimī and Iḥsān Nūrī, or those who write in Turkish, such as M. N. Dersimli and A. Yamulki, are all Kurds. If the old writers knew and composed in all the great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, rather than their mother tongue Kurdish, the young authors of today use the European languages, English, French, German and even Russian, especially in Armenia, where they further add Armenian. Indeed, the Kurds have been at all times polyglots as they have been polygraphs, the same authors exercising their talents as much in poetry as in history, in the physical and human sciences and in journalism.

In 1860, A. Jaba, in his *Recueil de notices et de récits kourdes*, 3-11, gave a brief notice on eight poets, who used the Kurmanci dialect, and almost all originating from Hakāri. Less than a century later, ʿAlā' al-Dīn Sidjādī published in Baghdād a *History of Kurdish literature* (1952), a large volume of 634 pages in which, after an introduction on Kurdistān and the Kurds (3-66), he recounted the stages and forms of Kurdish literature (69-146), then gave substantial notices on twenty-four poets (147-534), followed by a rather dry list of 212 other authors (535-58). Even so, he confines himself to the no longer living poets of ʿIrāḳ and Iran. Since then, there have been two more recent works of Maʿrūf Xiznedār, *Essay on the history of contemporary Kurdish literature* [in Russian, 1967, 232 pp.] and of ʿIzz al-Dīn Muṣṭafā Rasūl, *Realism in Kurdish literature* [in Arabic, 1968, 236 pp.], not to mention other studies which show the progress of Kurdology since Jaba's time and felicitously complete our information on this oriental literature still so little known in the West.

1. *Origins and the classical period.*

Jaba's informant gave the 15th century as the period in which the first poets flourished: Elī Herīrī (1425-95), Şêx Ehmed Nîşanî, better-known under the name of Melayê Cizrī (1407-81) and Mela Ehmed of Batê (1414-95), who were therefore contemporaries. Mir Mihemed of Mūkis, surnamed Feqiyê Teyran, was

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Page 519 of 600

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supposed to be even earlier than them (1307-75). All these dates are to be corrected and placed later. In fact, D. N. MacKenzie in his article *Melā-ē Jizrī and Faqī Ṭayrān*, in *Yād-nāma-yi Īrānī-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, showed pertinently, thanks to the method of the *abdjad*, that Melayē Cizrī lived between 1570 and 1640 and his disciple, Feqiyē Teyran, between 1590 and 1660. The most famous is Melayē Cizrī, later than Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791/1389 or 792/1390) and Djāmī (817-98/1414-92), whose *Dīwān* of more than 2,000 verses has remained very popular among the *shaykh*s and mollahs, much more than among the masses. It has always been read and commented on in the Ḳur'ān schools of Kurdistān, but its text is difficult. His ideas are those of Persian Ṣūfism. His *Dīwān* was published by M. Hartmann, *Das kurdische Diwan des Schêch Ahmed*, Berlin 1904, in photocopy; by Mohammed Şefîq Anwasî Heseniye, Istanbul 1340/1922; Qedrî Cemîl Paşa, *Diwana Melé*, in Latin characters, in *Hawar*, Nos. 35-57 (1941-3), incomplete text; and above all, the fine edition of Shaykh Aḥmad b. al-Mella Muḥammad al-Buhtī al-Zivingī, *al-ʿAḳd al-djawharī fī sharḥ Dīwān al-Shaykh al-Djizrī*, 2 vols., 943 pp., Kamishlī, 1377/1958. Under the vocalised Kurdish text, at a lower level, are given, every two verses, an Arabic word-for-word translation, a more elegant total translation and finally a mystical commentary. Melayē Batê is especially known for his *Mewlûd*, published by von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, Berlin 1903. Feqiyē Teyran, who composed an elegy on the death of his master Cizrī, is the author of numerous works, in particular of the *History of Shaykh San'an*, published and translated into Russian by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1965, and in Persian by Q. F. Qazi, Tabrīz 1967.

The succeeding generation of poets cited by Jaba is dominated by Ehmedê Xanî (1650-1706), who settled at Bayazid. He is the author of the famous Kurdish national epic, *Memozîn*. In this work, which has been frequently re-published, the poet adapted the popular epic *Mamê Alan*, publ. by R. Lescot, Beirut 1942, and by N. Zaza, Damascus 1957, which he recomposed according to classical literary rules, and also Islamising it more. This poem of 2,655 couplets is the real breviary of Kurdish nationalism. If the text of the popular epic *Mamê Alan* has multiple variants which have been translated into German, French, Russian, Romanian, English, Armenian and Arabic, the classical poem *Memozîn* has also had numerous editions: Istanbul 1338/1920, Aleppo 1947, Hewlêr (Erbil) 1954; translated into Mukrî by Hejar, Baghdād 1960; with Russian translation by M. B. Rudenko, Moscow 1962; with Turkish translation by M. E. Bozarslan, Istanbul 1968. Many authors often confuse these two epics. Apart from numerous pieces of verse written in Turkish, Arabic and Persian, Ehmedê Xanî is also the author of a rhymed Arabo-Kurdish vocabulary *Nûbuhar* "First fruits" edited by Yūsuf Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, *al-Hadiyya al-Ḥamidiyya fi 'l-lugha al-Kurdiyya*, Istanbul 1310/1892, 279-97. and also in facsimile by von Le Coq, *Kurdische Texte*, i, 1-47. His disciple and successor in his school of Bayazid, Ismaîlê Bayazidî (1654-1709), also left behind many Kurdish poems and a Kurmanci-Arabic-Persian glossary, *Gulzar* "The rose garden".

In the 18th century, mention should be made of Şerîf Xan (1682-1748), of Culamerg, of the family of the *amîrs* of Hakâri, author of numerous verses in Kurmanci and Persian, and Mûrad Xan of Bayazid (1736-78), author of numerous lyrical poems.

In the same period, but at the court of the *wālīs* of Ardalān or the sultans of Hewraman, appeared a whole pleiade of poets whose lyrical or religious works are in the Gûrānî dialect. One may cite Ehmedê Textî (*ca.* 1640) and Şêx Mistefa Besaranî (1641-1702), whom Minorsky believes to be more recent (d. 1760). In this case, he would be contemporary with a whole group of poets, with Xânay Qubâdî (1700-59), author of a *Ṣalawāt-nāma*, and with Mahzûnî (*ca.* 1783).

It is impossible to cite all the poets who lived in the 19th century and whose works have been printed between the two World Wars. Their names and the list of their works will be found cited in the literature of Xiznedar (218-20) and Resûl (228-32). On the poets in Gûrānî, cf. Minorsky's article, *The Gûrān*. Some have been studied at greater length by Sidjādî in his *History of Kurdish literature*, e.g. (247-76), Mewlewî (1806-82). It will be noted that the dates advanced by the different authors do not always coincide, and the taste of the Kurdish poets for choosing a *takhalluṣ* or pseudonym will also be remarked.

Among the poets of the 19th century whose formation was purely religious, one may mention above all Nalî (1797-1855), who travelled extensively, wrote verses in Kurdish, Persian and Arabic, and whose Kurdish *Dīwān* was published in Baghdād in 1931 and in Erbil in 1962; Salim (1800-66), and Kurdî (1803-49) (ed. Hewlêr 1961), whose lyricism blossoms into patriotism; the Nakshbandî Mehwî (1830-1909) explains Ṣūfî theories (ed. Sulaymānî 1922), likewise, too, Mirza Rehîm Wefa'î (1836-92) ed. Hewlêr, 1951-61, 2 vols.). The greatest poets of the end of the century are Hacî Qadir Koyî (1815-92), whose patriotic poems still arouse enthusiasm in many young people (ed. Hewler 1953, Baghdād 1960); Şêx Riza Talebanî (1842-1910), agnostic and satirist, very popular still today and who composed verses in Kurdish, Persian and Turkish (ed. Baghdād 1935, 1946; cf. C. J. Edmonds, *A Kurdish lampoonist: Shaikh Riza Talebani*, in *JRCAS*, xxii [Jan. 1935]); Salih Herîq (1851-1907), writing in traditional forms and on Ṣūfî themes (ed. Baghdād 1938); Edeb, Evdelah Beg Misbah al-Diwan (1862-1917, *Dīwān* ed. H. H. Mukriani, Rawândiz 1936, ed. Gêw Mukriani, Hewlêr 1960, and unpublished poems ed. M. Xiznedar, Baghdād 1970), a delicate and romantic poet.

Let us also mention some women who have played a role in literature: Mah Şeref Xanim of Ardelan (1800-47), Sira Xanim of Diyarbakir (1814-65) and Mihreban of Berwarî (1858-1905).

2. *The modern age.*

The end of the First World War gave Kurdish literature an impetus which still continues, thanks to the numerous newspapers and journals which have allowed young talents to publish their poems and express their national and social ideas (see section 3. below).

It is extremely difficult to make a choice among the poets of this revival which extends from 1920 to our own days.

In the intellectual radiance of Sulaymānî, the real capital in ʿIrāḳ of Kurdistān, let us cite before all Pîremêrd "The old man" (1863-1950), pseudonym of Hacî Tewfîq, an original spirit, indefatigable traveller, journalist, who devoted the last years of his life to making known to the young Kurds, who adored him, the beauties of their land, their language, their history and their literature. The tortured Bâkes, Faîq Abdallah (1905-48), did not cease to encourage the youth and to exhort them to work and study and to exalt in them love of their homeland and of goodness. Ziwer,

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Abdallah Mihemed (1875-1948), is full of lyricism and sensibility in singing of nature and the national soil.

Gora, Abdallah Suleyman (1904-63), one of the greatest contemporary Kurdish poets, has abandoned stereotyped forms and classical metre, for he is the partisan and practitioner of free verse, as he has been of liberty of ideas and of life; a poet with advanced ideas, who is not lacking in lyricism to criticise social abuses. Qanî', Mihemed Sêx Abdul Kerîm (born in 1900), published from 1951 to 1955 numerous small books which each evoke an aspect of the Kurdistān which he celebrates with love. Let us further mention among the Kurdish poets of ʿIrāḳ, Ehmed Muxtar Caf (1897-1935; ed. Sulaymānī, 1960); Hamdī (1878-1936, ed. Baghdād, 1958) and the younger Abdul Wahîd Nûrî (1903-44), Dildar (1918-48, *Diwan*, ed. Hewlêr 1962) and Dilzar, born in 1920, who edited in 1957 the *Quatrains* of Bābā Ṭāhir, the 5th/11th century writer, whom some Kurds claim as their own.

In Iran, at the time of the Republic of Mahābād, two young patriotic poets came to the front: M. Hêmin and especially ʿAbd al-Rahman Hejar (born in 1920), who was the official poet and who published thousands of verses to exalt love of the homeland and liberty, such as *Alekok* (Tabrīz 1945); in 1958, he published a collection of verse narratives and the comedy of the Dog and the Moon, *Bełîł seremer û lasayî sag û mangesew*; he presented a summary of his autobiography (142-85) and several poems (185-222), in the *Kurdskiy dialekt Mukri* of K. R. Ayyubī and I. A. Smirnova, Leningrad 1968, and published a translation of the *Quatrains* of Khayyām (Beirut 1968).

In Kurmancî, one may note Kamiran A. Bedir Xan, writer of romantic free verse, and above all Cegerxwîn, Sêxmus Hesen (born in 1903), author of two collections; *Diwanê Cegerxwîn* (Damascus 1945) and *Sewra azadî* "The revolt of liberty" (Damascus 1954); an extremely vibrant and patriotic poet, preaching the instruction of youth and the union of all the Kurds, and going beyond pure nationalist élan to hope for radical social reforms; his many verses, varied in their workmanship, often preserve a classical form, but also he knows how to use more modern techniques. His rhymes are very rich. He is well-known and loved by the Kurds of Syria and Turkey (cf. Ordixanê Celîl, *Poėsia Cegerxwîn bajarvanié*, ["Civic poetry of Cegerxwin"], Erivan 1966).

But the great novelty is the vitality of Kurdish letters in Soviet Armenia, including Kurmancî. Those who were the pioneers in this field were mostly from the old Yazîdîs, illiterate by definition, immigrants from Turkey, who were to profit from their new social situation. Without the least Islamic culture and without any contact with the educated élite of the rest of the Kurdish world, their works are often ideologically oriented, but of a much more natural workmanship. They ignore classical prosody and their versification gains from simplicity. Lyricism is far from absent. They sing of love of the family and the beauties of nature, such as Casimê Celîl (born in 1908) and especially Mikaîlê Reşîd (born in 1925), who is rich in sensibility. Some of their strongly committed poems have social inspirations. Woman must be liberated, says Etarê Şero (born in 1906) in numerous quatrains. Usivê Beko (born in 1909) criticises feudal exploitation; Qaçaxê Murad (born in 1914), Wezirê Nadirî (1911-47) and Emînê Evdal (1906-64) are pleased to recall the heroic times of the war of liberation. Let us further cite Haciyê Cindî (born in 1908) and Sement Siyabend (born in 1908), hero of the Soviet Union, who clothed in a new form the fine popular lyric epic *Siyabend û Xecê*, 1959. The teacher Karlênê Çaçanî, a younger man, has published in particular animal fables which are not lacking in freshness. The paper *Riya taze* of Erivan and various anthologies, not to mention numerous small booklets, make known these Kurdish poets of Soviet Armenia, all nourished by their rich folklore.

In fact, it is only since 1920 that prose has made its appearance in Kurdish letters. In order to enlarge the intellectual horizon and to enrich the vocabulary by allowing its progress and modernisation, the Kurdish men of letters have translated, at least in the shape of fragments, the works of foreign authors. In Syria and Lebanon they have translated from French; in ʿIrāḳ, from English and Arabic; in Iran, from Persian; in Soviet Armenia, from Russian and especially from Armenian. There have also been placed at the disposal of the potential Kurdish reader out of the plays of Shakespeare, *The tempest*, by Jamal Nebez (Baghdād 1957); of the stories of Voltaire, *Zadig*, by Mohammad Elî Kurdî (Baghdād 1954); of the pages of Victor Hugo, *Gavroche* and Daudet, *Les étoiles*, translated by Zaza, or of Anatole France. J. Nebez has also translated *The cloak* of Gogol (Baghdād 1958). But it is especially the Soviet Kurds who are the translators of Russian authors, Pushkin, Gorki, Tolstoy or Lermontov, not forgetting Lenin and Stalin, or Armenians, Abovian, Toumanian, Isahakian, etc. The principal names of the translators to be encountered are: C. Celîl, H. Cindî, E. Evdal, Q. Murad, N. Esed and T. Murad. Some even write several of their works directly in Armenian, such as C. Celîl, E. Evdal, Nadoyê Xido Mehmûdov and many others.

In ʿIrāḳ, many articles of scientific popularisation have been translated, e.g. Dr. Haşim Dixirmacî, and Nacî Ebas have specialised in the translation of accounts of early British travellers in Kurdistān.

In the purely literary domain, the novel is the genre which seemed the best adapted to the mentality and art of the Kurds. In the review *Hawar*, one may read the stories of Nuredîn Zaza (born in 1919), and the fables in prose of Mistefa Ehmed Botî. In these stories, Qadrî Can (born in 1918) is concerned with religious fatalism and the feudal ascendancy. But one should note very especially Osman Sebrî (born in 1909) who, whilst a poet when in the mood, is particularly a born storyteller, with a lively, simple and direct style.

In ʿIrāḳ, where the intelligentsia is more numerous, history is a privileged field, with the fecund Husayn Huznî Mukrianî (1886-1947) as the author of varied studies: *The history of the Kurdish emirates*, 1929-31, *Famous Kurds*, 1931, *The Soran emirs*, 1935, *The Kurds and Nadir Shah*, 1934, *The Zend Kurds*, 1934, *Mukriani Kurdistan or Atropatene*, 1938, etc. General Mihemed Emîn Zekî (1880-1948), published a *Summary of the history of the Kurds and Kurdistan*, 1931, a *History of the Kurdish states and emirates in the Islamic period*, 1948, a *History of Sulaimani and its district*, 1939, and two volumes of *Kurdish celebrities and Kurdistan*, 1945-7. All these works have been translated into Arabic. Refîq Hilmî (d. 1961), began the publication of his *Memoirs*, in fascicules of a hundred pages, beginning in 1956 and entitled them *A recollection, Southern Kurdistan, the revolutions of Shaykh Mahmud* (a work still uncompleted). Tewfîq Wehbî, pioneer of Kurdish grammar, 1929, 1956, is also a historian who has studied the Yazîdîs, 1962, and the origins of the Kurds and their language, 1965.

Literary criticism began with Yûnis Reûf and Dildar, Kamuran and especially Marûf Xizndar, who

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in review articles and prefaces of anthologies presented many ancient and modern poets. Xiznedar, apart from his *History of Kurdish literature*, also composed *Ḳeş û qafiyet le şi'irî kurdî da* ("Rhyme and rhythm in Kurdish poetry", Baghdād 1962). Cemîl Bendî Rojbeyanî, Arabic translator of the *Sharaf-nāma* in 1957, is especially interested in the poets and writers of the Zengene, Kelhûr and neighbouring tribes. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sidjādī published not only his *History of Kurdish literature* (in 1952), *Researchs on Kurdish literature* (1968) and also the *Value of knowledge* (1970), but also five volumes of *Necklace of pearls* (1957-72), a collection of literary narratives, stories and anecdotes, in which philosophy, beliefs and history are mixed, and his *Journey in Kurdistan* (1958). Let us finally cite ʿIzz al-Dīn Rasûl (born in 1935), for his works on literature and folklore (1968).

In ʿIrāḳ also, numerous authors, writers, journalists and militants, have published, in verse and prose, collections and articles in which they have pleaded the most urgent social causes of the disinherited, such as Şekir Fetah in *The companion of the children* (1948), *The Kurdish woman* (1958), *The new life* (1960); Ibrahîm Ehmed (born in 1912), in *Misery* (1959) and many articles in newspapers; Miherem Mihemed Emîn (born in 1921), in *Uncle Omar* (1954), *The tranquil lake* (1957) and *The path of liberty* (1954).

In Soviet Armenia, one also finds young literary critics who give in *Riya taze* their often severe appreciations of poetic works which appear. Among them are Mikaîlê Reşîd, and especially Emêrikê Serdar, and Ordixanê Celîl is an excellent critic. His books on Cegerxwîn, Dimdim, on proverbs and his articles on folklore are the proof of that, and he has also published *Poems* (1954) and *Telî Hamza*, a kind of epic (1963). But the prose writers there are less numerous than the poets. They do not enter into the domain of the dream, nor even into history properly speaking, but most of their writings set forth the wretched life that they led in the past in the time of the Turks and the revival of their present social situation. At their head is their veteran Ereb Şemo (born in 1898), who is also the most fecund. His latest compilation, *Berevok* (Erivan 1969), takes up the text of *Berbang* "Dawn" (1958), a rehash, revised and corrected, of *Şivanê kurd* "The Kurdish shepherd" (1935), retranslated and republished in Beirut (1946), in which he narrated with much freshness and simplicity the life of his childhood as a small herdsman, the picturesque events of the life of the tribes and the implantation of communism among them; there are also his *Jîna bextewar* "The happy life" (1959) and the unpublished *Hopo*, which is its complement, in which is described the existence of the Kurds under the Soviet régime. Şemo has also published *Dimdim* (1966), which is the romanticised history of this famous epic. He is furthermore the author of numerous articles in many Russian language newspapers on all the social and historical subjects which interest the Kurds. Elî Evdal-Rehman published in this same vein of social preoccupations, *Xatê Xanim* "Lady Xatê" (1959) and *Gundê Merxasan* "The village of heroes" (1968), and Rehîm Gazî, *Hişyarbûn* "Awakening" (1960), which speaks of the resistance of the Kurds of Iran against their Turkish or Iranian oppressors.

Thus one sees the true novel, as it is understood in the West, does not yet really exist in Kurdish literature. It is rather the new genres which Kurdish writers prefer, even in ʿIrāḳ. The same remark may be made with reference to the theatre. In Armenia, from the beginnings, there were attempts with W. Nadirî, *Reva jinê*, "The abduction" (1935) and A. Mîrazî, *Zemanê çuyî* "Time past" (1945), and recently Ismaîle Duko, *Zewaca bê dil* "Marriage without love" (1964). In all these cases, the theme is the struggle against the customs of the past age. Similarly in Irak with Burkan, *Kiç û qutebxane* "The girl and the school" (1956), and Jiri, *Afret û niwişte* "The woman and the talisman" (1956), plays performed in the schools. There are also critical themes in the comic scenes of Emîn Mirza Kerîm. In 1953-4, Goran published in his newspaper *Jîn* several verse plays, including *The poor man's dream*, *The voice of death*, etc., which aim at waging a vendetta against the faults of the present society. But the *Four martyrs* (1959) is a patriotic play of Xalîd Delair. Cemal Abdul Qadir Baban published *Nôrûz* (1960), a play in five acts in verse, and Zakî Ehmed Henarî, *The fate of the oppressor Dahak* (1960). Let us mention especially, because it was published in Istanbul (1965), *Birîna reş* "The black wound" of Musa Anter (born in 1920), in which the author calls attention to the misery and ignorance of the Kurdish peasant in Turkey. On Kurdish theatre, cf. Azad Kardo, *The Kurdish stage*, in *The Kurdish Journal*, ii/3-4 (1965), 13-5.

Bibliography: ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sidjādī, *Mîjo-i edeb-i Kurdî*, Baghdād 1371/1952; Maruf Xiznedar, *Očerk istorii sobremennoy kurdskoy literaturi*, Moscow 1967; ʿIzz al-Dīn Rasûl, *al-Wāḳiʿiyya fî 'l-adab al-Kurdî*, Sidon-Beirut 1967; Celadet Bedir Xan, *Klasikên me an şahir u edîbên mê en kevin* ("Our classics and our ancient poets and men of letters"), in *Hawar*, 33 (October 1941), 522-30; Th. Bois, *Coup d'oeil sur la littérature kurde*, in *Mashriq*, xlix (1955), 201-39; idem, *Les Kurdes: histoire, sociologie, littérature, folklore*, in *ibid.*, liii (1959), 101-27, 266-99; idem, *Bulletin raisonné d'études kurdes*, in *ibid.*, lviii (1964), 527-70; Emîn Feyzî, *Encumen Edîban-i Kurd*, collection of Kurdish literary works, Istanbul 1920; Elî Kemal Bapîr, *Guldeste-i şi'ra-i haw'esrim* ("A bouquet of my contemporary poets"), Sulaymānî, 1939; Abdal Kerîm Hekezî, *Komela şi'ir-u şa'ıran-i kurdî* ("Collection of poems of Kurdish poets"), Baghdād 1938; Refîq Hilmî, *Şi'ir û edebiyat-i kurdî* ("Kurdish poetry and belles-lettres"), Baghdād, i, 1941, ii, 1956; Kerîm Şareza, *Koye û Şa'iranî* ("Poets of Koy"), Baghdād 1961; ʿAbd al-Salām Ḥilmî and ʿAbd al-Madjîd Luṭfî, *Naẓarāt fi 'l-adab al-kurdî*, Baghdād 1945; Maruf Xiznedar, *Aghânî Kurdistân* ("Songs of Kurdistan"), Baghdād 1956; Cesimê Celîl, *E'frandnê nvîsk'arê kormanca sovetiê* ("Works of Soviet Kurdish writers"), Erivan 1948; *Nivîsark'are kormanca sovetiê*, Erivan 1954; idem, *Nvîsark'arêd k'ördayê sovetiê*, Erivan 1957; Kaçaxê Murad and C. Celîl, *Efrandinêd nvîsk'arêd k'ördêd Ermenîstanêye sovetiê* ("Works of Kurdish writers of Soviet Armenia"), Erivan 1961.

C. The Kurdish press.

The influence of the press is basic in the national and cultural life of a people. With regard to this, the development and transformations of the Kurdish press are characteristic of the political evolution of the Kurds. Of the 119 recorded newspapers and reviews, whose periodicity is all relative, some have only had ephemeral life. The publishing centres have been moved from Istanbul to the different towns of ʿIrāḳ, Baghdād, Sulaymānî, Hewlêr and Kirkûk; of Iran, Tehran, Mahābād and Tabrîz; or even to Damascus and Beirut. Often these newspapers are bilingual. Most of the journals consist of a precious

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and inexhaustible mine of information on language, folklore and the customs of the Kurdish land, and also on its history and geography. Furthermore to be found in them are numerous texts of poets, ancient or modern, as well as fine ideas of literary criticism. Young talents are also exercised there.

The first Kurdish newspaper, *Kurdistan*, was founded in Cairo in 1898 by Midhet Paşa Bedir Xan and his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and moved from Cairo to Geneva and Folkestone (31 nos.); republished in Baghdād, 197?, by Kamāl Fuʾād. In Istanbul, there was the monthly *Roja kurd* "Kurdish day", which became "The Kurdish sun", in 1912 (3 nos.). In 1916, Sureya Bedir Xan published in Turkish the weekly *Jîn* "Life" which proclaimed "Kurdistān for the Kurds". He also published there in 1917-18 the weekly *Kurdistan* (37 nos.).

Between the two wars (1920-45), the Kurdish press really began to flourish and develope. There appeared in Sulaymānī in 1920-2, *Pêşkewtin* "Progress" (118 nos.); in 1922-3, *Roj-i Kurdistan* "The Sun of Kurdistan" (15 nos.), re-published in Baghdād in 1973 by Djamāl Khaznadār; the weeklies *Bangê Kurdistan* "The call of Kurdistān" 1922 (14 nos.) in 1923, *Bangê haqq* "The call of truth", the official newspaper of Şêx Mehmûd (3 nos.) and *Umîdî istiqlal* "Hope of independence", edited by Reffiq Hilmî (25 nos.). In 1925-6, *Diyarî Kurdistan* "The gift of Kurdistān" of Salih Zeki Sahîbqran, in Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish, had 16 nos. In 1924-6, the weekly *Jiyanewe* "The resurrection" an official newspaper (56 nos.) which took the name *Jiyan* "Life" 1926-38 (556 nos.), and that of *Jîn*, 1939-63, under the direction of Piremerd until his death (1950), exceeded a thousand nos. In 1938 there appeared the scientific review *Zanistî* "Science" of Salih Quftan, who published in it historical and literary articles, but which only had a few issues, while the weekly *Ziban* "Language" 1937-9, published by the municipality, had 70 nos. In Rawāndiz, Huseyn Huzni Mukriani published 1926-32 *Zari kurmancî* "The Kurdish language" which had 30 nos. Baghdād was to become an important Kurdish cultural centre through the publication of the very numerous monthlies, *Gelawêj* "Sirius", 1939-49, directed by Ibrahîm Ehmed and *Dengê Gêti-e Taza* "The voice of the New World" edited by the British Embassy and edited by Tewfîq Wehbî. Outside ʿIrāḳ, it is important to mention the major reviews, in Latin characters, *Hawar* "The alarm cry", 1932-5 and 1941-3, 57 nos., and its illustrated supplement, *Ronahî* "The lamp" 1941-5, 28 nos., both published in Damascus by Emir Celadet Bedir Xan, and the weekly *Roja nû* "The new day" 1943-6, 73 nos. and its supplement *Stêr* "The star" which only had 3 issues, published by Emir Kamiran Bedir Xan in Beirut. These journals provide an enormous mass of folkloric documents. Let us mention, in Erivan, the bi-weekly newspaper *Riya taze* "The new view", the organ of the Kurdish section of the Communist Party of Armenia, which appeared, in Latin characters from 1930 to 1938 (612 nos.), then in Cyrillic characters from 1955. It has now exceeded its 2,500th number. It is along with *Jîn* of Sulaymānī the best example of longevity of the Kurdish press.

The equivocal political situation in Iran between the years 1941 and 1946, especially after the proclamation of the independent Kurdish Republic (1945-6), brought about the blossoming of a whole Kurdish press in Mahābād: *Kurdistan*, 1945-6, the official newspaper (113 nos.) and a literary review of the same name (16 nos.) *Hawarê nîştiman*, *Awar*, *Gir û gali mindalanî kurd*, *Helale* "The red poppy" only survived a spring. For his part, in Lāhîdjān, Şêx Latif, son of Şêx Mehmûd, published the journal *Nîştiman* "Homeland" which had 3 issues.

After the War and until the proclamation of the Republic in ʿIrāḳ (14 July 1958), the journals normally appeared in both Kurdish and Arabic. In 1948-9, in Baghdād, Eladîn Sêcadî published *Nizar* "The rock" (22 nos.), and in 1957-63, Hafiz Mistefa Qazî published there *Hêwa* "Hope" (36 nos.). In Erbil, from 1954 to 1960, Gew Mukriani published the bi-monthly *Hetaw* "The sun", which had 188 nos. Under the Republic, in Kirkūk, 1959-62, *Ray gel* "Popular opinion" (34 nos.); 1959-61, *Azadî* "Liberty", organ of the ʿIrāḳî C.P. (56 nos.). In Sulaymānī, the Teachers' Union published the monthly *Bilêsê* "The flame", 1959-60, with 10 nos. In 1960, appeared *Roj-i nuwe* "The new sun" with 18 nos. and the communist political and literary daily, *Birwa* "Belief", from July 1960 to January 1963 brought out 95 nos., while Baghdād, the bilingual daily *Xebat* "Effort", organ of the D.P.K. brought out 462 nos. in 1959-61. The Ministry of Agriculture published from 1959 to 1956, in Arabic and Kurdish, *Çareser kirdinî kişt û kal* (21 nos.), and the Ministry of Orientation *Iraqê nuwe* (24 nos.). In the course of the year 1960, the lawyer Omer Celal Huwaizi published 69 nos. of the democratic political daily *Dengê kurd*. One cannot pass over in silence *Kurdistan*, a weekly, published in Tehran under the auspices of the Iranian Government from May 1959 to May 1963 with 205 nos., political, scientific, literary and social; this very interesting weekly was only circulated abroad.

The internecine Kurdi-ʿIrāḳî war from 9 September 1961 to 13 March 1970, diminished the activity of the Kurdish press. Nevertheless, in Erbil the municipality published (1962-3) its newspaper *Hewlêr*, with 76 nos. In Baghdād there appeared in 1964 the first Kurdish issue of the seasonal journal *Tutin*, published by the tobacco administration, and, in 1967, *Biyaretî* "Fraternity", a political newspaper of Ṣālih Yūsufî. It is this period which saw the appearance in Turkey, in Turkish and in Kurdish, several ephemeral reviews: *Dicle û Firat* (1962-3) in Istanbul with 8 nos.; *Deng*, in 1963 and in 1966 *Dengê taze* "The new voice" which only had 4 nos. before it was immediately stopped and the directors prosecuted.

The end of hostilities in Kurdistān saw the birth, from 1970 to 1973, of 29 periodicals, of which 2 were in Kirkūk, 6 in Hewlêr, only 4 in Sulaymānī, but 16 in Baghdād, which seems to indicate that the ʿIrāḳî capital has now become the intellectual and cultural centre of the Kurds in ʿIrāḳ. In Sulaymānī, there is *Birayetî* (1971-2, 18 nos.); *Deng-i mamosta* (7 nos.); *Jîn*, since 1971, presented as the continuation of the newspaper founded by Piremerd; and since 1972, the monthly *Êstêre* "The star", intended for children. In Baghdād, there is *Birayetî*, supplement of the daily *Taʾākhî* (1970-1, 18 nos.). Since 1970, the Philatelist Club has published *Gêti-i pûl* "The world of stamps", in Arabic, Kurdish and English. The General confederation of trade unions has as its official organ *Hişyar-i kirêkaran* "The awakening of the workers" which, since its no. 189 of December 1972, has a Kurdish section. One should mention as an annual publication *The Journal of the Kurdish Academy*, i/1 (1973), a great volume of 800 pages whose editor-in-chief is Iḥsān Shîrzād, Minister of Municipalities, and of which one section is in Arabic. In Iran, one should note the name *Rêga-i yekîtî* "The path of unity", a monthly publication of the Iranian Governi-

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ment, whose no. 1 came out in April 1971 and which continues to appear regularly (in 1978).

The different Kurdish groups abroad publish ephemeral bulletins, at times simply typed. In 1949, there appeared in French *Dengé Kurdistan* "la Voix du Kurdistan", organ of the D.P.K. in Europe. Since 1958, the Association of Kurdish Students in Europe has published in English each year *Kurdistan*, in Kurdish and in Latin characters, some annual issues of *Hîviya welêt* "Hope of the homeland" in 1963-5, and similarly *Çiya* "The mountain" in 1965-7. The Commission for the Advancement of Kurdistan (CAK) of the United Kingdom published in English a single issue of *Kurdica*. In English also there exists one of the best publications of this genre, *The Kurdish Journal*, from December 1963 to September 1969, published by the Association of the Kurdish Students in U.S.A. Finally, in Kurdish and Turkish, *Ronahî*, "The lamp", organ of the Kurds of Turkey in Europe, since August 1971; this is now (1978) at its 8th issue.

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AL-KURDĪ, MUḤAMMAD AMĪN (d. 1332/1914), one of the leading figures in the recent history of the Naḳshbandī order, and author of several influential works.

Born in Irbīl, he made early acquaintance with Ṣūfism, for his father, Fatḥ Allāh-zāda, was a Ḳādirī *shaykh*. His own initiation was at the hands of a Naḳshbandī *shaykh* of the city, Shaykh ʿUmar, who was separated by only one link in the initiational chain from the great renewer of the Naḳshbandiya in the western Islamic lands, Mawlānā Khālid Baghdādī (d. 1242/1826). After several years spent in the company of Shaykh ʿUmar, Muḥammad Amīn received a licence himself to initiate disciples into the Naḳshbandī path, and he left his homeland, never to return. He retained, however, a certain mode of reverential awareness of Shaykh ʿUmar's spiritual presence through the distinctive Naḳshbandī technique known as *rābiṭa*. He spent many years in Mecca and Medina, enjoying numerous mystical and visionary experiences; he compared his state while in Mecca to that of Ibn ʿArabī when he began the composition of *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*. Inspired by a desire to visit the tombs of the *Ahl al-Bayt* in Cairo, he left the Ḥidjāz for Egypt, which was to be his residence for the rest of his life, with the exception of a return visit to the Holy Cities in 1323/1905. He lived first in the *rawāḳ* of the Kurdish students at the Azhar, later moving to the village of Ambāba outside of Cairo, and finally to Būlāḳ. Initially he concealed his Naḳshbandī affiliations and Ṣūfī interests, concentrating on the study of *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and *fiḳh* at the Azhar. Later he began to proclaim the path, and to accept each year a small number of disciples. Upon an indication from Shaykh ʿUmar contained in a dream, he then decided to accept all who came to him, and indeed vigorously to propagate the Naḳshbandī order throughout Egypt, travelling widely to numerous towns and villages. He encountered opposition from the followers of other orders and from adherents of the Salafī movement, but soon came to gather a large following. In his instruction, he placed emphasis on two particular elements of Naḳshbandī practice; silent *dhikr* and the recitation of a litany known as the *khatm-i khwādjagān*. He died in Būlāḳ in 1332/1914 and was buried in the Ḳarāfa cemetery of Cairo.

He left behind him numerous *khalīfa*s, the most prominent of whom was Shaykh Muḥammad Yusūf al-Saḳḳā; many contemporary Naḳshbandīs of Egypt are descended from him. The best known of his numerous writings is *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb fī muʿāmalat ʿallām al-ghuyūb*, a compendium of religious knowledge of which the third part is devoted to Ṣūfism. The eighth edition of this book was printed in Cairo in 1368/1949. He also wrote a biographical dictionary of Naḳshbandī saints (*al-Mawāhib al-sarmadiyya fī manāḳib al-Naḳshbandiyya*, published in Cairo in 1329/1911, as well as manuals of Shāfiʿī and Mālikī *fiḳh*.

Bibliography: A comprehensive account of Muḥammad Amīn's life is given in a 55-page preface by Shaykh Salāma ʿAzzāmī to *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb* (8th ed., Cairo 1368/1949). Some mention is made of him by A. J. Arberry in his *Sufism*, London 1950, 129-32, where Muḥammad Amīn's description of Naḳshbandī practices of *dhikr* is summarised. The same passage from *Tanwīr al-ḳulūb* is also to be found in French translation as an appendix to Jean Gouillard's version of *La petite philocalie*. (HAMID ALGAR)

AL-KURDJ, GURDJ, GURDJISTĀN, the names in Islamic sources for the province of Georgia in western Caucasia. Georgia comprises four distinct regions: Mingrelia and Imereti in the north-west; Samtaskhe in the south-west (adjoining the Black Sea coastal region of Lazistān [see LAZ], inhabited by a people closely related to the Georgians); Kartli in the north, with the capital Tiflis [*q.v.*], Georgian Tbilisi; and Kakheti in the east. Topographically, much of Georgia comprises mountains, hills and plateaux, with lowland only on the Black Sea coastal plain and in the valleys of the River Rioni and its tributaries, draining westwards into the Black Sea, and of the River Kura (Georgian Mtkvari, Islamic Kur [*q.v.*]) and its tributaries, draining eastwards into the Caspian.

The Georgian people (who refer to themselves as Kartvel-ebi and their homeland as Sa-kartvel-o, after a mythical, semi-divine ancestor Kartlos) are linked with the Svans of northern Mingrelia and the Mingrelo-Laz in the so-called "Ponto-Zagros" group of Caucasian peoples, although over the millennia their blood must have been much mingled with that of other peoples who have invaded or have passed through their country. Linguistically, the Georgian language forms with Svanetian and Mingrelo-Laz the southern or Ibero-Caucasian group of Caucasian languages; for details, see AL-ḲAFḲ, languages. It is written in an alphabet of considerable phonetic exactness, which is traditionally considered to be the creation of St. Mesrop, inventor of the Armenian alphabet, but which apparently had two forms originally; these must at all events have been derived in the first place from Aramaic-Pahlavi scripts (see D. Diringer, *The alphabet, a key to the history of mankind*³, New York 1968, 252-4).

Early history. From earliest times, Georgia has been a meetingpoint for the cultures of East and West and a place where the products of European

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and Asian commerce were exchanged. In Homeric times, the western Georgian coastal region, Imereti and Mingrelia, formed the famed Colchis, land of the Golden Fleece sought by Jason and the Argonauts, whilst the lands to the east, Kartli, Kakheti and Samtskhe, formed the Caucasian Iberia, with its capital at Mtskheta-Armazi, on the River Kur just upstream from modern Tiflis. The campaigns of Pompey in the 1st century BC brought Georgia into the sphere of Roman political and cultural influence, and to classical geographers like Strabo we owe a description of Iberia, and the fourfold class-division of its society, a division not dissimilar from that of ancient Iran. The Iberians did indeed have close cultural links with the Parthians, and we find Iberian kings and nobles with Iranian names like Parnavaz and Asparukh, together with a certain spread of the Zoroastrian religion within Iberia, a process only arrested by the adoption of Christianity within Georgia *ca.* 330 AD, during the reign of the Emperor Constantine the Great and through the missionary efforts of a Cappadocian slave woman, St. Nino. The consequences for the future history of Georgia and its people of this conversion to Christianity were incalculable. Georgia, and Armenia [see ARMĪNIYA] to the south of it, henceforth became bastions of the new faith against the pagan regions of the eastern Caucasus and against the Sāsānids of Persia, the enemies of Byzantium. At first dependent on the Patriarchate of Antioch, the Georgian Church, like that of the Armenians, espoused Monophysitism and rejected the formulae of the Council of Chalcedon, and at the Council of Dvin of the Armenian and Georgian Churches in 506, the Georgians seceded from Orthodoxy and set up their own national church of St. George, with its Catholicos-Patriarch resident at Tiflis.

The period of Byzantine-Persian rivalry. The old capital of Georgia Mtskheta (Ptolemy, *Geography*, 5.10 Μεστλῆτα = Μεσχῆτα) was sometimes called by the Arab geographers by a popular etymology Masdjid Dhi 'l-Ḳarnayn (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 56; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 186). According to the Georgian Chronicle, the Persian *eristav* ("ethnarch") sent against Varaz-bakar (379-93?), king of Georgia (of the Khosroid dynasty, descended from the Sāsānids), built Tiflis "between the Gates of the Caucasus" (i.e. between Darial and Darband) "to serve as a bulwark against Mtskheta" (Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 140).

During the wars of king Wakhtang Gurgasal (446-99?) with the Persians, the fortress (*kala*) and the village (*sopʿeli*) of Tiflis were destroyed. Wakhtang laid the foundations of a town at Tiflis and his son Dači (499-514) completed its walls (*op. cit.*, 180, 196-201).

After 523, the Persians, having suppressed the ruling dynasty of eastern Georgia, maintained a Persian *marzbān* in Tiflis, beside whom representatives of the Georgian nobility had a nominal share in the administration of the country (Brosset, i, 226; Marquart, *op. cit.*, 397, 431-2; Djavakhov, *Khrist. Vostok*, i [1912], 110). The governor of Mtskheta was under the *marzbān*. Theophanes of Byzantium (6th century) is the first Byzantine author to mention ἡ Τίφιλις (Τιφλίς) μητρόπολις under the year 571 (Theophanes apud Photium, in Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, ciii, 139; cf. Muralt, *Essai de chronologie byzantine*, St. Petersburg 1855, i, 156).

The wars with the Turks and the Byzantines having distracted the attention of the Persians from Iberia, the Georgians asked the Byzantine emperor to give them a king and the Bagratid Guaram (575-600) was set up at Mtskheta. To this king tradition attributes the "restitution of the foundations of the church of Sion in Tiflis" (i, 222).

After the victory gained over the Byzantines by Khusraw Parwīz (after 606), the son of Guaram, Stephanos I (who was content with the title of *eristʿavi* = "ethnarch"), joined the Persians. Later, when in 624 Heraclius and his Turkish allies laid siege to Tiflis, Stephanos defended the town bravely. Heraclius appointed as *mtʿavar* ("chief") Adarnases of the old Khosroid family and associated with him the *eristʿavi* Djibghu (Theophanes: Ζιέβηλ; according to Marquart: Tʿong Yabghu Khaḳan). The citadel (*kala*) was taken and Stephanos slain.

The Arab conquest. The Arabs confounded Armenia and Georgia (cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 194; and Yāḳūt, ii, 58, where Djurzān is a *nāḥiya* of the country of Armīniya). According to the Georgian chronicle (*Kʿartʿlis tskhovreba*), the Agarians invaded Somkhetia ("Armenia", a rather ambiguous term, for "Somkhetia of Kartī" began to the south of the river Khram, about 20 miles south of Tiflis) in the reign of Stephanos II (639-63?), son of Adarnases, who lived in Tiflis. On the death of this king, his sons Mir and Arčil withdrew to Egris in Mingrelia. In the period of their joint reign (663-8) Georgia was visited by the ferocious Murwan Ḳru ("Marwān the Deaf") sent by the *Amīr al-Muʾminīn* Eshim (= Hishām whose dates are actually 105-25/724-43!). Such mistakes and anachronisms may be explained by the fact that at this period, the national life of Georgia had taken refuge far to the west in lands not easily accessible from Čʿorokh (Klardjetia). The thread of events may, however, be pieced together from Arab and Armenian statements [see ARMĪNIYA].

In reality, Arab expeditions penetrated into Transcaucasia in the reigns of the early caliphs. According to Ṭabarī, i, 2666, in 22/643 Surāḳa, having made peace with Shahr-Barāz (king of Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*]), sent Ḥabīb b. Maslama against Tiflis. To the same year Ṭabarī, i, 2674, puts the peace with the people of this town, but it was actually made in 25/645 in the reign of ʿUthmān (Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, 194; Balādhurī, 198). When Habīb b. Maslama had conquered Armenia, he turned his attention to Georgia. A Georgian ambassador (Nkly = Nicolas? Tfly = Theophilus?) appeared before him to testify that the *baṭrīḳ* of Djurzān and his people were well-disposed. Habīb's answer (cf. the versions in Balādhurī, 201 and Ṭabarī, i, 2764; Yāḳūt, i, 857, rather follows Balādhurī) was addressed simply to "the inhabitants of Tiflis, in [the *rustāḳ* of] Mandjalīs (now Manglis) in al-Djurzān (= Georgia) in the land of Hurmuz".

Habīb guaranteed the people the exercise of their religion, but he sent to Tiflis the learned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Djazʾ to expound the law of Islam, and indeed the people of the town were soon converted to Islam.

After reducing Tiflis, Habīb extended his conquests or his treaties of peace over other regions inhabited by the Georgians and their neighbours (Balādhurī, 202-3; cf. the attempts to analyse them in Ghazarian, *Armenien unter der arabischen Herrschaft*, in *Zeitschr. f. armen. Philologie*, ii (Marburg 1903), 149-225). Among these, the Ṣanāriya play a prominent part Ptolemy, 5.8.13: Σαναραῖοι; in Armenian: Tsanarkh), a very warlike Christian people who lived in Kakheti and the high Alazan and who, according to the hypothesis of N.Y. Marr, were identical with the modern Tʿush, whose language is related to that of the Čečens (cf. *Izv. Akad. Nauk.*, x/12 [1916], 1579-1608).

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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From the time of Habīb's expedition to the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61) the Djurzān (eastern Georgians) and the Abkhāz (*q.v.*, here in the wide sense of "western Georgians of the valley of the Rion", i.e. of Imereti) paid tribute to the Arab military commander in Tiflis (*Murūdj*, ii, 65; Yāḳūt, ii, 583). From the time of Yazīd II (101-5/720-4) we have a letter in which Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh confirmed to the Djurzān the guarantees given by Ḥabīb b. Maslama (Balādhurī, 202; there is a reference there also to the *rustāḳ* of Mandjalīs, but several place-names are still unidentified).

As to the "Murwan Ḳru" of Armenian and Georgian tradition, two personnages seem to have been confused in this figure (Marquart): Muḥammad b. Marwān, of whom the Georgians seem to have heard the Armenians speak, and his son Marwān b. Muḥammad who in the reign of Hishām was fighting mainly in Dāghistān, but whose expedition against the "Gate" of the Alān [*q.v.*] must have passed through the region of Tiflis. His headquarters were at Kisāl(?), 20 *farsaḵh*s from Tiflis and 40 *farsaḵh*s from Bardhaʿa (probably Kesala below Tāwūs, which satisfies the description; see below). A *dirham* is known of ʿAbd al-Malik struck at Tiflis in 85/704.

The ʿAbbāsids. In 141/758 the Khazars [*q.v.*] under Raʾs Ṭarkhān invaded Armenia (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 446). Ṭabarī (iii, 328), speaking of the same event under 147/764, says that during the invasion of Astār Khān al-Khʷārazmī (*sic*), many Muslims and *dhimmī*s were made prisoners and the Turks entered Tiflis. Yaʿḳūbī immediately after 141/758 mentions a rising of the Ṣanāriya. The latter were defeated by ʿĀmir b. Ismāʿīl, who then returned to Tiflis and executed his prisoners there.

Another Khazar invasion took place in 183/799. Their king came as far as the bridge over the Kur and ravaged the country, but the taking of Tiflis is not mentioned by the Arab writers (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 518; Ṭabarī, iii, 648) while the Georgian chronicle says that in the joint reign of the brothers Ioane and Djuansher (718-86?) the Khāḳān's general Blučan (in Armenian Bułčʿan) took Tiflis and conquered Kartli.

Of the governors whom Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809) sent to Armenia, the harshest was Khuzayma b. Khāzim (Balādhurī, 210). The Georgians called him Cʿičʿum-Asim. Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 210, confirms the cruelty of his second governorship. The Djurdjān (read Djurzān) and the Ṣanāriya rebelled. Khuzayma's general Saʿīd b. Haytham defeated them, drove them out of the country and then returned to Tiflis.

Under al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) a certain Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb established himself in Armenia. In 214/829 he conquered the land of the Djurzān and the Ṣanāriya joined him (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 540, 565-6). Khālid b. Yazīd gave *amān* to Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb and defeated his allies, the Ṣanāriya, but the disturbances in Armīniya went on (Yāḳūt, ii, 566; Balādhurī, 210-11). In 215-39/830-53, Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl carved himself out a principality in Georgia.

Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl. According to Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 65, he was of Ḳuraysh origin. His father Ismāʿīl was the son of Shuʿayb, a client of Marwān II (126-32/744-50); he had settled in Georgia in the time of the caliph al-Amīn (193-8/809-13) and had had skirmishes with the governor Asad b. Yazīd (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 528). The uncle of Isḥāḳ, ʿAlī b. Shuʿayb, mentioned in the Georgian chronicle, i, 260, 265, is said to have received Tiflis from Khālid, probably after Muḥammad b. ʿAttāb. But already in the governorship of Ḥasan Bādhghīsī, the second successor of Khālid, we find the name of Isḥāḳ. When the Byzantine troops of Theophilus (829-42) reached Wanand (near Ḳars), they "were cut to pieces by Sahak, son of Ismael" (cf. Stephen Asolik, ii, ch. 5., tr. Dulaurier, 171). As a result of such exploits, the caliph al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7) recognised Isḥāḳ as lord of Armenia, but this did not last long. Muḥammad, son and successor of Khālid, defeated Isḥāḳ and drove out the Ṣanāriya. According to the Georgian chronicle, the Georgian princes (who had less fear of the central government so far away) supported Muḥammad against Isḥāḳ and his allies, the people of Kakheti and the Ṣanāriya.

Finally, in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, the Turkish commander Bughā al-Kabīr al-Sharābī [*q.v.*] was sent to Armenia. In Rabīʿ I 238 (August-September 852), he left Dabīl for Tiflis. Bughā watched the operations from the high hills beside Sughdabīl (the reference is to the heights of Makhatha to the north of Isani = Sughdabīl).

Isḥāḳ made a sortie, but Bughā's *naffāṭūn* (throwers of Greek fire) set fire to the town. Isḥāḳ's palace was burned. He and his son ʿAmr were taken prisoners by the Turks and the Maghāriba. Isḥāḳ was decapitated and 50,000 (?) men lost their lives in the destruction of the town by fire. The Maghāriba took the survivors prisoners and mutilated the dead. Isḥāḳ's wife, daughter of the lord of Sarīr (= the principality of the Avars in northern Dāghistān), was at Sughdabīl, which was defended by the Khuwaythiya (people of Sasun; cf. MAYYĀFĀRIḲĪN). Bughā granted them *amān* on condition that they laid down their arms and he continued his operations in the direction of Djardmān and Baylaḳān (Ṭabarī, iii, 1114-16; cf. Thomas Artsruni, iii, chs. 9-10, ed. Brosset, St. Petersburg 1874, 140-50. A Georgian inscription on the church of Ateni gives the Islamic date 239 for the taking of Tiflis by Bughā; cf. Djavakhov, *Khrist. Vostok*, i [1912], 284). The destruction of the Muslim principality of the former clients of the Umayyads, which was a focus around which local elements gathered, was an irreparable mistake for the caliphate. The Arab authors (Masʿūdī, ii, 67; Yāḳūt, ii, 58) date the decline of Arab power in the Caucasus from this. Bughā was soon recalled; cf. Brosset, *op. cit.*, i, 266-8, and Thomas Artsuni, *ibid.*

There was an ʿAbbāsid mint for *dirhams* at Tiflis till 331/942 (pieces are known of 210, 248, 250, 294, 298, 304, 307, 311, 312, 314, 330, 331); cf. Tiesenhausen, *Monnaies des khalifs orientaux*, St. Petersburg 1873; Pakhomov, *Monetī Gruzii. i. Domongolskiy period*, in *Zap. Num. Otd. IRAO*, i/4 (1910); E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 89-90.

The aid which Bagrat (826-76) had lent to the caliph against Isḥāḳ did not bring the reward desired by the eastern dynasty. The rival dynasty, called of Abkhazia (cf. the explanation of this term above), seized Kartli. Thus Masʿūdī (writing in 332/942), *Murūdj*, ii, 69, 74, says that the Kur left the possessions of Djurdjīn (Bagratid of the lateral line, d. 941; Marquart, *op. cit.*, 176) crossed the land of Abkhāz (*sic*) and arrived in front of Tiflis, the inhabitants of which, although surrounded by infidels on all sides, still retained their courage and were numerous. The founder of the Armenian Bagratid kingdom Ashot (885-90?) also intervened in the affairs of Kartli (Brosset, i, 270, n. 12). Masʿūdī gives Masdjid Dhi 'l-Ḳarnayn (= Mtskheta) as the residence of the king of Djurzān (*al-ṭanbaghī*, ingeniously emended by Marquart, *op. cit.*, 186, to the Armenian **mambaghi* > *mamphali*, a Georgian title).

The Sādjids, the Sālārids and the Shaddādids. In the meanwhile, there arose in Ādhar-

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bāydjān the first Muslim dynasty that owned the suzerainty of Baghdād, the Sādjids (276/889 or 279-893 to 317/929; see SĀDJIDS and R. Vasmer, *O monetakh Sadjidov*, in *Izvestia Obshč. izuč. Azerb.* (Baku 1927), No. 5, 22-51). Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Yūsuf went to assist the isolated Muslims in the north. In 299/912 (?) he came to Tiflis, the *amīr* of which was then called Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī (cf. below), and seized the fortresses of Udjarmo and Bočʿorma (on the upper Iora) (cf. Brosset, i, 275, *n.* 2). The chronicle also mentions another expedition (between 305/918 and 311/923) of the "Saracens called Sadj", in the course of which Mtskheta was taken. The Muslim sources are silent about these expeditions. Immediately afterwards the chronicle mentions the appearance of the Musāfirids [*q.v.*] or Sālārids at Bardhaʿa and in Ādharbāydjān.

Bagrat III and Bagrat IV. The series of reigns "shows the greatest confusion" (Brosset), until the king Bagrat III (980-1014 ?) reunited Kartli, Abkhazia, Tao (on the Čʿorokh) and Ardanudj. In his time, the Shaddādid [*q.v.*] Faḍlūn invaded Armenia, but was defeated by the Georgians, and Mtskheta was always regarded as the royal city, although the rulers resided in Kutais (Kʿutʿatʿisi). In 421/1030 the Georgian and Kakhetian notables, with the help of the *amīr* Djaʿfar of Tiflis, undertook an expedition against the Shaddādid Pʿadlon (Faḍlūn of Gandja). But when the latter died, Liparit Orbeliani, the powerful lord of Tʿrialetʿ (on the upper Khram), captured Djaʿfar by a ruse and only released him on the appeal of the young king Bagrat IV (1027-72), who evidently did not wish Tiflis to be annexed by the turbulent Liparit. Djaʿfar was re-established at Tiflis, but a few years later the king himself laid siege to Tiflis. The siege had lasted for two years when suddenly the king at the suggestion of Liparit made peace with Djaʿfar. After the death of the latter, the elders (*ber*) of Tiflis offered the keys of the town to Bagrat, who occupied the citadel Dār al-Djalāl and the two "towers" Tsʿḳalḳin and Tʿabor. The inhabitants of the Isan quarter on the left bank of the Kur, however, destroyed the bridge, and Bagrat had to turn his ballistas upon them.

The Saldjūḳs. In 439/1048 the troops of Ibrāhīm Yināl (in Georgian Bahram-Lam) appeared for the first time in Basian (Pasin on the upper waters of the Araxes). In 445/1053 (?) the Saldjūḳs undertook an expedition against Gandja, but a countermovement by the Byzantines, who were allies of Bagrat IV, saved the town. Thereupon the people of Tiflis again invited Bagrat, but as a result of Liparit's intrigues, the Byzantines kept Bagrat prisoner in Constantinople for three years. Then Bagrat recovered the greater part of his fortresses, when suddenly Alp Arslan (455-65/1063-72) invaded Georgia (Brosset, i, 326). On 10 December 1068, Alp Arslan, accompanied by the kings of Armenia and Kakheti (Aghsarʿan, son of Gagik, of the dynasty of Korikoz (Chorepiscopi), which ruled from 787 to 1105), as well as the *amīr* of Tiflis, marched against Bagrat. All Kartli was occupied and many Christians slain or taken prisoners. The Shaddādids were given compensation. Tiflis and Rustaw were given to Faḍlūn of Gandja, and Ānī to Manučihr b. Abi 'l-Aswār. In the spring of 461/1069, Bagrat returned to Kartli. Faḍlūn encamped at Isan (a suburb on the left bank) and with 33,000 men ravaged the country. Bagrat defeated Faḍlūn, who took the road through Kakheti, but was taken prisoner by Aghsarʿan. At the price of conceding several fortresses on the Iora, Bagrat ransomed Faḍlūn and received from him the surrender of Tiflis, where in the meanwhile a certain Sithlaraba (Sayyid al-ʿArab ?) was proclaimed *amīr*. This plan failed, for Alp Arslan obtained the liberation of Faḍlūn. Giorgi II, son of Bagrat (reigned 1072-89, lived to 1125), lived in Kutais. In Kakhet Aghsarʿan retained his possessions on condition that he adopted Islam.

Dawid II. The revival took place under Dawid II Aghmashenebeli (the "Restorer") who took the title of king "of Kartli and Abkhazia" (1089-1125 ?). Dawid brought into Georgia through the pass of the Alans (Darial) 40,000 Ḳīpčaḳs (Polovtsi) and 5,000 slaves converted to Christianity. In spite of their unruliness (Brosset, *op. cit.*, i, 379), these warlike elements enabled Dawid to throw off Saldjūḳ domination. He ceased the payment of the *kharādj* and put an end to the seasonal migrations of the Turks into Georgia. He gave his daughter Tʿamar in marriage to the Shīrwān-Shāh [*q.v.*] Akhsitān (in Georgian, Aghsarʿan) and treated him as his vassal.

The capture of Tiflis in 515/1121. On the complaints of the Muslims of Tiflis, the Saldjūḳ Maḥmud b. Muḥammad (511-25/1118-31) sent an expedition into Georgia in which the Artuḳid Nadjm al-Dīn Ghāzī, the Mazyādid Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa (Durbez of the Georgian chronicle) and the brother of the Sulṭān Tughrīl (lord of Arran and Nakhičewan) with his atābeg Kün-toghdī, all took part. On 18 August 1121 this army entered Tʿrialetʿ and Manglis, but was destroyed by Dawid and his Ḳīpčaḳs, after which in 515/1121-2), Dawid stormed Tiflis, so that the town might become "for ever an arsenal and capital for his sons"; Brosset, i, 365-7, and *Additions*, i, 230, 236-41; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, x, 398-9 (= Defrémery, *Fragments*, 26); Kamāl al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh Ḥalab*, in *Recueil des hist. des croisades*, iii, 628; Yāḳūt, i, 857 (s.v. art. Taflīs). The Arab historian al-ʿAynī (761-854/1360-1451), who utilises sources, some of which are no longer accessible (Brosset, i, 241), admits that Tiflis was burned and pillaged but, contrary to the other sources which emphasise the atrocities committed by Dawid (Matthew of Edessa in Brosset, *Add.*, i, 230), says that the king respected the feelings of the Muslims more than Muslim rulers had done. Dawid is also said to have promised to strike coins with Muslim legends; the coins however of the king (cf. Pakhomov, *Moneti*, etc., 77-81) bear the image of the Virgin. Great caution in dealing with the Muslims was necessary because, as the Georgian chronicle acknowledges, the fighting between Muslims and Christians was still very bitter (cf. Brosset, i, 380).

The Banū Djaʿfar. Dawid succeeded in Tiflis to the Banū Djaʿfar, of whom it is not known whether they were of Arab or purely Georgian origin. While the Georgian Chronicle (i, 367) puts at 400 years the period of Muslim rule in Tiflis, al-ʿAynī gives the Banū Djaʿfar alone a period of 200 years. Indeed, we have seen that in *ca.* 300/912 the *amīr* of Tiflis was already called Djaʿfar [b. ʿAlī] (Brosset, i, 275). His successor struck coins at Tiflis; *dirhams* are known of Manṣūr b. Djaʿfar, dated in 342 and 343 (with the name of the caliph al-Muṭīʿ li 'llāh), and of Djaʿfar b. Manṣūr, dated 364, 366 (al-Ṭāʾiʿ li 'llāh). In the time of Bagrat IV (1027-72) the *amīr* of Tiflis was called Djaʿfar (his father ʿAlī had carried off the property of the Sveti-Tskhoveli church of Mtskheta). The Chronicle calls him Mukhatʿ Gwerd Djapʿar (Mukhatʿ Gwerd is a place near Mtskheta). During the 40 years before the conquest of Tiflis by Dawid, the town was governed by the young members of the Banū Djaʿfar family, each of whom in turn held power for a month (al-ʿAynī).

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The strong kings. The reign of Dimitri (1125-54) was occupied with a civil war with the Orbeliani family. The Muslim rulers contemporary with him were: in Ādharbāydjān, the *atābeg* Ildeñiz or Eldigüz [*q.v.*] (in Georgian Ildiguz); at Ānī, the scions of the Shaddādids; at Khilāt, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Shāh-i Arman (523-79/1128-83); at Erzerum, the *amīr* Saltuḳ b. ʿAlī, whom the Georgians defeated near Ānī in 548/1153; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 126, year 548/1157; Münedjdjim-bashī, ii, 577; Defrémery, *Fragments*, 40. It was Dimitri who, taking advantage of the earthquake in 1139 at Gandja, carried off the famous iron gate of this town and took it to the monastery of Gelatʿi (cf. Fraehn, *Mém. Ac. St. Pétersbourg*, ser. 6, *Sc. morales*, iii, 531). The position in Tiflis is described by Ibn al-Azraḳ, the historian of Māyyāfāriḳīn, who visited Tiflis in 548/1153. He says the Muslims were in a favoured position. Every Friday Dimitri came to the mosque and sat on a dais (*dakka*) opposite the *khaṭīb*; cf. Amedroz, *Three Arabic manuscripts* . . . , in *JRAS* (1902), 791 (al-Azraḳ may have been the source used by al-ʿAynī).

Under Giorgi III (1156-84), the Muslim kingdoms around Georgia remained the same, and the king conducted vigorous campaigns against Erzerum, Ānī, Dwīn, Nakhičewān, Gandja, Bardhaʿa and Baylaḳān. To assist his cousin the Shīrwān-Shāh Akhsitān, son of Tamar, Giorgi's aunt, the king even went to Darband (cf. Brosset, i, 383-403, and *Add.* i, 253-7, 266; Ibn al-Athīr, years 556, 557, 559, 561, 569).

The reign of Tamar (1184-1211 or 1212), the "Sun of Kartli", is the culminating point in the history of Georgia, now on the threshold of terrible trials. Having forced the diadochi of the Saldjūḳs to accept peace, the Christian kingdom now assumed the offensive and surrounded itself with Muslim vassals. Tamar played an important part in the creation of the empire of the Comnenoi of Trebizond (Kunik, *Osnov. Trapez. imperii v 1204*, in *Učen. Zap. Akad. Nauk*, ii [1853], 705-33). The troops operating from Erzerum and Erzindjān inflicted defeats on the Ildeñizids of Ādharbāydjān. The sack of Ardabīl by the Georgians (Brosset, i, 469-73) finds confirmation in the *Silsilat al-nasab-i ṣafawiyya*, Berlin 1843, 43; cf. Khanykov, *Mél. Asiatiques*, i (1852), 580-3. The Chronicle also mentions in 1210-12 an expedition through the whole of northern Persia as far as Romguaro (= Ramdjār near Nishāpūr!), but beyond Tabrīz the stages in this march seem to be quite fanciful (Brosset, i, 469-73). In spite of the brilliant success of the generals Zakharé and Iwané of the Mkhargrdzel family (Armenian of Kurdish origin; cf. Brosset, *Add.*, i, 267), the Georgian victories were not lasting and of all her conquests, Tamar could only retain Ḳars (Brosset, i, 467). At home also (Djavakhov), the growing power of the feudal lords demanded the attention of the queen. Muslim customs penetrated into Georgia; the general Iwané was given the title of *Atābeg* ("used among the Sulṭāns"; Brosset, i, 474). In the reign of Tamar, we find mention of a rebel, Gozan son of Abu 'l-Hasan, "*amir* of Tiflis and Kartli" (is this a scion of the Banū Djaʿfar?).

The Mongols. The son of Tamar, Giorgi III Lasha ("splendid" in the Abkhazian language) who ruled from 1212-23, levied the *kharādj* of Gandja, Nakhičewān, Erzerum (Karnukalak) and Khilāṭ, but in 617/1220 the Mongol troops of Subutay and Djebe (in Georgian: Suba and Iama or Čʿeba) made their appearance in Persia. The Georgians were several times defeated; the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 493) considers the defeat at Berdudj (on the Borčala) as the turning-point in the fortunes of the Georgian armies, hitherto invincible.

Giorgi died suddenly and the throne passed to his sister Rusudan (1223-47) (*Kïz-malik*, the "maiden king" of the Muslims), a beautiful princess devoted to pleasure, whose hand was sought by her Muslim neighbours (Brosset, i, 495). In the end she chose the son of the Saldjūḳ of Erzerum, Mughīth al-Dīn Toghrïl (in Georgian Orʿul) who by his father's orders became a Christian (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 270: *ḥādithatun gharībatun lam yūdjad mithluhā*). In the letter from Rusudan to the Pope Innocent III (which reached Rome in 1224), the king speaks of the Mongol invasion as an insignificant episode, but a new enemy was at the gate.

The Khʷārazm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn defeated the Georgians at Garni in Shaʿbān 622/August 1225; (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 283; Nasawī, ed. Houdas, 112; Brosset, *Add.*, i, 309). The Georgian commander Shalwa (Djuwaynī, ii, 159: he and his brother) was taken prisoner. Tiflis was occupied on 9 March 1226, thanks to the treachery of the Persians who lived in the town. According to Djuwaynī, Djalāl al-Dīn spared the inhabitants and allowed them to withdraw to Abkhazia, but destroyed all the Christian places of worship. Ibn al-Athīr on the other hand says that the town was taken by storm (*ʿanwatan wa-ḳahran min ghayrⁱ amānin*) and all those who did not accept Islam were massacred. Nasawī (122) also confirms the massacre of all Georgians and Armenians in Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 504-7). The vizier Sharaf al-Mulk was appointed governor of the town. When he left for winterquarters at Gandja, the Georgians returned to Tiflis and burned the town, knowing that it was impossible for them to hold it (Nasawī, 125). Djalāl al-Dīn, occupied elsewhere, did not return to Georgia till 625/1228 when at Mindor (in Georgian "field") near Loré, he scattered the forces of the commander-in-chief Iwané, made up of very diverse elements: Georgians, Alāns, Armenians, people of Sarīr (= the Avar of Daghistān), Lakz, Ḳipčaḳ, Svan, Abkhāz, Djanīt (= Čʿan-etyi; cf. LAZ), men from Syria and Asia Minor (cf. Djuwaynī, ii, 170). The Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i, 510) says that after the victory at Bolnis (= Mindor?), Djalāl al-Dīn committed fresh atrocities at Tiflis.

Second coming of the Mongols. Djalāl al-Dīn disappeared from the scene in Shawwāl 628/August 1231), but the remnants of the Khʷārazmians disturbed the eastern part of Georgia and shut the feudal lords up in their castles. Tiflis, however, was still in possession of Rusudan, when the Mongols of Djurmaghan entered Georgia via Gandja. This took place in 1236 (Brosset, i, 333; according to d'Ohsson, iii, 75: *ca.* 632/1235). Rusudan left Tiflis for Kutais, and the governor of Tiflis burned the town (Brosset, i, 514: "thus was ruined the city of Tiflis").

The *noʾins*, of whom the Chronicle always mentions four (Čarmaghan, Čaghtar, Ioser and Bičuy) occupied the country and restored Tiflis. Rusudan's rule was confined to the valley of Rion.

The Mongols broke up the political organisation of the country: the Georgians were pressed into the Mongol service (expeditions against the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, against the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt, against Baghdād etc.). The country was divided into six *tumans* and the Georgian feudal lords (*mⁱʿawar*) whose fiefs underwent changes, were divided among the *noʾins*. The people of note had to go to Batu-Khān and then to the Great Khān in Mongolia, where they were kept for years. In this way the heir to the throne, Dawid (called in Mongol Narin "splendid"),

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was removed from the country. A certain Egarslan tried to unite the country against the Mongols ("he only lacked the name of king"; Brosset, i, 542), but the Mongols set up against him Dawid, son of Georgi Lasha, who was crowned at Mtskheta. He also had to go to Batu and to Ḳaraḳorum. The "two Dawids" are mentioned among these present at the *ḳurultay* of Güyük-Khān in 643/1245 (cf. Djuwaynī, i, 205, 212; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 242). Returning to Georgia, after the accession of Möngke (1248-59), they ruled together at first.

As Hülegü did not like Dawid Narin, the latter escaped to Abkhazia. "It was thus that our country became two principalities", says the Chronicle (Brosset, i, 546). Eastern Georgia owned two suzerains: on the one side, Batu-Khān, lord of the country north of the Caucasus, wished to extend his authority over Georgia; on the other side, the Il-Khāns of Persia asserted their rights over it. Dawid, son of Lasha, exasperated by the exactions of Khōdja ʿAzīz, collector of Mongol taxes (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 395, calls him "one of the governors of Georgia"), fled to his cousin. The *noʾin* Oyrat Arghun occupied Tiflis. A reconciliation only took place when the son of Lasha had fought beside Hülegü against the troops of Berke, successor of Batu who had invaded Shīrwān in 2162 (d'Ohsson, iii, 182). In the reign of Abagha or Abaḳa, Berke returned to Transcaucasia and reached Tiflis, where many Christians were massacred (in 1266; cf. *ibid.*, 418).

The successor to Dawid, son of Lasha, was his son Dimitri II (1273-89), who took part in the numerous campaigns of Abagha and Aḥmad, but in the reign of Arghun his treasures were confiscated and he himself beheaded after being bastinadoed at the *ordu*. The Georgians call him Tʿav-Dadebuli, "he who gave his head as a sacrifice".

Several further kings were nominated and deposed by the Mongols. In vain Dawid VI (1292-1310) endeavoured to negotiate with the Khān of the house of Batu (Otakha = Tokhtoghu); he had to send to Ghazan an embassy consisting of the Orthodox Catholicos and the *ḳāḍī* of Tiflis (cf. Brosset, i, 615; this last detail is evidence of the revival of Islam as a result of the accession of Ghazan!). The Georgians continued to take part in all the campaigns of the Mongols, which however saved them neither from persecutions (cf. the activity of the Muslim *noʾin* Nawrūz in the reign of Ghazan: Brosset, i, 617) nor from attempts to convert them (e.g. after the Gīlān expedition of 1307).

Giorgi V. After the death of Öldjeytü (717/1317), Giorgi V (Brtsḳinwale, the Splendid"") was placed on the throne (1316-46) under the patronage of the *amīr* Čoban. Giorgi profited by the troubles in the last years of the dynasty of the Il-Khāns to drive out the Mongols. He exterminated the rebels, went with his army into Imereti, and united under his rule not only the Georgian lands as far as Sper (now Ispir) but all the lands from "Nikophsia (15 miles from Sukhum on the Black Sea) to Darband".

Tīmūr. It was during the long reign of Bagrat V (1360-95) that Tīmūr made his appearance. The official historian of his reign represents his campaign in Georgia as a *djihād*. Tīmūr set out from Ḳars in the winter of 788/1386 (*Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 401). Bagrat had shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. The town was captured and the King and Queen taken prisoners. The Chronicle and Thomas of Metsopʿ (Nève, *Exposé*, 37) mention the apostasy of the King, but represent it as a clever ruse which enabled him to exterminate 12,000 of Tīmūr's soldiers and regain his lands. His son Giorgi succeeded him in 1395. The *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 705, 720, does not give these details. In 796/1394 it only mentions the despatch of four generals to the district of Akhaltsikhe (Akhiskha [*q.v.*]) in order to apply the law of *ghazā*ʾ. Tīmūr in person finally chastised the Georgians called Ḳara-Ḳalḳanlīḳ ("with black bucklers" = the Georgian mountaineers, the Pshaws and Khewsurs) and returned via Tiflis to Shakkī [*q.v.*].

In 798/1395 the Georgians, allied with Sīdī ʿAlī of Shakkī, inflicted a defeat on the troops of the Tīmūrid Mīrān-Shāh who was besieging Alindjaḳ (near Nakhičewān) and delivered Sulṭān Ṭāhir Djalāyir, who was shut up in it (*ibid.*, ii, 203). This event brought about its reaction in winter 802/1399 when Tīmūr took Shakkī and mercilessly ravaged the wooded defile of Khimshā (?), probably in northern Kakheti, where a Khimshia family held a fief at Mareli, to the east of Tʿionetʿi (Brosset, ii/2, 464). In the spring of 802/1400 Tīmūr marched on Tiflis and demanded that King Giorgi (Gurgīn) should hand over Sulṭān Ṭāhir. On receiving an evasive answer, Tīmūr laid the country completely waste (*ibid.*, ii, 214). Tiflis received a Khurāsānian garrison, but Giorgi retired again to the mountains. After the voluntary submission of a Georgian prince named Djānī-Beg and the capture of the fortress of Zarīt (?), Tīmūr's troops set out in pursuit of Giorgi and laid Svanethia waste. Giorgi went into Abkhazia and sent Ṭāhir back to Asia Minor. Through the intermediary of a Muslim named Ismāʿīl (Brosset, i, 668) he offered to Tīmūr to pay the *kharādj*. Tīmūr accepted the offer. Next the land of the Georgian Ivané (the *atābeg* of Samtskhe) was converted to Islam and that of the Ḳara-Ḳalḳanlīḳ plundered. After resting for two months in the summer quarters of Min-göl ("1,000 Lakes") near Ḳars, he sent troops against the Georgians who had concentrated at Farasgird (Pʿanaskert, on the upper Čʿorokh); *ibid.*, ii, 250.

In 804/end of 1401 Tīmūr returned to Transcaucasia via Sīvās-Baghdād-Tabrīz. His delegates (*muḥaṣṣil*) went to collect the tribute (*sāw wa-kharādj wa-djizya*) from Giorgi, who sent his brother with the contributions. Tīmūr gave Giorgi *amān* on condition that he supplied him with troops and treated the Muslims well (*ibid.*, ii, 379). In the summer of 804/1402 Tīmūr went from Ḳarabāgh [*q.v.*] to Min-göl and took the fortress of Tortum occupied by Kurdjīḳ, lieutenant of a certain Tadjī (?).

When, in 805/1403, Tīmūr returned to Erzerum, he decided to punish Giorgi for not having come to present his congratulations on his victory over Bāyazīd. At Min-göl, Ivané, son of Aḳ-budjā, arrived with gifts as did Ḳustāndīl (Constantine), brother of Giorgi, who was then on bad terms with his brother (*ibid.*, ii, 512). Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān went to estimate the revenues and expenses of Georgia (*ibid.*, ii, 521). Giorgi sent new presents, but Tīmūr refused them and summoned Giorgi to appear in person. In Muḥarram 806/August 1403 he himself laid siege to the impregnable fortress of Kūrtīn defended by Nazāl or Nazwāl (the Chronicle calls it Birthwis on Alget) and took it in nine days (*ibid.*, ii, 524-32). The troops then laid waste the country round (*aṭrāf*) Georgia as far as the borders (*ḥudūd*) of Abkhazia: "which is the end of this country". Seven hundred towns and villages were destroyed, and the historian of Tīmūr waxes eloquent over the massacres and destruction (ii, 536). Tīmūr only stopped them when the *ʿulamāʾ* The Georgians sent 1,000 *tan*possible to grant *amān*. The Georgians sent 1,000 *tanga*s of gold struck in the

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name of Timūr, 1,000 horses, a ruby weighing 18 *miṯḳals*, etc.

Timūr passed through Tiflis, destroyed all the monasteries and churches and went to Baylaḳān (winter of 806/1403-4). All the country from Baylaḳān to Trebizond was given as an appanage to the prince Khalīl Mīrzā (ii, 545).

Post-Timūrid period. The general disorder, after the havoc wrought by Timūr, is reflected in the part of the Chronicle which gives a brief account of the reigns. The Muslim sources (*Maṭla*ᶜ *al-saᶜdayn*, in *Notices and extraits*, xiv, 235 and Mirkhᵛānd; cf. Defrémery, *Fragments*, 245) mention an expedition of Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān, a friend of the dynasty of the Djalāyirids against the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Ḳara Yūsuf in which Kustāndīl, king of Gurdjistān, took part. The allied forces were defeated to the north of the Araxes, and Ḳara Yūsuf slew Kustāndīl with his own hand. This happened in 815/1412-13. Also, 300 *aznāᵓūrs* (Georgian nobles; cf. Armenian *azn* "race") were massacred. Vakhusht (Brosset, i, 689) alone mentions Constantine as king and puts his death in 1414. In 1413 (1416 ?) on the invitation of the Persians (= Muslims) of Akhaltsikhe, Ḳara Yūsuf invaded this region and laid the country waste (Thomas of Metsopᶜ; cf. Nève, *loc. cit.*, 96; Brosset, *Add.*, i, 399). The Chronicle confesses that down to the accession of Alexander (1413-43) "no consoler arose from anywhere". The king gradually drove out the invaders, restored the cathedral of Sveti Tskhoveli (at Mtskheta) and repaired the fortresses. The Georgian envoys who greeted Shāh-Rukh in 823/1420 at Kara-bāgh (cf. Mīrkhᵛānd, in Defrémery, *op. cit.*, 251) must have been sent by Alexander, and when in 841/1437 Shāh-Rukh arrived in Somkhetia (cf. above), Alexander sent him rich gifts, after which the son of Timūr left Georgia. In 1444/848 the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu Djihān-shāh made a raid to Akhal-tsikhe (cf. Brosset, i, 683; according to Thomas of Metsopᶜ, Djihān-shāh took Tiflis in 1440; cf. Nève, 149).

The partition of Georgia. At this period, Georgian tradition becomes exceedingly difficult to unravel (Brosset, i, 679-89). The history of Vakhusht, which continues and corrects the Chronicle and agrees better with the statements of the Muslim historians, begins with the reign of Constantine III (1469-1505), during which Georgia was divided into three main kingdoms (Brosset, ii/1, 11-18, 147, 208, 249): Kartli, with capital Tiflis; Imereti, with capital Kutais; and Kakheti, with capital at Gremi (Persian Girīm) and later at Tᶜelav. In addition, the *atābeg* of Samtskhe (with capital Akhal-tsikhe) rebelled and founded the independent principality of Santabago (consisting of Samtskhe, on the upper course of the Kur, and of Klardjetᶜia on the Čᶜorokh), the princes of which from Manučar III = Ṣafar-pasha (1625) had become Muslims (Brosset, ii, 228). A number of local princes also became independent of Imereti (the Guriels of Guria, the Dadians of Mingrelia, and the Gelovani of the Svans; cf. ABKHĀZ). In Kartli also, Constantine III's reign was disturbed by the invasion of Bagrat II of Imereti.

The Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. In this period Uzun Ḥasan comes on the stage. According to Münedjdjim-bashī, iii, 160, he went to Georgia for the first time in 871/1466, when he liberated the Muslim prisoners and took the fortress of Čemāḳār (?). Civil complications prevented him taking Akhal-tsikhe, but he returned to the attack in 877/1472. King Bakzātī (read: Bagrat II of Imereti) was dethroned (*ḳahr*) and 30,000 prisoners taken from Georgia. According to Vakhusht's version, Tiflis was surrendered to Uzun Ḥasan by Constantine, evidently to prevent Bagrat getting it. Uzun Ḥasan left a garrison in Tiflis but entrusted its government to Constantine (cf. Brosset, ii, 13, 25). The *Taᵓrīḵ-i Amīnī*, however, calls the governor (*iyālat*) left by Uzun Ḥasan, Ṣūfī Khalīl Beg, who stayed there till the death of Uzun Ḥasan in 882/1478, when the Georgians re-occupied the town.

Sulṭān Yaᶜḳūb Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu invaded Samtskhe in the autumn of 891/1486 to chastise the *Atābeg* Ḳvarḳvare. In the next year, Yaᶜḳūb sent Ṣūfī Khalīl Beg to conquer Georgia. The construction of the forts of Aghdja-ḳalᶜa and Kaozani was begun by the Turkomans on the lower course of the Debeda (Borčala) at the place which commands the approaches to Georgia from the south (cf. the *Geography of Vaḫushṭ*). Kustāndīl (Constantine III) withdrew from Tiflis, Ṣūfī Khalīl began the siege with the help of reinforcements which arrived in the winter; he took first of all the fortress of Kudjīr (Kodjori, south of Tiflis). In the fighting around Tiflis, the Muslims suffered heavily but finally Walī aghā eshikči-aghasī took the town (3 Rabīᶜ I 894/4 February 1489) (cf. the unpublished history of the reign of Yaᶜḳūb, *Taᵓrīḵ-i Amīnī*, MS. Bibl. Nat. Paris, 101, fols. 101a-5a and 155a-9a). The Chronicle (Brosset, ii, 326-7), which confirms many of the details, denies however that Tiflis was taken and adds that the people of the fief of Sabaratᶜiano (called Barāt-ili by the Muslims) on the Alget inflicted a defeat on the Turkomans.

The Ṣafawids. In 907/1501 a detachment of Ismāᶜīl's forces under the command of Khādim-Beg invaded Georgia (*Shāhinshāh-nāma*, quoted by Dorn). The invasion by Dīw Sulṭān in 926/1520 was stopped by the embassy of Ramaz, son of Dawid VIII, to Ismāᶜīl I (cf. *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay, iii, *djuzᵓ* 4, 92). In 929/1522-3 the founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty seized Aghdja-ḳalᶜa and by making certain promises obtained the surrender of the citadel of Tiflis; he desecrated the churches and built a mosque "at the corner of the bridge"; cf. Vakhusht, in Brosset, ii/1, 23 (the mosque is still standing on the right bank).

Iskandar Munshī mentions four expeditions on a large scale sent by Shāh Ṭahmāsp against Georgia. In 947/1540 Ṭahmāsp seized Tiflis, the governor of which (for Luarsab I) submitted to the Persians and became a Muslim. Next, the fortress of Bartīs (? Birtvis) was taken (*ᶜĀlam-ārā*, Tehran 1314, 63). The second time was in 193/1546 when the Georgian princes came to pay homage to Ṭahmāsp at Shūragel (near Gümri = Alexandropol = Leninakan). The third expedition in 958/1551 was sent from Shakkī on the appeal of the *atābeg* Kay Khusraw, son of Ḳurḳura (Ḳwarḳware) who complained of the injuries done him by Luarsab (Iskandar Munshī writes Lawārṣāb, but the name is Iranian: Luhrāsp; cf. *Mirᵓāt al-buldān*).

According to Iskandar Munshī, *ᶜĀlam-ārā*, 65, by the Turco-Persian peace of 961/1553 the territories of Mask (Meskhi = Samtskhe), of Kārtlī (Kartli) and of Kākhit were allotted to Shāh Ṭamhāsp, while Sulṭān Sulaymān received those of Bashī-ačuk ("with head uncovered", a nickname of the king of Imereti), of Dādiyān and of Gūriyān (Guria) as far as Trebizond and Trablus (Tire-boli). Luarsab I, however, continued to worry Tiflis. This provoked the fourth expedition. Barāt-ili (Sabaratᶜiano), Gori and Ateni were occupied and the king himself fel in battle. Vakhasht dates the four expeditions to 1536, 1548, 1553 and 1558 respectively. Brosset, ii/1, 452, considers these very probable as they coincide very well

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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with the vicissitudes of the Turco-Persian war.

King Swimon I, son of the indomitable Luarsab, had a troubled reign (1558-1600). He was defeated by the Persians and replaced by this brother Dawid (Dāwūd Khān), who purchased the throne at the price of apostasy. Swimon was imprisoned in Alamût, from where he was released by Ismāʿīl II (984/1576-7) to checkmate the activity of the Ottomans.

Ottoman domination 986-1011/1578-1603. In 986/1578, during the reign of the weak Shāh Khudābanda, the Ottomans under Muṣṭafā Lala Pasha penetrated into Georgia via Samtskhe, and in August seized Tiflis, from which Dāwūd Khān had fled. The Turks put a garrison of 200 men with 100 guns in Tiflis. Muḥammad, son of Ferhād-Pasha, was given the *sandjak* (*pashalik*?) of Tiflis (von Hammer, *GOR*², ii, 483). Two churches were turned into mosques. In October, Gori received a Turkish garrison and was given as a *sandjak* to Swimon. When Muṣṭafā Pāshā returned to Erzerum, Imām Ḳulī Khān, son of the Shamkhal slain by Özdemir-Pasha, and Swimon laid siege to Tiflis. Supplies were brought to the garrison by Ḥasan Pasha (*ibid.*, 489), but the struggle around the town continued. In 1580 the new *serʿasker* Sinān Pasha arrived in Tiflis and appointed as *Beglerbeg* a son of Luarsab who had adopted Islam under the name of Yūsuf (?). Swimon made advances to the Turks which were not accepted. In Radjab 990/August 1582 Muḥammad Bey left Erzerum to bring supplies to Tiflis, but was defeated at Gori by the Persians and Georgians. Ferhād Pasha put himself at the head of a new expedition (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 990/December 1582) intended to strengthen the towns held by the Ottomans. In 992/1584, Riḍwān Pasha left for Tiflis. Dāwūd Khān on further reflection went over to the Turks. Swimon attacked Riḍwān but without success. Ferhād Pasha's Janissaries mutinied at Akhal-kalaki, which forced him to retire. After the campaign of 993/1585 against Tabrīz [*q.v.*], the Ottomans obtained from Persia the cession of Ādjarbāydjān and of Transcaucasia including Georgia (treaty of 25 Djumādā I 999/March 21, 1590); cf. the *Chronicle of the Psalter of Meshki* (1559-87) in Takaishvili, *op. cit.*, 183-214; von Hammer, ii, 481-97 (Brosset has given an annotated translation, ii/1, 411-19). The principal source used by von Hammer is the *Nuṣretnāma* of ʿAlī (Jan. 1578-Jan. 1580). On the other Turkish sources, cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 117, 181. Soon after the accession of Muḥammad III (1003/1595), Swimon was taken in a skirmish and sent to Istanbul, where he died in 1600. Ottoman rule, more or less undisturbed, lasted from 999/1591 till 15 Djumādā I 1012/21 October 1603 when Tiflis was retaken by Shāh ʿAbbās I. The Turco-Persian treaty of 1021/1612 re-established the situation as it had been under Sulṭān Selīm (918-26/1512-20).

Shāh ʿAbbās I and the Muslim Kings. The worst misfortunes fell upon Georgia (and especially on Kakheti) in the region of this monarch. Although Giorgi of Kartli and Alexander of Kakheti had fought under his banner at the siege of Eriwān in 1602, ʿAbbās after his victory took Lore from Georgia. He married the sister of Luarsab II (1605-16) but brought the latter to Persia and had him strangled at Gulāb-kalʿa. In 1025/1616 ʿAbbās came in person to Georgia and granted Kartli to the Muslim Bagrat VI (1616-19). He then punished Kakheti. According to the official history of the reign, *ʿĀlamārā*, 635, the number of those put to death was 60-70,000 and the number of young prisoners of both sexes 100,000-130,000: "since the beginning of Islam no such events have taken place under any king". In 1033/1623 Karčiḳa-Khān on being sent to Georgia called to the colours 10,000 men of Kakheti and instead of leading them against Imereti had them massacred "as if at a battue" (*shikārī-wār*; *ʿĀlam-ārā*, 719). Exasperated by such treachery, the *mourav* ("governor of lower rank"; Brosset, ii/1, 148; the Persians write *mihraw*) Giorgi Saakadze (a Muslim and till then a faithful servant of the Shāh) raised a rebellion in Kartli which the Persians did not overcome till 1035/1626 (Iosselian, *Žizn mourawa G. Saakadze*, Tiflis 1848; Brosset, ii/1, 53-9, 489-97). In spite of all these disasters, the part played by Georgians in the life of Persia becomes more and more important, and Shāh Ṣafī, successor to ʿAbbās I, owed his throne to the support of Khusraw Mīrzā, brother of the King Bagrat who was *daruġa* of Iṣfahān.

When Swimon II perished in the civil war (1629), Tʿeimuraz I of Kakheti (1605-64, a very troubled reign marked by all kinds of misfortunes; his mother Khetʿewan was put to death at Shīrāz in 1624; Brosset, ii/1, 167) came to Kartli, where he reigned from 1629 to 1664, after which the Kay Khusraw already mentioned arrived from Persia and set himself up in Tiflis under the name of Rostom (1634-58). The old King, brought up in Persia, took the Persian title of *ḳullar-aghasī* and ordered his court in the Persian fashion. Persian garrisons were installed at Gori and Suram. The Georgian prisoners who had become converts to Islam returned from Persia; Persian manners and customs became the fashion. On the other hand, as if to celebrate the fusion of the two cultures, Rostom celebrated his marriage both in the mosque and in the church, and restored the cathedral of Mtskheta, etc.

In 1045/1636 Murād IV took Eriwān and by the treaty of 1049/1639 Persia renounced her claims to Ḳars and Akhal-tsikhe (*Taʾrīkh-i Naʿīmā*, 686); according to Vakhusht (Brosset, ii/1, 68), the Sulṭān received Imereti and Saatbago and the Shāh kept Kartli and Kakheti.

Vakhtang (to Muslims, Shāh Nawāz I), adopted son of Rostom, succeeded him (1658-76). The Persophile policy continued. Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66) married the daughter of Shāh Nawāz. The latter, although a Muslim, favoured the Christian religion and even restored the confession and the communion of which the people "had been ashamed" in the reign of Rostom (Brosset, *ibid.*, 79). In order to give more support to Shāh Nawāz, the Muslim tribes of Ādharbāydjān and Ḳarabāgh (15,000 Djawānshīrī and Bayats) were settled in Kakheti (cf. the *History of Shāh ʿAbbās II* by Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waḥīd, in Dorn, 109, 111 = Brosset, ii/1, 503-4). Shāh Nawāz fought in Imereti, but when he set his son on the throne there, the Shāh restored the situation as guaranteed by the treaty of 1049/1639.

Giorgi XI (Shāh Nawāz II) received investiture from Shāh Sulaymān. In 1688 he fell a victim to his own intrigues in Kakheti and the Shāh replaced him by Erekle I (1688-91, 1695-1703). This King, who had been brought up in Russia, became a convert to Islam under the name of Naẓar ʿAlī Khān.

The Afghān Invasion of Persia. When the Balūč and the Afghāns began to disturb eastern Persia, King Giorgi with a body of Georgians was sent against them by Shāh Ḥusayn. He restored order in Ḳandahār, but in 1121/1709 was treacherously slain by Mīr Ways [cf. AFGHĀNISTĀN. v. History (2)], who then defeated the new Georgian forces led by Giorgi's successor, Kay Khusraw (1709-11). These events paved the way to the Afghān invasion of Persia.

Vakhtang (governor of Kartli 1703-11; king,

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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1711-24 with interruptions) was at first a Christian. The Persian garrisons with the connivance of certain Georgian elements went in for slave-trading. Vakhtang tried to put down this traffic (Brosset, ii/1, 97, 101, 105) and in general "humbled the Muslims, especially those who garrisoned the citadel of Tiflis". Between 1714 and 1716 he was replaced by a fervent Muslim Iese (= ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān) and only regained the throne at the price of professing Islam.

After the decisive victory of the Afghāns at Gūnābād, near Iṣfahān (1134/1722), Shāh Ḥusayn sought help from Vakhtang, but in November 1721 the latter had offered his services to Russia (Brosset, ii/1, 117). Peter the Great, who reached Darband on 23 August 1722 had to return at once to Russia. On the other hand, the King of Kakheti Muḥammad-Ḳulī Khān (Constantine III) took the field on the side of the Lezgis against Vakhtang and in 1723 took Tiflis, which was plundered for three days.

The second Ottoman occupation (1135-47/1723-34). The troubles in Persia and the Russian advance disturbed Turkey. War against the Shīʿīs was declared permitted. In Ramaḍān 1135/June 1723 the *serʿasker* Ibrāhīm Pasha, who had been negotiating with Vakhtang, installed in Tiflis the latter's son Bakar (in Persian Shāh Nawāz and now given in Turkish the name Ibrāhīm Pāshā). The Janissaries occupied the citadel. Bakar soon rebelled, but the Turks sent to Tiflis reinforcements under Iese, uncle of Bakar (who now assumed the name of ʿAbd Allāh). In the meanwhile the Russo-Persian treaty of 12 September 1723, was signed by which the provinces on the Caspian were ceded to Russia. As a counterpoise, through the good offices of the French ambassador, a Russo-Turkish treaty was concluded at Constantinople on 12 June 1724: Russia kept Dāghistān and the narrow strip of litoral; Turkey obtained all Transcaucasia as far as Shamākha, including the Georgian territory (von Hammer, *GOR*, iv, 206-14. The Ottoman historian of these events is Čelebi-zāde; on the other sources, cf. Babinger, *GOW*, 289; Nāmī, *Fetḥ-nāme der ḫaḳḳ-i Gürdjistān*).

The deposed King Vakhtang went to Russia with a retinue of 1,400 (August 1724). The Turks, having taken possession of Kartli, took a census and levied taxes on the inhabitants. The stay at Tiflis of the noble ʿOthmān Topal Pasha alone has left a pleasing memory among the Georgians (Brosset, ii/1, 129). Iese did not bear the title of king, and the real power passed to Isḥāḳ Pasha, a hereditary ruler of Akhaltsikhe established at Tiflis. After the death of Iese (1727), Isḥāḳ Pasha was appointed governor of all Georgia (Brosset, ii/1, 236). In 1728 he divided Kartli among the feudal lords (*mtʿavar*) whose dissensions made it easy for him to control them. The Lezgis continued to ravage Georgia (cf. Brosset, *l.c.*; von Hammer, iv, 223, 231, 235, 280, 313).

Nādir Shāh. In 1143/1730-1 after a war in which he won little glory, Shāh Ṭahmāsp recognised the Araxes as the frontier between Persia and Turkey (Mahdī Khān, *Taʾrīḫ-i Nādirī*, Tabrīz 1284, 90 = tr. Jones, i, 141; von Hammer, iv, 227 dates the peace to 6 February 1732). Nādir dissatisfied, dethroned Ṭahmāsp and resumed the conquest of Transcaucasia. While he was operating against Dāghistān (1147/autumn of 1734) Isḥāḳ Pasha of Tiflis set out with an army to the help of Gandja. Tʿeimuraz, son of Naẓar ʿAlī Khān (= Erekle I), and his nephew ʿAlī Mīrzā = Alexander (son of Imām Ḳulī = Dawid III) attacked Isḥāḳ Pasha and forced him to shut himself up in the citadel of Tiflis. Nādir, highly gratified, gave presents to the two princes (*ibid.*, 114 = Jones, i, 200). At the siege of Gandja, Nādir ordered Ṣafī Khān Bughārʾirī to lay siege to Tiflis with the help of the Georgian nobles (*mawrāvān wa-aznāwurān*; *ibid.*, 116 = Jones, 205).

When ʿAbd Allāh Pasha was defeated at Baghaward near Erīwān, Isḥāḳ Pasha surrendered the citadel of Tiflis on 22 Rabīʿ I, 1147 = 17 Sept. 1734 (*ibid.*, 123). Nādir summoned the nobles (*tāwādān wa-aznāwurān*) of Kartli and Kakheti among whom Ṭahmūraṯh (= Tʿeimuraz) had most importance and privileges. Nādir however appointed as *wālī* of Kartli and Kakheti, ʿAlī Mīrzā, because he was a Muslim, and his brother Muḥammad Mīrzā (= Leon) had fallen in battle against ʿOthmān Pasha. Ṭahmūraṯh was allowed to go to Kakheti to bring his family (*kūč*) to Tiflis. Now he was a "man of the sword and rapid decision"; he fled to the mountoins of "Ḳarakalkhān (Pshaw), Rūs (Ruʾis, west of Gori?) and Čerkes". Nādir sent his troops in pursuit of him, and arrived himself at Tiflis on 29 Djumādā I, where he distributed punishments and rewards. 6,000 Georgian families of the Ḳayḳul (Abots) were transported to Khurāsān (*ibid.*, 124 = Jones, 219). In 1149/1736 Ṣafī Khān captured Tʿeimuraz and sent him to Persia. At the beginning fo the Indian campaign, Nādir released Tʿeimuraz but kept his young son Erekle with him.

In 1156/end of 1743, Ṭahmūraṯh Khān captured the pretender Sām Mīrzā and later (1157/1744) along with ʿAlī Khān Ḳilidja (? the Georgian sources call him Khandjal, Ḳizilidjali), new *beglerbegi* of Tiflis, defeated near Ruʾis on the Aragwi Yūsuf Pasha of Akhaltsikhe, who by order of the Porte went to Daghistān to work for another pretender Ṣafī Mīrzā. Arriving at Gori, Nādir, as a reward for Ṭahmūraṯh's services, transferred him to Karli and gave Kakheti to his son Erekle (*ibid.*, 202 = Jones, ii, 164; cf. Brosset, ii/1, 77 (Papuna Orbeliani) and ii/2, 208 (Kherkheulidze).

In 1158/1745 Nādir levied an impost of 50,000 *tumans* on Georgia. Tʿeimuraz went to obtain a reduction, but on reaching Tabrīz he heard of the death of Nādir. The latter's successor was ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān, husband of Khetʿevan, daughter of Tʿeimuraz.

The Bagratids of Kakhetʿi. The period of troubles after the death of Nādir (1162/1749) and the reign of Karīm Khān, a prince of a peaceful disposition, whose influence did not extend north of the Araxes, secured a respite for Georgia. The opportunity was skilfully exploited by Tʿeimuraz (king of Kartli 1744-61) and by his son Erekle or Irakli II (king of Kakheti 1744-61; king of Kartli and Kakheti 1761-90). The reign of these Christian kings is one of the happiest periods in the history of Georgia. They conducted numerous expeditions into Transcaucasia. In 1752 the Afghān Āzād-Khān, a rival of the Zand dynasty, was defeated by Erekle near Erīwān and in 1760 captured at Ḳazaḳh and sent to Karīm-Khān. The Kurds of Erīwān were chastised in 1765, 1770 and 1780, and the Georgian troops pursued them over the district of Bāyazīd. Almost every year the Georgians drove back successfully the incursions of the raiding bands from Dāghistān (the most dangerous leader of whom was ʿUmar Khān Awar). Only the Khāns of Shakkī, Ḥādjdjī Čelebi and Agha Kishi (in 1752-3), ever succeeded in inflicting reverses on the Georgians.

In spite of all these success, the situation of Georgia was precarious, and in 1760 Tʿeimuraz went to Russia to seek assistance. But he only arrived a few days after the death of the Empress Elizabeth, and he himself died in St. Petersburg on the 8th/20th January 1762.

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Erekle, becoming king of the united kingdoms, continued the policy of rapprochement with Russia. At the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war, a Russian force under the command of General Totleben arrived in Georgia (in 1769) and with Erekle marched against Akhal-tsikhe. The allies did not agree (cf. the letter from Catherine II to Voltaire of 4 December 1770) and the Russian troops returned to Russia in 1772. But, left alone, Erekle gained a considerable success at Aspindza and, with Solomon of Imereti, besieged Akhal-kalaki. Sulaymān Pasha of Akhal-tsikhe soon assumed the offensive. The Russo-Turkish treaty of Küčük-Kaynardja (1774 [*q.v.*]) brought no territorial change in the lands of Georgia. The Porte only renounced the tribute of youths and maidens and other levies (art. 23). But after the treaty, Sulaymān Pasha of Akhal-tsikhe had to send a representative to Istanbul. On the other hand, he renewed his appeals to St. Petersburg and asked that his kingdom should be united (*prisovokupleno*) to Russia (Tsagareli, *Gramoti*, No. 144). Russia gave an evasive answer, and it was not till 24 July 1783 that the treaty establishing a protectorate was signed. Russia guaranteed to Erekle his lands and left him full control of domestic policy, but the management of foreign affairs passed to Russia. A Russian force was sent to Tiflis but recalled in 1787.

The Ḳādjārs. During this period the Ḳādjārs had succeeded the Zands. In 1795 Agha Muḥammad Ḳādjār laid siege to Shūsha in Karabāgh and then turned against Tiflis, which was taken on 11 September 1795 and pillaged in dreadful fashion; cf. Brosset, ii/2, 260; Olivier, *Voyages en Orient*, iii, 78 (testimony of an Hungarian physician who was an eye-witness). The Persian invasion was followed by an invasion by Dāghistānis. In 1795 two Russian battalions arrived in Georgia; in March 1796, Russia declared war on Persia. But on Nov. 6/18, Catherine II died and her son Paul I at once recalled the Russian troops. Agha Muḥammad set out again for Transcaucasia, but was assassinated near Shūsha (15 June 1797). The aged King Erekle died on 12/23 January 1798.

His son Giorgi XII succeeded him. Fatḥ ʿAlī Ḳādjār was occupied in dealing with his rivals. From Ḳars, Giorgi sent a force of 2,000 Lezgis under the command of his two sons; dynastic intrigues in the King's family rendered his position very difficult. In 1799 he sent an embassy to St. Petersburg, the object of which was as follows: Georgia should be placed not under a protectorate, but under the full power of the emperor, like the other provinces of Russia. On the other hand, the throne was to be guaranteed to the dynasty.

On 18 December 1800, Paul I signed the manifesto of annexation (*prisoyedineniye*) of Georgia, which was proclaimed on 18 January 1801 after the death of Giorgi on 28 December 1800. On 11 March, Paul I was put to death. In April the Georgian envoys begged the emperor Alexander I to appoint a Georgian prince as governor with the title of imperial lieutenant and king of Georgia. On 12 September 1801 Alexander I, alleging the impossibility of re-establishing the old government under a protectorate, confirmed the manifesto of Paul I and affirmed that Kartli-Kakheti were henceforth to be an integral part of the Imperial Russian dominions. The remaining members of the old Georgian ruling house were exiled forcibly to Russia.

Georgia under Russian rule. Russian possession of Georgia facilitated the extension of Russian power in Transcaucasia. The Commander of the Caucasus, Prince Tsitsianov (himself the scion of the noble Georgian family of Tsitsishvili and governor 1802-6), had to preserve Russia's latest acquisition against several open enemies, including the Lesghian tribesmen of Muslim Dāghistān and the Muslim khāns of Bakū, Shakkī and Gandja in Ādharbāydjān, nominal vassals of Persia. He now carried the war into the enemy's camp and in January 1804 captured Gandja, killing its ruler Djawād Khān, who had helped the Ḳādjār Agha Muḥammad to invade Georgia and sack Tiflis in 1795 (see above); Gandja [*q.v.*] was now renamed Elizavetapol in honour of the Tsar Alexander I's wife Elizabeth. But when Tsitsianov marched on Bakū in January 1806, he was killed in battle by local Persian troops, although a further expedition later in that year lead to the capture of both Bakū and Darband. Pressure was also exerted on the Ottomans, and the Black Sea port of Poti captured in 1809, Sukhum-Ḳalʿa in Abkhāzia in 1810 and the strategic centre of Akhalkalaki in south-western Georgia in 1811; it was only now, in 1810, that the local ruler of Imereti submitted to the Russians after strenuous fighting.

Meanwhile, Russian rule in Georgia had speedily become hated, and a mass revolt of the Georgians came in 1812, when a Bagratid prince was proclaimed King of Georgia, before the outbreak was suppressed. However, a general peace in Transcaucasia was now made between the exhausted warring parties. The Treaty of Bucharest of 1812 restored Poti and Akhalkalaki to the Ottomans. The Treaty of Finkenstein of 1807, by which the Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte had recognised Persia's rights over Georgia, had never had any practical effect, and in the Gulistān Treaty of 1813 Russia was now confirmed in possession of Georgia, together with Daghistān and the Muslim khānates of Ḳarabāgh, Gandja, Shakkī, Shirwān, Darband, Bakū and Ḳuba [*q.vv.*]. Naturally, the Persians were unreconciled to these serious losses of ancestrally-controlled territories in the eastern Caucasus, and in 1826, taking advantage of the death of Alexander I and the Decembrist conspiracy in St. Petersburg, Persia invaded Georgia and Ḳarabāgh. The attack was nevertheless repulsed by General Paskevich, and by the Treaty of Turkmānčay in 1828, the Russian frontier was firmly fixed at the Araxes and Persian influences in the Caucasus finally eliminated. An important consequence of this was that Persia was now cut off from direct contact with the Muslims of Dāghistān. Paskevich now turned to deal with Turkey in the west, aiming at the reconquest of the former Georgian province of Samtskhe, and Russian troops penetrated as far as Erzerum; the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 handed Samtskhe over to Russia and also the Black Sea ports of Poti and Anapa, thereby cutting the Ottomans off from direct access to Circassia and the north-western Caucasus.

Muslim alarm at Russian aggrandisement in the Caucasus showed itself in the outbreak in 1829 in the eastern Caucasus of the *Murīd* movement under the *Imāms* Ḳāḍī Mollā and then Shamīl [*q.v.*], who for a quarter of a century kept large numbers of Russian troops tied down in the region. Rebellions against the Russians also broke out in the western Caucasus, in Circassia and Abkhāzia, with Turkish and British encouragement. During the Crimean War (1854-6), Georgia was the base for Russian attacks on Turkey, leading to the capture of Ḳārṣ in 1855; meanwhile, a Turkish army under ʿÖmer Pasha landed in Abkhāzia and invaded Mingrelia.

Internally, Georgia stagnated in the first decades

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of Russian rule, an especial cause of resentment being the suppresion in 1811 of the independent Georgian Church, as a focus for national Georgian loyalties, in defiance of the guarantees of the 1783 Russo-Georgian Treaty, and its forcible incorporation into the Russian Orthodox Church, with the Catholicos-Patriarch Antoni II exiled to St. Petersburg. The Russian administration cut down the feudal rights of the Georgian nobility, and taxation for the numerous wars impoverished the land. In 1830-2 Georgian conspirators, grouped round such figures as Prince Alexander Bagration, an exile in Persia, made at last attempt to throw off Russian rule in Georgia; but when this failed, all hopes of a Bagratid restoration ended, and Georgia sank into what D. M. Lang has called "a mood of torpid acquiescence" for two or three decades. Only during the viceroyalty in Georgia of Count Michael Vorontsov (1845-54) did Georgia at last enjoy a measure of prosperity, educational and cultural encouragement and commercial development, with the beginnings of industrialisation in the Tiflis district as part of the distinct industrial revolution in Russia as a whole during Nicholas I's reign (1825-55). It was during Vorontsov's time that the doyen of modern Georgian studies in the west, Marie-Félicité Brosset (1802-80), visited Georgia and worked there under his encouragement. The old Georgian nobility suffered a general decline in this period of transition, accompanied by an increased disinclination on the part of the peasantry to endure their former subjugation. Outlying parts of Georgia, which had retained some autonomy, were now brought under direct Imperial rule. In 1857, the Regent of Mingrelia, Catherine Dadiani, was deposed, and in 1867 the youthful heir, Nicholas Dadiani, was compelled to cede his sovereign rights to Russia. The mountain region of Upper Svanetia was annexed by military force to the viceroyalty of the Caucasus. In Abkhāzia, a region half-Christian and half-Muslim, with the Muslims looking to the Ottomans for support, the ruling prince Michael Sharvashidze was deposed by force of arms in 1864, leading speedily to the final subjugation of the hitherto indomitable Circassians and the consequent emigration of some 600,000 Muslim Circassians to Ottoman territory in preference to living under Russian rule [see ČERKES]. In 1864 the serfs were liberated in Georgia, and those of Mingrelia, Abkhāzia and Svaneti in the following years, although the burden of redemption payments imposed on the former serfs meant that their emancipation was formal rather than real.

There was another period of enlightened rule under the Grand Duke Michael, Alexander II's brother, Viceroy of the Caucasus 1862-82, during whose tenure of power Russia recovered during the war with Turkey of 1877-8 substantial areas of ancient Georgian territory which had been under Ottoman control since the 16th century. By the abortive Treaty of San Stefano and then the Congress of Berlin (1878), Russia acquired the port of Batum and retained her conquests of the important fortresses of Ḳārṣ and Ardahān [*q.vv.*], commanding the routes into eastern Anatolia (these last two districts were not recovered by Turkey till 1920 and 1921 respectively). The latter-years of the Grand Duke's governorship were however marked by the intensification of Pan-Slavist feeling which characterised Imperial policy at this time and which was ominous for the non-Russian minorities of the empire, seen e.g. in the banning of 1872 of the use of Georgian for instruction at the Tiflis Theological Seminary, the main centre for the training of the Georgian priesthood and a focus for Georgian nationalist and anti-Russian feeling (one of its future students was to be Joseph Djugashvili, the later Stalin). One aspect of the Georgian cultural reaction and re-awakening in these years was the appearance of anarchism and the Populist or Narodnik movement in Georgia from the 1870s onwards, together with the Marxist so-called "Third Group", one of whose leaders was Noe Zhordania, the future Menshevik and president of independent Georgia (1918-21). The ending of serfdom and the break-up of feudal estates in Georgia, and the growth of railway and oil-producing industries in Transcaucasia at places like Baku, Batum, Tiflis and Kutaisi, created propitious conditions for the spread of these movements, aimed in the first place at the Russian Imperial government (which was in fact by far the largest landowner in Georgia). The 1905 revolutionary period was preceded in 1902 by peasant unrest in Guria in southwestern Georgia, where holdings were especially fragmented, and in 1905 itself, the Georgian (Marxist) Social Democratic Party organised strikes and communes. Subsequent repression by Russian and Cossack troops drew the attention of the West to Georgia's claims as a nation, seen for instance in Britain by the formation through the efforts of the Georgian scholars Oliver and Marjory Wardrop of the Friends of Georgia Committee, which worked on lines parallel to those of E. G. Browne for the Persian Constitutionalists.

During the First World War, Georgian émigrés organised themselves in Central Europe, under German patronage, and in 1915 a Georgian Legion was formed to fight on the Black Sea coastal front. In the Russo-Turkish fighting in the western Caucasus, the Muslim Georgian Laz [*q.v.*] and Ačars supported the Ottomans, and Armenian irregulars the Russians. With the fall of the Tsarist government in April 1917, the Georgian Mensheviks assumed power, but the crumbling of the Imperial Army allowed Turkey to recover her occupied territory in eastern Anatolia and to advance on Transcaucasia, wreaking vengeance on the local Armenians in requital for Armenian slaughter of Muslims. The Muslims of Ādharbāydjān refused to continue fighting against Turkey, and now, cut off from Russia itself, Transcaucasia on 12 April 1918 declared itself an independent federative republic, comprising Christian Georgia and Armenia and Muslim Ādharbāydjān. The Ottomans still pressed for the retrocession of territory in Georgia lost to Russia in the 19th century, and had taken the offensive and occupied Batum. Centrifugal forces thus soon made the Transcaucasian Republic dissolve into its three component parts, and on 26 May 1918 an independent Georgian Republic, under German protection, was set up; peace was made between Georgia and Turkey in June, with Turkey regaining Batum, Ḳārṣ, Ardahan, Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkalaki. Hence from 1918 to 1921 a Menshevik or Social Democratic régime governed Georgia, headed by Zhordania, with a great upsurge of Georgian nationalism (Georgia's first university being opened at Tiflis in 1918) and hopes of the following of a peaceful policy of democratic socialism. After the Armistice of November 1918, British troops replaced the German ones in Georgia, with Oliver Wardrop as Chief British Commissioner to the three Transcaucasian republics, with his headquarters in Tiflis. On 27 January 1921 France and Britain recognised Georgia diplomatically as a sovereign state. However, the new state was under pressure, having to fight off Armenian claims to Georgian territory, the Kemālist Turkish forces to the south, and above all, the Bolsheviks. In February 1921 the Bolsheviks were

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threatening Tiflis itself, and it fell after a heroic resistance on 25 February to a fearful sacking by the Red Army, Zhordania fleeing with his government by sea to Istanbul.

Georgia under the Soviets inevitably suffered from the recrudescence of Great Russian chauvinism and imperialism, the excesses of Russian troops provoking a guerilla resistance movement in Georgia akin to the Basmači movement [*q.v.*] in Central Asia, culminating in a general uprising in 1924, ruthlessly suppressed. For the next two decades or more, up to 1953, Georgia groaned under the repression of Stalin and his henchman Beria, himself a Mingrelian and who excercised dictatorial powers in Transcaucasia 1932-8. Until 1936, Georgia was deprived of its autonomy and became part of a Transcaucasian Federated SSR, of which Tiflis was the capital, but in that year it became the Georgian SSR, and now forms one of the constituent republics of the USSR and includes the Abḵhaz and Adzhar Autonomous SSRs and the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast, with a total area of 27,000 sq. miles/70,000 km².

According to figures from January 1970, the total population of the republic is 4,686,000, 48% of these being town dwellers and 52% rural, the main towns being Tiflis (pop. 907,000) and the much smaller centres of Kutaisi, Rustavi, Sukhum and Batum. Ethnically, the population is returned as being 67% Georgian, but with considerable minorities of Armenians, Russians, Azerbaijanis, Ossetians and Abkhazians (see *BSE*³, vii, 360-92). What proportion of all these may still be described as Muslim is unclear, but in 1921 the capital Tiflis had a fair number of Turks in its population, and in 1922, under Soviet rule, there was still being produced a local Turkish newspaper, *Yeñi fikir*, and a journal, *Dan yıldızı* (see Mīrzā Bālā, *Ādḏarbāydjān türk maṭbūʿāti*, Baku 1922); but the 1922 census enumerated only 3,255 Azerbaijani Turks and 3,984 Persians, presumably all Muslims. The Azerbayjani Turks in Georgia are naturally to be found mainly in the extension of the Ādḏarbāydjān plain to the east and south-east of Tiflis, in such districts as Borčalı and Ḳarayazı, and they formed part of the Kazak-Shams al-Dīn tribal group (see Bala, *İA* art. *Gürcistan*).

Bibliography: The older bibliography is given at length in Minorsky's *EI*¹ art. TIFLIS. The basic standard work still remains M.-F. Brosset's *Histoire de la Géorgie*, St. Petersburg 1849-57. On general bibliography, see D. M. Lang, *Catalogue of Georgian and other Caucasian printed books in the British Museum*, London 1962; D. Barrett, *Catalogue of the Wardrop collection and of other Georgian books and manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1973; and the *Bibl.* given in Mirza Bala's *İA* art. *Gürcistan*. Specific works include W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people from the beginning down to the Russian conquest in the nineteenth century*, London 1932; Zurab Avalishvili, *The independence of Georgia in international politics 1918-1921*, London 1940; S. S. Jikʿia, *Gurjistanis vilaietʿis didi davtʿari*, Tiflis 1947 (= Turkish text and Georgian translation of a 16th century Ottoman *mufaṣṣal tapu defteri*); Firuz Kazemzadeh, *The struggle for Transcaucasia, 1917-1921*, Oxford 1951; A. Manvelichvili, *Histoire de Géorgie*, Paris 1951; W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian battlefields*, Cambridge 1953; D. M. Lang, *Studies in the numismatic history of Georgia in Transcaucasia*, ANS Numismatic notes and monographs, No. 130, New York 1955; idem, *The last years of the Georgian monarchy, 1658-1832*, New York 1957; idem, *A modern history of Georgia*, London 1962; M. Canard, *Les reines de Géorgie dans l'histoire et la légende musulmanes*, in *REI*, xxxvii (1969), 3-20; Allen, ed. and A. Mayo, tr., *Russian embassies to the Georgian kings, 1589-1605*, Hakluyt Society, Cambridge 1970; J. M. Rogers, *The Mxargrdzelis between East and West*, in *Atti del Primo Simposio Internazionale sull'arte georgiana, Bergamo 1974*, Milan 1977, 257-72. (V. MINORSKY - [C. E. BOSWORTH])

ḲURḤ, AL-ḲURḤ, a town and district of mediaeval Islamic times in the northern Ḥidjāz, mentioned in early Islamic sources as of prime importance, but not now known under this name.

It seems very likely that the place had a role in the pre-Islamic history of the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā [*q.v.*], where the settlement of later Ḳurḥ was situated, although the principal towns then were Dēdān (modern al-Ḵhurayba) and al-Ḥidjr [*q.v.*] or Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ (modern al-ʿUlā). According to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, iv, 320-1, and al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, ed. M. M. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Beirut 1393/1971, iv, 1288, there was a well-known fair at Ḳurḥ in the Djāhiliyya, and popular tradition located there the destruction of the people of Hūd, sc. ʿĀd [*q.v.*] As the culture of Dēdān and Liḥyān decayed in the northern Ḥidjāz, Ḳurḥ seems to have become the main settlement of the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā around the time of the coming of Islam, and *mukhaḍram* poets like Ibn al-Muḳbil [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and Umayya b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt mention it. The tribe of ʿUdhra [*q.v.*] lived in the district; the Prophet prayed in Ḳurḥ, and a mosque was built there (see Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth wa 'l-athar*, ed. M. M. al-Ṭannāḥī, Cairo 1383/1963, iv, 36, and H. Lammens, *L'ancienne frontière entre la Syrie et le Ḥiḡāz, notes de géographie historique*, in *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'Hégire*, Beirut 1928, 304-5).

Following a well-known process in Islamic geographical nomenclature, the name Ḳurḥ was applied both to the town, the administrative and commercial centre of the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, and to the surrounding district, in effect, the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā itself. Hence al-Muḳaddasī, 69, says that Ḳurḥ is one of the four regions (*nawāḥī*) of Arabia and also one of the towns of the Ḥidjāz; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, iii, 1056, describes it as the *ḳaṣaba* of the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, with a variant form of the name as al-Ḳurāḥ (*loc. cit.* and i, 247). It obviously flourished highly at this time. Al-Muḳaddasī, 83-4, says that it was populous and much frequented by traders, and had many amenities; it had a strong citadel, a defensive ditch and walls; and Jews were a decisive element (*al-ghālib*) there (cf. Lammens, *op. cit.*, 307), though elsewhere (96) he states that Ḳurḥ (here meaning the district) was essentially Sunnī in faith.

Where exactly, then, was the town of Ḳurḥ located, since the toponym is not in use today, although that of al-Ḥidjr (*pace* Vidal, in *EI*² s.v.) does in fact survive? C. M. Doughty (1876-7) enquired among the local people, but could find no memory of it, although he was shown a ruined site "el-Mubbiát" six miles south of al-ʿUlā; he nevertheless thought that the mediaeval Ḳurḥ lay much further south towards Medina (*Travels in Arabia deserta*, London 1926, i, 161-2). Subsequently, A. Musil definitely identified Ḳurḥ with al-ʿUlā (*The northern Ḥeḡāz, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1926, 295; but elsewhere, 217-18, n. 52, he placed it, more correctly, to the south of al-ʿUlā). It has now been convincingly argued by ʿAbd Allāh al-Naṣīf, himself a native of the region, that the site of mediaeval Ḳurḥ should indeed be located at the present-day ruins known

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locally as al-Mabyāt/al-Mābyāt (cf. *mabīt* "place where one halts for the night") along the main route down the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā to Medina, in an extensive plain, a spot well-fitted to be a flourishing commercial centre and market and a convenient staging-post, 12 miles/18 km. south of al-ʿUlā (al-Naṣīf, *The identification of the wādi 'l-Qurā and the ancient Islamic site of al-Mibyāt*, in *Arabian studies*, v [1979], 1-19). Jaussen and Savignac saw ruins there, and in 1968 the expedition of P. J. Parr, G. Lankester Harding and J. E. Dayton made a surface survey of the site (see *Preliminary survey in N.W. Arabia*, 1968, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Archaeology*, London, viii-ix [1970], 199-204, section on "Maʿabiyat"). Excavation of the site may well settle the question finally.

Bibliography: given in the article, but see also Abdullah al-Wohaibi, *The Northern Hijaz in the writings of the Arab geographers 800-1150*, Beirut 1973, 220-1. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḴURHUB B. DJĀBIR AL-ḴUZĀʿĪ, the ardent eulogist of the Zīrid princes of al-Ḳayrawān and of their governors, the Banū Abī 'l-ʿArab, and a virulent and shameless satirist. He dominated with great verve the poetic contests stirred up by his strong personality and his biting aggressiveness in the literary sessions of al-Ḳayrawān, owing his success as much to his lack of scruple as to the swiftness of his replies and his improvisations.

However, Ḳurhub remains a poet with a ready talent able to adapt himself to the thematic and formal exigencies of the genres employed by him. Variety of usage of verse-forms, suppleness of verses and purity of language combined in due course to place him in the élite of the poets of Ifrīḳiya during the Zīrid period. He died at al-Ḳayrawān in 420/1029.

Bibliography: ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ms. Paris 2327, xvii, ff. 96a-98a, and Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ms. Tunis 4850, xxii, 65-6, who both use Ibn Rashīḳ's *al-Unmūdhadj*. See also ʿA.-R. Yāghī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān*, Beirut 1962, 100, 214-15; H.-R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, 791; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīqiya sous les Zirides*, Tunis 1972. (Ch. Bouyahia)

ḴURĪLTĀY, Arabic orthography of Mongol *ḳuriltā* from *ḳuri-* "to collect, gather together", an assembly of the Mongol princes summoned to discuss and deal with some important question such as the election of a new khān. Djuwaynī describes the *ḳūrīltāy*s that preceded the accession of Ögedey, Güyük and Möngke. John de Plano Carpini was present in person at the *ḳūrīltāy* held in the Khangay mountains at which Güyük was elected and enthroned. The institution still survived in the time of Tīmūr, when however it seems to have become little more than a parade. The very word has disappeared from the modern Mongolian language; it has been resuscitated by the Turks in the form *kurultay* and used in the sense of "assembly, congress".

Bibliography: Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 178-91, 248-58, ii, 555-602; J. A. Boyle, *The seasonal residence of the Great Khan Ögedei*, in *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altäischen Völker*, ed. G. Hazai and P. Zieme, Berlin 1974, 145-51 (147); V. V. Barthold, *Four studies in the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, Leiden 1958, 27; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 435-7 (No. 305). (J. A. Boyle)

KŪRIN, designation used by the Ottomans in the 10th/16th century and by the Russians in the 18th-19th centuries for the Lezghins [*q.v.*]. Kürin (Russian: Kürinskiy yazïk) is also the former designation for the Lezghin language, and appears as such in the 1926 Soviet census. (R. Wixman)

KŪRIN KHĀNATE [see LEZGHIN].

ḴŪRIYA, Ḳawriya, the Arabic name for the modern town of Coria in Spain, *municipio* of the province of Cáceres on the banks of the Alagón River. It was the Caurium of the Romans, who built its walls, as was noted by al-Ḥimyarī ("strong walls of ancient construction"). Al-Idrīsī states that Coria belonged to the *iḳlīm* of al-Ḳaṣr, and was then "an attractive, well-built and spacious town, whose surrounding countryside was fertile and highly productive of fruit". Al-Iṣṭakhrī's itinerary (43-7) places it at 12 days' journey from Cordova.

When the Muslims withdrew to the line of Coria, after the famines of the post-136/753 period (*Akhbār madjmūʿa*, 62/67), the town was thus left in the frontier zone, and must have been one of the main centres of the Berber settlement of the north-west of the peninsula. There were frequent rebellions there. In 170/786 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I attacked there the rebel Abu 'l-Aswad Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Fihrī (*ibid.*, 116/106). Muḥammad b. Tādjīt al-Maṣmūdī rebelled there during the amīrate of Muḥammad I, and in alliance with Ibn Marwān al-Djillīḳī made Coria one of his main centres (Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 466; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, tr. de Slane, iv, 289). It is in this region and around this same period that the Christian sources place the revolt of Zeith/Zeiti (*Cron. Alfonso III*, Valencia 1961, 62-3). The town became much fought over; it was taken by Ordoño I in 860, but recaptured by the Muslims in 862. Alfonso III besieged it without success in 868, but ended by taking it some years later. Yaḥyā al-Tudjībī, sent by al-Ḥakam II, attacked the King of Navarre and the Count of Castile near Coria (Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 248). Al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] passed by Coria on his route into the Christian territories during his campaign of 387/997. The town was taken by Alfonso VI (472/1079), and he fled there after the defeat of al-Zallāḳa [*q.v.*]. Al-Mutawakkil b. al-Afṭas mourned the loss of Coria in a letter to Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn (*al-Ḥulal al-mawshiyya*, ed. Allouche, 23). It was occupied by the Almoravids in 513/1119-20, but definitively taken by Alfonso VII in 1142.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. M. ʿA. Makkī, Beirut 1973, 642-4, ns. 594-6; F. Hernández Jiménez, *La kūra de Mérida en el siglo X*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxv (1960), 313-71; idem, *Los caminos de Córdoba hacia el NO*, in *ibid.*, xxxii (1967), 37-123, 277-358; M. Terron Albarrán, *El solar de los Aftásidas . . .*, Badajoz 1971, 396-8, 561-3; *El fuero de Coria*, ed. J. Maldonado, Madrid 1949 (see *Indice Histórico Español*, not. no. 94.545 on the "Fueros de Cáceres"); A. de Torres y Tapia, *Crónica de la Orden de Alcántara*, Madrid 1973. (M. J. Viguera)

ḴURḴŪB, a town in Khūzistān, on the road from Wāsiṭ to Sūs (Susa). The statments regarding distances given by the Arab geographers were collected and arranged in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, 1921, iv, 396 ff.; cf. also 431. The town was noted for its carpets; there was also a state *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*] manufacture there. A material called *sūsandjird* was made there, cf. de Goeje's glossary in *BGA* iv, s.v. Al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal say that the *sūsandjird* of Fasā [*q.v.*] was better than that of Ḳurḳūb; the latter was a mixture of silk and cotton, while in the former wool was used; cf. on the textiles of Ḳurḳūb, R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol con-*

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quest, Beirut 1972, 45, and J. Karabaček, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susanschird*, Leipzig 1881.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 241, 246; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, ii, 98, where all the important quotations from the Arab geographers are given, to which should be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 131, 382.

(M. Plessner)

ḲURRĀʾ. Political organisation. The term *ḳurrāʾ*, sing. *ḳāriʾ* (A.), occurs in Arabic historiography referring to a group of ʿIrāḳians rising against ʿUthmān and later on against ʿAlī, after he had accepted the arbitration. In European research, *ḳurrāʾ* has been usually rendered as "reciters of the Ḳurʾān" (*ḳurrāʾ* < *ḳ-r-ʾ* "to recite").

Brünnow was the first historian to try to assess the role of the *ḳurrāʾ* as an independent group acting within a heterogeneous Khāridjite [*q.v.*] movement. Brünnow's results were partly rejected by Wellhausen, who held that the *ḳurrāʾ* were not an autonomous movement which was merged in Khāridjism at a certain date. He claimed that the *ḳurrāʾ* had been in close connection with the learned *fuḳahāʾ*, forming a wider circle of pious men around those *fuḳahāʾ*, the supposed nucleus of men of religious learning. It was the *ḳurrāʾ*'s religious zeal, unhampered by scrupulous deliberation, which according to Wellhausen led them to act against an Islamic authority which in their opinion had failed to carry through the commandments of the Holy Book. Their ardour for the sake of Islam became obvious for the first time, when they took part in fighting against the Ridda [*q.v.*] rebels (Battle of the Yamāma or of ʿAḳrabāʾ [*q.v.*]). During ʿAlī's war against Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, they threw in their lots with him, and they supported ʿAlī in his abortive warfare against Muʿāwiya. When the Syrians proposed to resort to the judgement of the Ḳurʾān, they at first approved of ʿAlī's compliance with this proposal, but later on, when the disastrous consequences of the arbitration had become obvious, they turned against ʿAlī, blaming him ruthlessly for having preferred human decision to God's judgement. In the Khāridjite rebellions against ʿAlī, and later on against the Umāyyads, the *ḳurrāʾ* are said to have been the most fanatical instigators. Wellhausen's account of the *ḳurrāʾ* shows his general view of the early Muslim parties as resulting from a politico-religious conflict. This view, which aimed at studying the development of political and religious thought in Islam, has proved very fruitful, but it impedes us in realising the social conflicts concomitant to religious strife. Therefore, until recently the character of the *ḳurrāʾ* was described vaguely or even misleadingly. If the *ḳurrāʾ* actually had been a group of people applying themselves to a peculiar form of reciting the Ḳurʾān, or holding a certain view concerning the validity of the Ḳurʾānic commandments, why do we not find any trace of such a group in treatises on heresiography or on recitation of the Ḳurʾān? Besides this *argumentum e silentio*, one doubts whether Wellhausen's almost generally-accepted assumption was right that only after ʿAlī's political defeat did the *ḳurrāʾ*, repenting of their imaginary failure, become the fanatical partisans of the Ḳurʾān. For according to the sources, they had never been wholehearted followers of ʿAlī's cause; hence they had no reason to consider themselves as traitors because they had urged ʿAlī to accept the appointment of the two arbiters.

Recent research into the matter has tended to take the social groups into consideration, resuming in principle Brünnow's idea. In a detailed study on Kūfan political aliguments, G. M. Hinds has drawn an entirely new picture of the *ḳurrāʾ*. He states that a group of people called *ḳurrāʾ* first acted jointly against Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, ʿUthmān's governor in Kūfa until 33/653. The evidence adduced by Hinds proves that most of them were people who had settled in southern ʿIrāḳ at the very beginning of the conquests and thus had acquired some privileges. But under ʿUthmān, the political situation in southern ʿIrāḳ was changing rapidly: those early-comers who could not stabilise their position by amalgamating with an influx of population belonging to their respective tribal entities gradually lost their influence. Al-Ashtar and Yazīd b. Ḳays, who were to play a prominent part in the subsequent troubles, were among these early-comers who feared lest they be ousted from their position. Their situation was even aggravated when ʿUthmān allowed the fighters of al-Ḳādisiyya now resident at Medina to exchange their shares of ʿIrāḳian land for landed property in the Arabian Peninsula. To carry through this measure meant first of all a careful distinguishing between the *ṣawāfī* estates and *dhimma*-land. The early-comers suspected that they would be the losers by these administrative measures. Fearing a blow to their pretended rights, they succeeded in removing Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ from his post. They then elected Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī governor of Kūfa. During the events which led to the murder of ʿUthmān, the *ḳurrāʾ* played only a secondary part, though al-Ashtar figures in the list of the assassins. When ʿAlī arrived in the neighbourhood of Ḳūfa, the powerful tribal leaders did not join him. They seem to have favoured a neutral position, which would have served their interests best. ʿAlī, pursuing an egalitarian Islamic policy, did not even want to attempt a compromise with them. A coalition between him and the disappointed early-comers therefore came into being. Al-Ashtar, Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī, and ʿAdī b. Ḥātim are said to have been *ḳurrāʾ*; now they were Shīʿī leaders. During the fighting at Ṣiffīn, the *ḳurrāʾ* are mentioned as separate para-tribal entities supporting ʿAlī. When Muʿāwiya suggested settling the points at issue by means of arbitration, the *ḳurrāʾ* urged ʿAlī to accept the proposal, because they envisaged a peace in which ʿAlī would be able to accomplish an Islamic policy checking an ascendancy of the new-comers. When they felt that their dreams would not be realised, they turned against ʿAlī, who refused to withdraw from the agreement. ʿAlī tried to placate this dangerous internal opposition by giving high appointments to the most prominent *ḳurrāʾ*, but the majority of the *ḳurrāʾ* became his irreconcilable enemies. In the Khāridjite movement of the first century they are often mentioned as one of the most active groups.

In the light of these new results, it seems rather absurd to refer to the *ḳurrāʾ* as "Ḳurʾān-readers". Shaban was the first to suggest a new interpretation. He holds that *ḳurrāʾ* means "villagers" (*ahl al-ḳurā*), denoting those participants in the early wars (*ahl al-ayyām*) against the Sāsānid Empire who had occupied the vacated estates of southern Irāḳ and whose *de facto* privileges had been threatened since ʿUthmān's reign. Shaban and G. H. A. Juynboll have adduced evidence corroborating this thesis, but it still remains speculative. The rendering of *ḳurrāʾ* as "Ḳurʾān-readers" seems to be a result of the well-known fact that Muḥammad used to appoint reciters for stimulating the zeal of the Muslim fighters (see Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī, *al-Tanẓīmāt al-idjtimāʿiyya wa ʾl-iḳtiṣādiyya fi ʾl-Baṣra*, Beirut 1969, 56 ff.); further

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more, the ʿIrāḳian *ḵurrāʾ* had appealed to the Ḳurʾān. But they did so, not because they held some special doctrine concerning it, but because they wanted to enforce the judgement of the Ḳurʾān in that actual issue, where the reference made in the Ṣiffīn agreement to an ill-defined "practice" (*sunna*) seemed dangerous for their interests.

Bibliography: R. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leiden 1884; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901; G. M. Hinds, *Kūfan political alignments*, in *IJMES*, ii (1971), 346-67; idem, *The murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān*, in *IJMES*, iii (1972), 450-69; M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750*, Cambridge 1971, 50-11; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The Qurrāʾ in early Islamic history*, in *JESHO*, xvi (1973), 113-129; idem, *The Qurʾān Reciters on the battlefield and concomitant issues*, in *ZDMG*, cxxv (1975), 11-27.

(T. NAGEL)

ḲURRA B. SHARĪK B. MARTHAD B. ḤĀZIM AL-ʿABSĪ AL-GHAṬAFĀNĪ, governor of Egypt 90-6/709-14 for the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Ḳurra came from the group of North Arab tribes which had settled extensively in northern Syria and the Djazīra and which were in the forefront of the warfare along the Taurus Mountains with Byzantium. He himself came from the region of Ḳinnasrīn [*q.v.*] to the south of Aleppo, and was thus a member of the experienced and capable cadre of Syrian Arabs whom the Umayyads liked to appoint to high civil and military office; the fact that al-Walīd's mother Wallāda bint al-ʿAbbās was also from the tribe of ʿAbs may well have helped further Ḳurra's career.

The early part of this last is very obscure. From indications in Michael the Syrian's chronicle, Lammens inferred that he may have served as governor of Ḳinnasrīn or possibly of Armenia; it is obvious that he would not have been appointed to such an elevated post as the governorship of Egypt without considerable administrative experience previously.

Ḳurra was appointed governor of Egypt *ʿalā 'l-ṣalāt wa 'l-ḵharādj*, i.e. as *amīr* and as *ʿāmil* or financial director, in place of the caliph's own brother ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik, whose governorship had been rendered difficult by economic hardship through failure of the Nile to rise sufficiently. Ḳurra accordingly reached the capital of Egypt, Fusṭāṭ [*q.v.*], on 3 or 13 Rabīʿ I 90/10 or 20 January 709 or shortly afterwards, and took up his duties there. The Arabic general chroniclers give woefully little information about Ḳurra's governorship, if indeed they mention it at all; Ṭabarī merely records the dates of his appointment and of his continued tenure of the office, and then records his death (ii, 1200, 1208, 1266, 1305; repeated in Ibn al-Athīr).

Our best sources of historical information are naturally the local Egyptian ones, above all Kindī, *Wulāt*, ed. Guest, 63-6, more briefly in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 302, also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo 1383/1963, i, 217-20, resuming several earlier authorities, but the information given here is fairly exiguous too. However, contemporary records, as embodied in the papyri discovered in Egypt over the last 80 years or so, round out the later chronicles and give a much better picture of the administrative and financial condition of Egypt during Ḳurra's governorship. They also supply a corrective to the unfavourable image of Ḳurra as a typically tyrannical Umayyad governor of the stamp of al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], which grew up in the ʿAbbāsid and post-ʿAbbāsid periods, a condemnatory view which is expressed in both the Muslim and the Coptic Christian sources. Thus one oft-repeated saying attributed to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz runs "al-Walīd in Syria, al-Ḥadjdjādj in ʿIrāḳ, ʿUthmān al-Muzanī in Medina, Khālid al-Ḳasrī in Mecca and Ḳurra in Egypt! By God, the earth has become filled with iniquity!" (cf. the biography of Ḳurra in Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 36-7). Another libellous story is that after the completion of the rebuilding of the mosque of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Fusṭāṭ (see below), he called for wine and music-making and held an orgy there.

Amongst the occurrences of Ḳurra's governorship is mentioned a plot against his life staged at Alexandria by a group of Ibāḍī Khāridjīs under al-Muhādjir b. Abi 'l-Muthannā al-Tudjībī, which failed, and the rebuilding of the mosque of ʿAmr. At the beginning of 92/autumn 710, the caliph ordered Ḳurra to demolish some additions made by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Malik and to rebuild the mosque entirely. Yaḥyā b. Ḥanẓala al-ʿĀmirī was appointed supervisor of work; the mosque was enlarged at the north-east end and in the *ḳibla* direction, which Ḳurra caused to be corrected from ʿAmr's slightly inaccurate alignment. Whilst the work of rebuilding was in progress, the Friday prayers were held in the Ḳaysāriyyat al-ʿAsal, and the mosque was completed in Ramaḍān 93/June-July 712 (see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, Oxford 1932-40, i, 99-100, with extensive bibliography). Yet much of Ḳurra's governorship was necessarily taken up with the financial administration of Egypt and the economic and agricultural regeneration of the province, and it is here that the papyri give valuable information. The serious famine of 86-7/705-6 in the preceeding governorship of ʿAbd Allāh (see above) had left a legacy of hardship in the land. Ḳurra was therefore concerned to increase agricultural production and to bring disused land (*arḍ mawāt*) into cultivation once more. The chronicles mention his restoration of the Birkat al-Ḥabash as an instance of this work of *iḥyāʾ*, this being planted with sugar cane [see ḲAṢAB AL-SUKKAR] and subsequently known as "Ḳurra's stable".

A further, controvertial problem was that of the imposition of the poll-tax or *djizya* [*q.v.*] on new Muslim converts from the Coptic community. The papyri show Ḳurra as keen to exact the full *djizya* from these *mawālī*, to collect arrears of taxation and generally to safeguard the caliph's financial rights. Egypt suffered, like ʿIrāḳ and other of the conquered provinces, from the flight of peasants to the towns in order to escape taxation, a process which had already been discernible in Byzantine Egypt; these fugitives were now rigorously pursued and brought back to their villages wherever possible. However, Ḳurra was equally concerned to punish tyrannical local officials, and he maintained control over the provinces by means of an efficient intelligence system or *barīd* [*q.v.*]. The bilingual (Greek and Arabic) papyri also mention the levying of special taxes (*liturgia*) for the building of ships for *koursos* or *ghazw*, presumably against the Byzantines in the eastern Mediterranean. Finally, Kindī notes that Ḳurra re-organised the *dīwāns* of Egypt in 95/713-14, being the third person (after ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān) to do this. As Becker observed (*Beiträge*, ii, 124-5), this doubtless increased the Arab element in these departments; the official language there had already been changed from Greek and Coptic to Arabic just before Ḳurra's time [see DĪWĀN].

Ḳurra died of the plague whilst still in office in

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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Ṣafar 96/October-November 714 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1305) or on 23 Rabīʿ I 96/6 December 714 (Maḳrīzī, i, 302), and was succeeded (as *amīr al-ṣalāt* only) by his trusted deputy ʿAbd al-Malik b. Rifāʿ al-Fahmī, who had been *Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭa* or police chief under Ḳurra; Usāma b. Zayd became head of finances in Egypt.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KURRAM, Kuram, the name of a river which flows down from the western end of the Safīd Kūh or Spīn Ghar range of the Hindū Kush-Koh-i Bābā massif of eastern Afghānistān and which joins the Indus River in modern Pakistan just below ʿIsā Khēl. The lower course of the river flows through Bannū [*q.v.*], and the middle reaches through the northernmost part of Waziristān [*q.v.*]. The upper valley, beyond the railhead of Thāl, forms what in British India and now in Pakistan is the administrative region of the Kurram Agency, a thin wedge of territory some 70 miles long and covering 1,305 sq. miles. From the headwaters of the river, the fairly easy Shutargardān Pass leads towards Khōst and Kābul [*q.vv.*], with the village of Paiwar Kotal marking the present frontier between Afghānistān and Pakistan; this has always been one of the historic routes by means of which migratory peoples and armies from Central Asia and Afghānistān have descended to the Indian plains.

Little is known of the early history of the region of Kurram, though the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien was there in the early 5th century A.D. Kurram is certainly mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 89, as the place (here spelt Kurramān) to which the Ghaznavid sultan Bahrām Shāh fled ignominiously in 543/1148 when the Ghūrid chief Sayf al-Dīn Sūrī temporarily occupied his capital. Djūzdjānī (7th/13th century) further records that Kurramān was granted as an *iḳṭāʿ*, together with S.n.k.rān (? Shalōzān, the name of a modern left-bank affluent of the Kurram River, in the surmise of Raverty), by the Ghūrid ruler Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad in 572/1176-7 to his slave commander Tādj al-Dīn Yildiz; Muʿizz al-Dīn used regularly the Kurram valley route for descending from Ghazna to the Indus valley (*Ṭabakāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī², Kabul 1341-3/1962-4, i, 411-12, tr. Raverty, London 1881-99, i, 498-500). The original Pathan inhabitants of Kurram were Sunnī Bangash, but *ca.* 1500 nomads of the Tūrī tribe of the Karlānrī group of Pathans appeared as vassals (*hamsāya*) of the Bangash and gradually came to control all the villages of the upper Kurram valley. The Tūrī are Shīʿī in faith, and claim popularly to be of Persian origin; in the early 11th/17th century they participated, with other Pathan tribes, in the general movement of the Rōshaniyya sect [*q.v.*] against the attempted domination of the Mughal Emperors of Dihlī.

In the early 19th century, Kurram never formed part of the Sikh empire of the Pandjāb, but the Durrānī and Bārakzay rulers of Kābul claimed a vague suzerainty over the region. In 1845 they affirmed their claims by appointing a resident governor in Kurram, the later *amīr* in Kābul Muḥammad Aʿẓam Khān. In 1856 a British expedition was sent into the valley after Tūrī raids on the people of Kōhāt [*q.v.*]. In autumn 1878 Lord Roberts entered the valley and temporarily occupied the region as an advance base during the Second Afghān War, pushing on from there to capture Khōst. The Shīʿī Tūrī began to complain of oppression by Afghān officials, and this created a sentiment in Kurram in favour of a British presence there or at least of some degree of British protection, especially as the Treaty of Gandamak made with Muḥammad Yaʿḳūb Khān in 1879 declared Kurram to be an assigned district, to be administered by the Government of India, together with the Khyber and the Pathan districts of northern Balūčistān. Hence in 1892 British forces moved up from Thāl at the request of the Tūrī, and in the next year the border with Afghānistān was delimited along the Durand Line at the head of the valley. In 1894 it became a political agency, and then at the time of Lord Curzon's creation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901, Kurram became one of the five tribal agencies. British garrisons were withdrawn, and replaced by two battalions of the Kurram Militia, organised on the same lines as the Khyber Rifles [see KHAYBAR PASS]. It was down the upper Kurram valley that Nādir Shāh briefly penetrated with an Afghān force during the Third Afghan War of 1919.

Kurram now comes within Pakistan, and has its administrative centre in the town of Pāračinār. The Pakistan government gives the Kurram Agency the same degree of autonomy as the other tribal areas, except that it enforces certain regulations identical with those prevailing in the directly-administered areas along the Indus, including the collection of land-tax; in fact, a negligible amount of taxation is collected from this economically poorly-endowed region, and the Agency receives back far more from the central government by way of subsidies and salaries of local militiamen and officials. It nevertheless forms the only tribal area along the Frontier where the central government's authority goes right up to the Afghānistān border. Administratively, Kurram is divided into two *taḥṣīls*, an Upper Valley and a Lower Valley. The 1961 census estimated the population of the whole Agency at 200,512, with the population of Pāračinār as 22,953.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲURRAT AL-ʿAYN, FĀṬIMA UMM SALMĀ, also known as Dhakīya, Zarrīn-tādj, Ṭāhira (see below), Persian poetess and Bābī martyr, was born in Ḳazwīn in 1231/1814, the eldest daughter of a famous *mudjtahid*, Ḥādjdjī Mullā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Baraghānī.

She was educated in Ḳazwīn, and became proficient in the Islamic sciences. She was married to Mullā Muḥammad, the son of her uncle Mullā Muḥammad Taḳī, by whom she had three sons, Shaykh Ismāʿīl, Shaykh Ibrāhīm and Shaykh Isḥāḳ, and one daughter. While staying with him in Karbalā, she joined the Shaykhī sect, together with her sister Marḍiya and brother-in-law, Ḥādjdjī Mullā Muḥammad ʿAlī, an action that earned her the fierce hostility of her husband and father-in-law, though her own father remained neutral. She studied with Sayyid Ḳāzim Rashtī, then living in Karbalā', who was so impressed by a *risāla* she wrote on Shaykhī doctrine, that he gave her the *laḳab* of Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn. Her sectarian activities led finally to her divorce, by which time she had returned to Ḳazwīn. It was here that she first heard of the Bāb, and when Mullā Ḥusayn Bushrūya left for Shīrāz to seek out the Bāb in Rabīʿ I 1260/April 1844, he took with him a letter from Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn which so impressed the Bāb that he nominated her among the eighteen *Ḥurūf al-Ḥayy* ("Letters of the Living"). Later, in a letter addressed to certain Bābīs who had expressed doubt about the propriety of Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn's activities, he described her as *Djanāb-i Ṭāhira*, whence the name by which she came commonly to be known amongst the Bābīs and Bahā'īs. By this time she was back in Karbalā, where she is reputed to have preached without a veil, to have claimed to be the incarnation of Fāṭima, and to have proclaimed the abrogation of the Sharīʿa. Her preaching of Bābī doctrines eventually alarmed the Ottoman authorities, and in 1263/1846 she was arrested and exiled to Iran. She travelled by way of Kirmānshāh and Hamadān, preaching openly on the way, and in due course arrived in Ḳazwīn, where she found herself subjected to the same family hostility as before. Matters came to a head when her uncle, Ḥādjdjī Mullā Muḥammad Taḳī, a strenuous opponent of Babism, was found murdered (15 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1263/25 October 1847). Widely suspected of complicity, it was no longer possible for her to remain in Ḳazwīn, and she left for Tehran, and thence for Māzandarān, where she joined the great gathering of Bābī leaders at Badasht. Here she preached constantly (sometimes unveiled, though this has been denied), and took an active part in the decisions taken there. After the break-up of the gathering by local villagers, she went to Māzandarān with some of the other leaders of the community, and stayed for some time in Nūr. In 1266/1850 she was arrested and taken to Tehran, where she was detained as a prisoner in the house of Maḥmūd Khān Nūrī, the Kalāntar [*q.v.*] of Tehran, for the next four years. After the attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1268/1852 by three Bābīs, Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn, together with at least twenty-seven other Bābīs, was cruelly put to death by means that have been variously reported but are still unknown, the only eyewitness account—by Dr. Polak—merely stating that "she endured her slow death with superhuman fortitude".

By a strange twist of fate, Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn was the only one of the eighteen "Letters of the Living" never to meet the Bāb. She was famous both inside and outside the Bābī movement for her beauty, eloquence, and devotion to the cause. Her poetry, a fair amount of which has survived, is said to have been widely read by the Bābīs long after her death. Though doubts have been cast on the stories of her discarding of the veil, it cannot be denied that her way of life was extremely emancipated for her time, and she has remained a symbol of women's liberation in Iran ever since.

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(L. P. Elwell-Sutton and D. M. MacEoin)

ḲURṢĀN (A.), pl. *ḳarāṣina* and also *ḳarāṣin*/*ḳarāṣīn*, "corsair, pirate", stems from Italian *corsale*, which has further given forms closer to the original but less commonly-found, such as *ḳurṣāl*, pl. *ḳarāṣil*/*ḳarāṣīl*, and *kursālī*, pl. *kursāliyya*. In turn, Arabic has formed the abstract noun *ḳarṣana* "privateering, piracy", still in use today, as is also *ḳurṣān*, sometimes conceived of as a plural. In the colloquial there is further the verb *ḳarṣan* "to raid, act as a pirate", and the dialects also given to *ḳurṣān* the double sense of "corsair" and "boat". This latter term was an Andalusian one (cf. Pedro de Alcala, . . . *De lingua arabica libri duo*, Göttingen 1883, 158), and it is uncertain whether one should link with the Spanish *corsario* the adjective *ḳurṣariyyāt* used by al-Saḳaṭī, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, Paris 1931, 50, to denote women who are supposed to have recovered their virginity (the two editors prudently suggest the translation "carried off by the corsairs?", and P. Chalmeta, in *al-Andalus*. (1971 ff.), § 111, translates this term as *corsarias*).

The necessity felt by the Arabic language, probably in the course of the 3rd/9th century, to use a loanword shows that, even if piracy had long existed in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, the Arabs (who called a pirate *liṣṣ al-baḥr* "sea-robber") had a distinct feeling that privateering had a different character. They

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nevertheless adopted the same term to denote two distinct forms of activity, which are indeed often enough confused, even by Europeans; in fact, privateering consists of attacking enemy ships with the more or less explicit connivance of the authorities, whilst piracy proper is a purely private enterprise involving the capture and pillaging any vessels encountered.

i. The Western Mediterranean and the Atlantic

It was in the Mediterranean, "the sea of adventures" (Ch. E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris 1965, 574), that the Muslims most continuously practised *ḳarṣana* from the moment onwards when they established themselves along its shores and had to face attacks from the Christian powers there. In reality, the Arabs—and very soon, as will be seen, adventurers of European origin, renegades and captives—were merely participating in a traditional practice of the Mediterranean basin since the most early antiquity, whilst at the same time giving it, more or less consciously, a religious aura, since it was often in the name of Islam that the corsairs of the southern shores of the Sea acted, just as those of the northern shores acted at times in the name of Christianity. It was for this reason that privateering, if not piracy, soon came to be considered as an integral part of the holy war, *ḏjihād* [*q.v.*], and it is as part of this that the question is treated in the works on law.

Given the fact that it is impossible, in an encyclopaedia article, to go into detail and to trace the entire history of privateering and piracy as they were practised by men based on the coasts of the Muslim lands, what follows is a sketch of the broad features of the topic. Reference should be made to those sources which are in general well-documented and which have been utilised for this present article, and also to the articles MILĀḤA and SAFĪNA, especially for technical details; the article FIDĀ' in the Supplement should also be consulted for the topic of the ransoming of captives.

From the 1st/7th century onwards, there were added to the attacks against the islands and the shores of the western Mediterranean by corsairs coming from the Near East, raids undertaken by the people of Ifrīḳiya, whose regularly-organised fleets succeeded in gaining control, in the first decades of the 3rd/9th century, of Malta, Sicily and Pantellaria [see ḲAWṢARA], whilst the Balearic Islands were definitively taken over by the Spanish Umayyads in 290/903.

However, from the 2nd/8th century onwards, what one may properly call organised pirate activity began to take shape both in North Africa and in Muslim Spain. One notable action is that in which, after the suppression of the "Revolt of the Suburb" in Cordova [see AL-ANDALUS and ḲURṬUBA] in 202/818, a group of émigrés who practised piracy in the central and eastern Mediterranean gained control of Alexandria and in 212/827 seized the island of Crete, which they made into a Muslim possession and a centre for their further activities [see IKRĪṬISH]. It was likewise from Spain that there set out the Muslims who, between 278/891 and 281/894, established themselves at Fraxinetum [*q.v.*], where they founded a pirate state which lasted for 80 years. As early as 227/842, other corsairs sailed up the Rhône to Arles, and they renewed their incursions in 235/850 and 255/869; under the Umayyads of al-Andalus, the sailors of Péchina acquired a great notoriety in this respect (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 244, 349, 352, 355, ii, 154-60). Some centuries later, Ibn Ḵhaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, text, i, 619, tr. de Slane, iii, 117, summarised the two essential forms which the activities of the *ḳarāṣina* took. "A more or less numerous group of corsairs gets together. They build a ship and choose as its crew men of proven valour. These warriors go off and descend on the coasts and islands where the Franks dwell, arriving there suddenly and carrying off everything they can find. They also attack the infidels' ships, frequently capturing them, and then return home, laden with plunder and prisoners". This text is one of the ones rarely encountered on this subject in the Arabic sources, which dwell at much greater length on the Christians' naval enterprise against the Muslim lands, or on the spectacular attacks from the Atlantic made on al-Andalus by the "Northmen" from 230/844 to 355/966 [see AL-MADJŪS]. In the Mediterranean, violent attacks by the Christians were more difficult, for a defence system had been established along the coasts, whether in Spain (see R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, Paris 1973, 273-6) or from Alexandria to Tangier (see M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, 395).

Concerning the situation obtaining on the high seas, Ibn Ḵhaldūn's remark (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 35, tr. de Slane, ii, 42, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 41) alleging that "the Christians could not even launch a plank on the Mediterranean" is probably correct for the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, when the Muslims did have command of the seas. Economic necessity accordingly compelled the states to try and assure the safety of navigation along the various commercial routes (see Chr. Courtois, in *Mélanges G. Marçais*, Algiers 1957, ii, 51-9), but the international agreements made with this end in mind were not always respected by the pirates. The activities of these last were however controlled, and there are extant some interesting *fatwās* on these. M. Talbi has published one of them (in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, 1956), pronounced by Saḥnūn (d. 240/854 [*q.v.*]) and concerning three associates who had organised a pirate enterprise but had then fallen out over the division of their booty. More interesting still is a *fatwā* of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn (d. 256/870 [*q.v.*]) analysed also by Talbi (*Émirat aghlabide*, 534-5); it emerges from this that seizure was legal in the case of a Christian merchant ship making for a non-Muslim country, but illegal when it was a case of a building utilised for commercial exchanges between Christendom and Islam. Thus, whilst hindering freedom of navigation, pirate activity tended to divert traffic into a pattern favourable to the Muslim lands.

After the beginning of the 6th/12th century and during all the Crusades period, privateering may be regarded as more often than not assimilable to the *ḏjihād*. The Zīrids (see H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, index) organised it on a grand scale and sowed terror in the western Mediterranean, whilst the island of Djarba [*q.v.*], already an important base, became a real haunt of pirates, who were not content with attacking Christian ships but also infested the coasts of Ifrīḳiya. Djarba was conquered in 510/1116 by ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā, but soon resumed its traditional rôle, until it was captured in 529/1135 by the Normans of Sicily; it was to remain the plaything of Christian and Muslim rivalries until the end of the 8th/14th century, and then was to play a leading part in the events of the 10th/16th century.

Various dockyards built along the coasts of the Maghrib and al-Andalus [see DĀR AL-ṢINĀʿA], especially at La Calle (Marsā 'l-Ḵharaz), Bône and Bougie,

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provided local pirates with galleys which skimmed the coasts of the Mediterranean islands and swept the seas in search of prey. As well as the cargoes and crews seized on the open seas, the raids on the Sardinian and Corsican coasts secured slaves of both sexes which were much in demand.

Dufourcq (*op. laud.*, index) has gathered together considerable material on the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. From this, it appears that, despite the rulers' desires to make maritime commerce safe, the occasional prohibition of privateering warfare and concluding of international treaties, the Mediterranean remained for adventurers of all varieties a special field of activity. After having died down somewhat, from the Muslim side, in the 7th/13th century, *ḳarṣana* revived with fresh force, and the islands and shores of the Christian world were often ravaged. On the Christian side, their exploits yielded nothing in scope or violence to the Muslims; Sicily was a fine jumping-off base and arsenal, and Djarba was neutralised for a while by Roger de Lauria and Ramon Montaner.

The other bases in the Maghrīb remained active, but the situation hardly changed in the course of the next century. On the other hand, it took a completely new turn in the 10th/16th century, when there began the so-called "Barbary corsairs", whose activity was to last until the 19th century. This is the period in which such figures as the Barbarossa brothers [see ʿARŪDJ and KHAYR AL-DĪN], Dragut [see ṬURGHŪD], Sinān Pasha, Aydīn, and many others for whom there is not space here to recount the prowess, distinguished themselves. The articles devoted to the most famous of them should be consulted, and one should merely note that ʿArūdj chose Tunis as his base and from there, was able to defy the power of Charles V and to seize Algiers. After his death in 924/1518, his brother Khayr al-Dīn (d. 953/1546), who had offered the province of Algiers to the Ottoman sultan, resumed his pirate activities against Mediterranean shipping and his attacks on the Christian towns. For his part, Dragut (d. 972/1565) set up his base in Djarba, and then succeeded Murād Agha, whom he had helped, together with Sinān Pasha, in seizing Tripoli from the Knights of Malta; he may be considered as the founder of the new regency.

It is, it is true, difficult to distinguish between naval warfare, privateering and piracy in the activities of these corsairs, whose common feature is that they succeeded in founding "Barbary" states in more or less nominal dependence on the Sublime Porte and that they established pirate organisations which necessitated numerous interventions by the Europeans. The battle of Lepanto in 979/1571 [see AYNA-BAKHTĪ] put an end to privateering, but made no difference to pirate activity, which continued to rage until the conquest of Algiers.

Amongst these pirates, Murād Raʾīs was especially notable. He was the first, in 993/1585, to venture into the Atlantic (if one excepts the expedition of Khash-khāsh [see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 258-9 = § 274] and his companions from Cordova in the 3rd/9th century, see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 354, iii, 342). Murād went on to plunder the Canary Islands, and en route, put in at Salé, which was not as yet the nest of corsairs of which later history was to have a burning memory.

It should also be noted that, at the moment when these Barbary states mentioned above came into existence, there was an event of highest importance happening in Spain, sc. the reconquest of Granada, followed by the exodus of the Andalusians and then, in 1610, by the expulsion of the Moriscoes [*q.v.*]. Like their predecessors, these last groups settled in various parts of North Africa where, without always openly proclaiming *djihād*, they constituted a fresh impetus and a new pretext for the Barbary pirate activity, seeing in this a means of mounting a revanche. Algeria and Tunisia remained very active centres (see M. de Epalza and R. Petit (eds.), *Études sur les Moriscos andalous en Tunisie*, Madrid 1973, index), but it is from this point onwards that piracy based on the port of Salé comes into prominence, and the history of this is well-documented for us (see H. de Castries, *Les corsaires de Salé*, in *Revue des deux mondes*, xv/2 (1903); L. Brunot, *La mer dans les traditions et les industries indigènes à Rabat et Salé*, Paris 1920, 152-72; and R. Coindreau, *Les corsaires de Salé*, Paris 1948). During the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, Salé [see SALĀ] had been a centre for privateering on a relatively modest scale only, like other ports of the Moroccan littoral like Tetuan [see TĪṬṬĀWĪN], whose corsair fleet had however been destroyed by the Spaniards in *ca.* 803/1400, or al-Mahdiyya [*q.v.*], which on occasion gave refuge to pirates, whose captured booty was sold to the sultans. In the 17th century, however, the twin town of Rabat became, under the influence of Andalusian emigrants, a real corsair republic, in which certain strong personalities stand out, these being used for diplomatic missions (e.g. the Bénache and vars. = Sīdī ʿAlī b. ʿĀʾisha, who was charged by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl with a mission to Louis XIV for the hand of the Princess de Conti). These Salé corsairs, called "Turks" by the Europeans, were generally no more Turkish in origin than were the "Barbary" pirates; they included in their ranks Andalusians and Moroccans, to be sure, but also Greeks, Russians, Portuguese, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Dutchmen, etc., renegades and even Christians. The diverseness of the polyglot crews allowed them to hoist false colours and to reassure ships under attack by addressing the enemies in the tongue of their own nation. One notable feature of the Salé pirates was that, being right on the spot for combing the North Atlantic seas, they were bold enough to sail as far as Iceland, to reach the fishing-grounds of the coasts of the New World and Nova Scotia, or to enter the Channel and reprovision themselves in the Netherlands, where they had accomplices. For almost a century, from 1668 to 1757, privateering was organised by the sultans, and may be considered as taking the place of a national fleet.

There is no need here to dilate upon the various types of vessel employed by the corsairs and pirates, nor upon their arms, for these questions will be studied under MILĀḤA and SAFĪNA. It should merely be noted that until the end of the 16th century, the pirates in the Mediterranean used galleys propelled by a large number of oarsmen (sometimes more than 200) and that the lateen sails of these ships were only auxiliaries; on the other hand, in order to secure a speed superior to that of the merchant ships, these galleys were slender in shape (the proportion of length to breadth reaching up to 9 times) and hence instable. In 1606, a Dutch renegade called Simon of Danser taught the Algerians to construct and to operate sailing ships, and Salé, which, because of the bar and shallow waters, could only used light vessels, benefitted particularly by this innovation, and built so-called "round" (i.e. with a proportion of only 3 or 4) ships, which were much more stable.

Finally, thanks to the anonymous author of *La connaissance des Pavillons ou Bannières que la plupart des Nations arborent en mer*, The Hague 1737 (cf.

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Coindreau, *op. laud.*, 211-22), we have information about several of the flags of the Muslim corsairs.

Bibliography: The above account, inevitably brief, can only give a slight sketch of *ḳarṣana* in the western Mediterranean and the Atlantic. Outside the archives, some of which have been used by the authors cited above, and the *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc*, reference should be made to the works cited in the text, which usually have detailed bibliographies, and to the following basic works: F. Dan, *Histoire de Barbarie et de ses corsaires*, Paris 1649; J. Morgan, *Histoire des États barbaresques qui exercent la piraterie*, Paris 1757; L. de Mas-Latrie, *Relations et commerce de l'Afrique septentrionale avec les nations chrétiennes au moyen age*, Paris 1886; S. Lane Poole, *The Barbary corsairs*, London 1890; P. Gossee, *The history of piracy*, London 1932 (Fr. tr. P. Teillac, *Histoire de la piraterie*, Paris 1933, 2nd edn., 1952); Ch. Penz, *Les captifs français du Maroc au XVII^e siècle*, Rabat 1944; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au moyen âge*, Paris 1946, 225-8; I. de las Cagigas, *La cuestión del corso y de la piratería berberisca en el Mediterraneo*, in *Curso de conferencias sobre la política africana de los reyes catolicos*, i, Madrid 1951, 127-49. (CH. PELLAT)

ii. In Turkish waters

Within a decade of the Saldjūḳ victory at Manzikert (Malāzgird [*q.v.*]) in 463/1071, the Turkish invaders had extended their raids to the Aegean. In 474/1081, or shortly afterwards, the Turks of Nicaea (Iznik [*q.v.*]) constructed a fleet at Kios (Gemlik [*q.v.*]), possibly for the transport of troops. However, the Byzantine Emperor, Alexios I Comnenos, burned it before it could put to sea. A more formidable Turkish maritime force appeared in 481-2/1088-9, when a Turkish chieftain called Tzachas (this name is probably a Greek form of Čaka), with the aid of a Smyrniot Greek, built a fleet at Smyrna (Izmir [*q.v.*]), which harried the Aegean coast of Asia Minor from Smyrna to Adramyttion (Edremit [*q.v.*]) and captured the neighbouring islands of Chios (Saḳız), Lesbos (Mytilene), Samos (Susamı), and possibly some other islands. The unexpected appearance of Tzachas, so soon after the Byzantine destruction of Arab pirate bases in Cilicia, led to the construction of a new fleet at Constantinople in 484/1091, and the expulsion of Tzachas from the islands. His rival, the Saldjūḳ Ḳılıč Arslan, poisoned him in 489/1096.

After the defeat of Tzachas, Alexios I was able to recapture the coastlands lost to the Turkish invaders and built a number of coastal fortresses between Abydos (near Čanaḳ ḳala [*q.v.*]) and Syria. Muslim corsairs did not disturb Byzantine waters again until the last quarter of the 6th/12th century, when Arab pirates reappeared in the eastern Mediterranean. This does not mean that piracy in general diminished. In fact, it increased with the growth of commerce in the Levant following the Crusades. A pattern arose of professional pirates in the Aegean and Mediterranean finding employment in the Byzantine and other fleets. The same phenomenon was to occur with the growth of Turkish fleets.

The Latin occupation of Constantinople in 601/1204 did nothing to prevent piracy, despite the presence of Venetian fleets in the Aegean. In 633/1236, the Despot Manuel of Epiros could claim that pirates made the sea too dangerous for his bishops to cross from Greece to the Laskarid capital at Nicaea. The Latin conquest seems merely to have increased the number of Latin pirates, such as the Lombard Licario, who was to serve Michael VIII Palaiologos as Admiral after the Byzantine recapture of Constantinople in 659/1261. Muslims, however, were not in evidence. The Laskarid administration effectively fortified the boundaries with the Saldjūḳs in Asia Minor, preventing the Muslim access to the Aegean coast. Ibn Bībī [*q.v.*] refers to an *amīr-i sawāḥil*, possibly commanding Saldjūḳ vessels in the Mediterranean, but there are no further references to Muslim maritime activity.

Despite Michael VIII's construction of a powerful Byzantine fleet after 659/1261, his reign saw the foundation of Turkish naval power in the Aegean. Pre-occupied with regaining Byzantine territories in the west and warding off the threat of an Angevin invasion, Michael neglected his eastern frontier. Turkish raids and settlements followed and, as in the 5th/11th century, the invaders soon took to the sea. Already in 676-7/1278, there are records of pirates, including the obviously Muslim "Saladinus" at Ania to to south of Ephesus. In 681-3/1284, Michael VIII's successor, Andronikos II Palaiologos, disbanded his father's fleet, which he evidently regarded as an unnecessary expense after the removal of the Angevin threat. The results were disastrous. Not only were the seas unprotected against burgeoning Turkish piracy, but unemployed Greek sailors now defected to the Turks. After 682-3/1284, Turkish sea-raids extended to the Cyclades and even into the Sea of Marmara and Black Sea. By 700/1300, the Turks had occupied the Aegean coast and, according to the Catalan Muntaner, were pillaging Chios and the surrounding islands.

It was these years in the late 7th/13th and early 8th/14th centuries that saw the establishment of the Turkish emirates on the Aegean coast. Since these states sheltered corsairs and used their own vessels simply to collect booty by harrying foreign settlements or commerce, rather than to protect trade or acquire new lands, they may be described as "pirate-states". The most notorious was Aydın [see Aydınoghlı], especially in the days of Umūr Pasha [*q.v.*] but ships from other maritime emirates of Menteshe, Sarukhān and Ḳarasī [*q.vv.*] also engaged in sea-borne raids. In the Black Sea, Ghāzī Čelebi (d. *ca.* 724/1324?) established an emirate around Sinop [*q.v.*], whence he made raids on Genoese and Trapezuntine commerce and settlements. The Ottomans do not seem immediately to have taken to the sea as corsairs. When Orkhan [*q.v.*] gave lands to Ḳara Mürsel after the conquest of Nicomaedia (Iznikmid, Izmit [*q.v.*]) in 1737/1337, his purpose appears to have been to protect the shores of the Gulf of Izmit against Byzantine raids.

During the 8th/14th century, Turkish raids became a feature of life in the Aegean. In 718/1318, corsairs from the mainland of Anatolia ravaged Santorin, and in 726/1326 Marino Sanudo reported how the Turks infested the Cyclades, their attacks made easier by the disunity among the Latin Lords of the islands. In 739/1328-9, Umūr of Aydın occupied the harbour of Smyrna and began his attacks on Christian ships and on islands and territories in the Aegean and mainland Greece. In 736/1335, however, he signed an agreement with Andronikos III Palaiologos not to attack Byzantine shipping. It was possibly in part to compensate them for loss of booty that Andronikos employed Umūr's troops as mercenaries in Albania. With the death of Andronikos III in 742/1341, Umūr again began to raid throughout the Aegean and, between 742/1341 and 745/1344, intervened in the Byzantine civil war on behalf of his friend and ally John Cantacuzene.

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Piracy particularly affected Venetian and other Latin commerce. In 731/1331, Venice had imposed a treaty on the Catalans of Athens, forbidding them to help or employ Turkish corsairs, although this did not prevent the Catalans calling on Umūr to defend the Duchy of Athens against the claims of Gautier de Brienne. The activities of Umūr and other Muslim corsairs eventually led Pope John XXII to assemble a fleet under the command of the Venetian Pietro Zen to which Venice, the Papacy, France and the Knights of St. John contributed vessels. This force did much damage to the Turkish corsairs and defeated the fleet of Yakhshi Beg of Ḳarasī in the Gulf of Edremit in 735/1334. However, it disbanded after the death of Pope John in the same year, and piracy continued as before. More effective was the Latin occupation of the port of Smyrna in 745/1344, and the death of Umūr in 749/1348, after which Khiḍr of Aydīn signed a treaty with the Latins, according to which he undertook to burn all the ships in the emirate, forbid all acts of piracy and offer no help to corsairs. Large-scale raids may have ceased, but in a letter dated 751/1350 the Dodge Andrea Dandolo indicated that Turks from Aydīn continued to attack Christian shipping. Piracy based on other emirates seems also to have flourished. After 671-2/1360, Aḥmed Ghāzī of Menteshe preyed on shipping between Cyprus and Rhodes.

Ottoman raiders began to appear on the Aegean in the 1390s. They seem to have infested the Sea of Marmara considerably earlier, leading the Emperor John VI Cantacuzene to clear the old harbour of Heptaskalon in Constantinople some time after 750/1349, as a base against Turkish pirates. The annexation by Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] of Sarukhān, Aydīn and Menteshe brought the western Aegean shoreline under Ottoman control by the 1390s. With Bāyezīd's construction of an arsenal at Gallipoli, the Ottomans were able to build sizeable fleets. In 793/1391 an Ottoman fleet of 60 vessels ravaged Chios, the Cyclades and the coasts of Euboea (Negroponte, Ighriboz) and Attica. To meet this new threat, Venice allotted a fleet to Francesco I Crispo of Naxos.

The defeat of Bāyezīd by Tīmūr in 804/1402 and the subsequent restoration of the emirates put an end to the depredations of an Ottoman fleet under the Sultan's auspices, but did not otherwise prevent piracy. In 806/1403, the restored ruler of Menteshe, Ilyās Beg, signed a treaty with Venice in which he undertook to prevent acts of piracy. He was evidently unsuccessful, since in 813/1410 a Venetian fleet appeared off the ports of the emirate as a forceful reminder of the *beg* to adhere to the terms of the treaty. It made no difference. In 819/1416 vessels from Ottoman territory raided the Cyclades and, at about this time, the Florentine Buondelmonti reported Turkish raids on all the Aegean islands except Patmos. Perhaps the shared reverence for the shrines of certain saints, such as St. George of Levitha, called Ḳoč Papas or Ḳoč Baba in Turkish, led the Turks to leave the monks of Patmos in peace. Piracy remained endemic throughout the 9th/15th century, and measures such as the imposition of direct rule on the Venetian Duchy of Naxos in 899/1494 only temporarily deterred the corsair fleets of Ḳarā Ḥasan and others.

There were, however, significant changes in the Aegean in the late 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. Under Meḥemmed II and his successors, the Ottoman fleet became an instrument of conquest and a weapon of imperial policy rather than simply a pirate fleet of the Sultan. Meḥemmed II's fleet, for example, played an important part in the conquests of Constantinople in 857/1453, Sinop, Trebizond (Ṭrabzon [*q.v.*]), and Lesbos (Midilli) in 865-7/1461-2 and Euboea in 875/1470. Under his successor Bāyezīd II, Ottoman fleets appeared in the Ionian Sea during the war with Venice between 904/1499 and 908/1503. As the frontiers of naval warfare moved south and westwards from the Aegean, Turkish pirates such as the famous Kemāl Re'īs [*q.v.*] extended their activities to North Africa and the western Mediterranean. By 947/1540 most of the Aegean coasts and islands were Ottoman possessions, and the odd exceptions such as the Venetian Tinos (Istindīn) and the Genoese Chios, which in any case fell to the Ottomans in 974/1566, did not threaten Turkish hegemony in the area.

The Aegean was now an Ottoman sea and the Sultan had no wish to encourage piracy in his own waters. The Ottoman government attempted to control the activities of corsairs, forbidding the construction of privateer vessels without special permission. In 967/1560, the *ḳāḍī* of Iznikmid received instructions to seize an illegally-constructed ship; whereas in 972/1565, the *levend*s [*q.v.*] of Rhodes (Rodos [*q.v.*]) and Menteshe were encouraged to build ships and serve in the Imperial Fleet. The squadrons permanently based in the Aegean at Kavalla, Lesbos and Rhodes presumably guarded the seas against pirates as much as against enemy action. In the 990s/1580s Muṣṭafā ʿAlī of Gallipoli or Gelibolu [*q.v.*] looked back with nostalgia to the mid-century when the Imperial Fleets kept the sea free of corsairs.

It is, however, most unlikely that Muslim pirates ever disappeared from the Aegean. The western shores of Anatolia seem, in fact, in the 10th/16th century to have been a forcing ground for pirates who, after acquiring sufficient ships and booty in their native waters emigrated to Algiers (al-Djazā'ir [*q.v.*]), or later to Tripoli (Ṭarābulus al-Gharb [*q.v.*]) or Tunis [*q.v.*], where their raids on non-Ottoman Christian shipping changed them, in Ottoman eyes, from pirates to warriors of the faith. The famous Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa [*q.v.*] and Ṣāliḥ Re'īs of Algiers, for example, originated from the west coast of Anatolia, found fame in North Africa and, like many lesser known corsairs, later served in the Ottoman Imperial Fleet. Muṣṭafā ʿAlī specifies Ḳazdaghlī in particular as an area from which many North African pirates originated.

In the late 10th/16th century, piracy seems to have increased throughout the Mediterranean, and the Aegean too was affected. It is most likely that the disorders in Anatolia in this period found their counterpart on the sea.

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iii. In the Persian Gulf

Piracy has been endemic in the Persian Gulf since ancient times, which is hardly to be wondered at in view of the poverty, until very recently, of the peoples dwelling around its shores and the richness of the commerce which has at various periods passed through its waters. Piracy has flourished most in time of war or in its wake, when authority has broken down and the predatory instincts of the maritime tribes have been given full rein. Thus, for example, the Ḳarmaṭian revolt, the Mongol invasions and the collapse of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate were all accompanied or followed by maritime depredations on an extensive scale.

To all intents and purposes, piracy in the Gulf was indistinguishable from maritime warfare, which in turn originated in political, dynastic, sectarian or racial conflict among the littoral principalities. Hostilities at sea were apt to degenerate swiftly into the indiscriminate plunder of any and all shipping, not only in the Gulf but in the adjacent seas also. Such was the case with the first great piratical campaign of modern times, that waged by the seafaring tribes of ʿUmān against the trade and shipping of the Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the western Indian Ocean in the late 11th/17th century. After the expulsion of the Portuguese from Masḳaṭ, Ṣuḥār and their other footholds on the ʿUmānī coast by the Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sulṭān b. Sayf (1059-90/1649-79), the ʿUmānīs pursued their vendetta against the Portuguese by attacking and plundering their shipping and their settlements on the coasts of India, Persia and East Africa. Under Sulṭān b. Sayf's successors, and especially the fourth Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sayf b. Sulṭān (*ca.* 1103-23/1692-1711), ʿUmān became a formidable maritime power; and commensurate with the increase in her naval strength the scope of her marauding activities widened to embrace vessels under any flag wherever they might be encountered. The depredations of the Masḳaṭ and ʿUmānī pirates only ceased when civil strife broke out in ʿUmān over the succession to the Ibadī imāmate following the death of the Yaʿrubī *imām*, Sulṭān II b. Sayf, in 1131/1718-19.

A wave of piracy followed the Afghān incursions into Persia in the 1130s/1720s and again after the death of Nadīr Shāh in 1160/1747. On both occasions, as during the height of the ʿUmānī piratical campaigns, some of the chief sufferers were the European trading establishments on the Persian coast. The most notorious pirate of the 12th/18th century was Mīr Muḥannā b. Naṣīr of Bandar Rīg, whose family, an off-shoot of the Zaʿāb tribe dwelling on the southern shore of the Gulf, had migrated to the Persian coast earlier in the century, intermarried with Persians, espoused Shīʿism and settled at Bandar Rīg. While still a youth Mīr Muḥannā had helped contrive the murder of his father, and when his mother reproached him with his crime he slew her in a fit of rage. He likewise put to death his two sisters for receiving offers of marriage, and exposed his first-born child, a daughter, to die on the seashore. The greatest triumph of Mīr Muḥannā's career was the capture and destruction of the Dutch trading settlement on Khārg or Khārḳ I island [see KHĀRAG] in Radjab 1179/December 1765-January 1766. Eighteen months later he despoiled the Masḳaṭ coffee fleet on its way to Baṣra in the summer of 1181/1767. It was his final *coup*. Driven from Bandar Rīg by his own people, who had finally sickened of his monstrous cruelties, he sought refuge in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1182/March 1769 at Baṣra, where he was unceremoniously put to death by the Ottoman *mütesellim*.

An outbreak of piracy by the Kaʿb of the lower Kārūn followed the siege and capture of Baṣra by the Persians in 1189-90/1775-6. A far more serious upsurge, however, was that which occurred after the death of Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] in 1193/1779. The coastal tribes of Fārs, most of whom were of Arab descent, threw off the authority of Shīrāz and became a law unto themselves, plundering any vessels that came within their reach. Their depredations were shortly to be overshadowed by those of the Ḳāsimī tribal confederacy [see AL-ḲAWĀSIM] of Shārdja (al-Shāriḳa) and Raʾs al-Khayma [*q.vv.*], who took advantage of the disturbed state of Persia to re-establish themselves at Linga [*q.v.*] (which they had first seized after the death of Nadīr Shāh and from which they had been expelled by Karīm Khān in 1179/1765) and to prey upon shipping—European and Indian as well as Arab and Persian—off the Persian coast and in the Straits of Hurmuz.

Part of the impulse for the Ḳawāsim's marauding derived from their persistent quarrel with the Āl Bū Saʿīd rulers of ʿUmān, a quarrel which in the last two decades of the 18th century came to focus upon control of the stretch of coast to the north of Ṣuḥār, which the Ḳawāsim endeavoured—with some success—to wrest from the Āl Bū Saʿīd with the object of commanding the approaches to the Gulf and waylaying vessels passing through the Straits of Hurmuz. It was largely the exploits of the Ḳawāsim that were responsible for the southern shore of the Gulf, from Rams to Dubayy, becoming known to European mariners in these years as "the Pirate Coast". A new twist, and added strength, was given to the Ḳawāsim's piratical activities, and to their feud with the Āl Bū Saʿīd, by the assertion by the Wahhābīs of Nadjd of an ascendancy over the Pirate Coast in the first decade of the 19th century. The conversion of the Ḳawāsim and other maritime tribes to the Wahhābī practice of Islam injected an element of fanaticism into their piratical forays, so that the campaign of depredation that ensued took on the character of a seaborne *djihād*.

The Ḳāsimī war fleet, operating with Wahhābī encouragement, if not under actual Wahhābī direction, was reckoned in 1223/1808 to number some 70-80 large dhows; if fishing and pearling vessels were included, the Ḳāsimī confederacy's total strength was said to exceed 800 vessels manned by 18,000-25,000 fighting men. (Another estimate, made in 1233/1818, put the resources of the Arabian maritime tribes at 89 large dhows and 161 smaller craft, manned by 10,000 fighting men.) Controlling Linga and part of

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Ḳishm Island, and with bases at Khawr Fakkān, Dibba and Khawr Kalba, facing the Gulf of ʿUmān, the Ḳawāsim were able to strike at will at any ships entering or leaving the Straits of Hurmuz. Often they would lie concealed, waiting for their prey, in the deep winding inlets of Khawr al-Shaʿm (Elphinstone's Inlet) and Ghubbat ʿAlī (Malcom's Inlet) on the western and eastern sides respectively of the Musandam peninsula (Raʾs al-Djibāl), the existence of which was not known to European seamen until the first survey of the Gulf was undertaken by the Bombay Marine (the armed maritime service of the English East India Company) after 1235-6/1820. Hence the Ḳawāsim were able on a number of occasions to elude pursuit by the cruisers of the Bombay Marine by slipping into these hidden anchorages.

With the passage of time the Ḳawāsim grew bolder, ranging as far afield as the coasts of Kutch and Kathiawar, the ports of the Ḥaḍramawt and the lower reaches of the Red Sea. They sailed in squadrons of up to twenty dhows, taking their prizes by closing alongside, grappling and boarding. As often as not they would put the entire crew of a captured vessel to the sword—generally amid clamorous avowals of religious fervour. Women, children and slaves taken captive were afterwards either distributed among their captors or, in the case of the first two, held for later ransom. A fifth of all booty taken was reserved for eventual consignment to the Saʿūdī *imām* at Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*], the Wahhābī capital. A good portion of the remainder was customarily disposed of at Baḥrayn, which served as the principal clearing-house for the proceeds of Ḳāsimī piracy.

After the capture of a number of European and Indian ships by the Ḳawāsim the British authorities in India dispatched an expedition to attack Raʾs al-Khayma, Linga and the Ḳāsimī outposts on Ḳishm I. and at Shinas, on the ʿUmānī coast, in the autumn and winter of 1809-10 (Shaʿbān-Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdjah 1224). The expedition had only partial success in crippling the Ḳāwasīm's naval capabilities. Many Ḳāsimī dhows were absent from their home ports on piratical or trading voyages, while others had been hidden, after word of the expedition's objectives had leaked out ahead of its sailing, in the inlets of the Raʾs al-Djibāl. The expedition's commanders were also inhibited by the orders given them not to cross swords with the Wahhābi ruler. A second expedition, dispatched in the winter of 1819-20 (Muḥarram-Djumādā I, 1235), after the defeat of the Wahhābis and the destruction of Dirʿiyya by Ibrāhīm Pasha the previous year, was far more effective in subduing the Ḳawāsim. Raʾs al-Khayma and the other piratical ports were reduced, the Ḳāsimī war fleet was burned or prized, and the Ḳāsimī chieftains, along with the other principal *shaykhs* of the Pirate Coast, were made to subscribe to a treaty (the General Treaty of Peace of Rabīʿ I, 1235/January 1820) outlawing piracy for ever.

Neither the expedition of 1809-10 nor that of 1819-20 had attempted to bring to book the man who was undoubtedly the most reckless and ferocious free-booter in the Gulf in the entire 19th century—Raḥma b. Djābir, head of the Āl Djalāhima branch of the ʿUtūb, whose base for more than thirty years was located at Khawr Ḥasan in north-western Ḳaṭar [*q.v.*]. Raḥma's blood-stained career had its origins in his falling out with the Āl Khalīfa of Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] over the division of the spoils from their joint conquest of the island in 1197/1783. From that time until the end of his life he conducted an unrelenting war of attrition, marked as much by fierce daring as by atrocious cruelty, against the trade and shipping of the Āl Khalīfa and their kinsmen, the Āl Ṣabāḥ of Kuwayt. His most remarkable single feat was his capture in Dhu 'l-Kaʿda 1224/December 1809 of twenty large Kuwaytī dhows, whose crews he massacred to a man. He escaped the attentions of the British expeditionary force at that time in the lower Gulf, partly because of confusion over his status (he was a Wahhābī protégé) but mainly because his stronghold at Khawr Ḥasan was deemed too difficult of access to attack from the sea. Some time later (in 1227/1812 or 1231/1818—the accounts vary) he fell out with the Wahhābis and was forced to abandon Khawr Ḥasan. He established a new lair in 1234/late 1818, after the Wahhābī collapse, at Dammām, on the Ḥasā coast, from which he continued to harry the seaborne commerce of Baḥrayn.

Raḥma b. Djābir was again spared retribution at the hands of the British expedition of 1819-20, less because he had now assumed the guise of a Persian dependant than because his vendetta against the Āl Khalīfa, however, brutally it might be conducted, was reluctantly conceded to come within the category of legitimate warfare and not that of piracy. As a consequence of the improved security established by the British expedition and the subsequent system of "watch and cruise" operated by the Bombay Marine, Raḥma b. Djābir's fortunes steadily declined, until by 1241-2/1826 his fleet has been reduced to a single dhow. Now seventy years of age and totally blind, he had his last fight with the Āl Khalīfa war fleet off Dammām in Djumāda II, 1242/December 1826-January 1827. Surrounded and outnumbered, he calmly set fire to the magazine of his ship and blew her, himself and everyone aboard to the gates of Paradise.

The last serious piratical outbreak in the Gulf occurred in Shawwāl-Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1250/February-April 1835, when the Banū Yās of Abū Dhabī (Abū Ẓabī), hitherto little given to piracy, made a wholesale attempt upon the trade of the Gulf in a desperate bid to recoup their economic fortunes, which had been severely depressed by prolonged warfare with the Ḳawāsim and the loss of the annual pearl fishery for several years running. Brought to action off the Tūnbs by the Bombay Marine sloop *Elphinstone* on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1250/16 April 1835, the Banū Yās war fleet was outfought and scattered. The following month the British political resident in the Gulf, Captain Samuel Hennell, persuaded the rulers of Abū Dhabī, Shārdja, Raʾs al-Khayma, Dubayy and ʿAdjmān to agree to a suspension of hostilities at sea among themselves for the duration of the coming pearling season. The maritime truce signed on 22 Muḥarram 1251/21 May 1835 ran for a period of six months, to 29 Radjab 1251/21 November 1835. It was renewed every spring for the next seven years, being gradually extended in length to cover the full twelve months of the year. In 1259/1843 it was renewed for a ten-year period, at the expiry of which it was made permanent, in a treaty signed by the principal Trucial Shaykhs on 25 Radjab 1269/4 May 1853. Though isolated outbreaks of piracy were to occur at intervals up to this century, notably in the narrow waters between Baḥrayn and the Ḥasā coast, the institution and consolidation of the trucial system brought to an end the great age of piracy in the history of the Gulf.

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KURSĪ, an Arabic word borrowed from Aramaic (Syriac form *kurseyā'*, in Hebrew: *kissé*; see Th. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 128; Fraenkel, *De vocabulis peregrinis*, 22; L. Koehler, W. Baumgarten, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, 446) which can signify seat, in a very general sense (chair, couch, throne, stool, even bench). In the daily life of mediaeval Muslims it refers more specifically to a stool (i.e. seat without back or arm-rests), and there are a number of other terms which are applied to a throne (*sarīr* and *takht*, for example).

Kursī is found on two occasions in the Ḳur'ān (II, 256, XXXVIII, 33), and the commentators (al-Ṭabarī, *Djāmi' al-bayān*, Cairo 1323, iii, 7; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, Calcutta 1856, i, 170; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Zād*, Cairo 1964, i, 304; al-Bayḍāwī, *Anwār*, Leipzig 1846, i, 139; Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1952, i, 309-310; al-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*, Beirut 1969, 56; al-Ḳāsimī, *Maḥāsin*, Cairo 1957, iii, 659-67) tend to accord it the sense of throne, since its function (in the first verse, the throne of God which encompasses both Heaven and Earth, in the second, the throne of King Solomon) is to bestow a particular majesty on the one who sits there. In opposition to an apparently anthropomorphic concept of God "sitting" on a seat, another explanation has been put forward according to which, of the seven heavens encircling the universe, the two furthest from the globe will be *'arsh* (see below) and *kursī* (the commentators and the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, Cairo 1929, ii, 22; Ibn Sīnā, *Risālat al-'Arsh*, Ms. Nuruosmaniye 4894, fol. 494 b -495 b). *Kursī* (in the Ḳur'ān) need not therefore indicate a seat in the usual sense of the word. There are other interpretations of the term, some allegorical (*kursī* = the absolute knowledge of God, or his kingdom), some literal, for example: *'arsh* (Ḳur'ān, XVII, 44; XL, 15; XLIII, 82; LXXXI, 20;) = throne of God, while *kursī* = footstool, a bench set before the throne. This throne of God has been an object of debate among theologians (A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, 67, 90, 93, 115 and especially 148, concerning *'arsh* and *kursī*). The rite of a certain Shī'ī sect, at an early period in Muslim history, attributed a particular sanctity to an empty *kursī* (al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ed. S. D. Goitein, vi, 242; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien*, 85).

The distinction between throne (*'arsh*) and footstool (*kursī*) probably reflects the tendency of mediaeval Muslims to indicate by means of the term *kursī* all kinds of supports: the word *mirfa'*, which, among other usages (including that of footstool!) indicates an ink-stand and the base of the small oriental table, may be replaced, in certain texts, by *kursī* (J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche-Orient médiéval*, Leiden 1976, 91-4). To this meaning of "support", that of "lectern" should also be added. Many examples, designed to support copies of the Ḳur'ān (with straight or crossed legs) adorn mosques and are to be found in various museums (*ibid.*, 124-5, n. 470; J. A. Jaussen, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, 19-23 and especially O. Kurz, in *Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum*, ed. R. Ettinghausen, 299-314). The term tends thus to become loaded (especially in colloquial speech) with senses which, in richer and more exact terminology, are covered by distinct terms. Among the other objects designated by *kursī* the following are examples: a support (stool) on which the turban is deposited during the night (Dozy, *Suppl.* ii, 455-6); a chair of particular design used by women in childbirth (*ibid.*); a stool for daily ablutions (al-Tanūkhī, *al-Mustadjād*, 108); in mediaeval Egypt, a seat for flour sellers (Maimonides, *Ṭeharōt*, ed. Derenbourg, i, 137); an astrolabe-stand (Dozy, *loc. cit.*); a slab into which a pointed instrument is implanted, through the base (*ibid.*); in Mecca, a kind of moving ladder (or staircase) near the Ka'ba (*ibid.*); among the Persians, a kind of stove (a low "table", under which a fire is lit; blankets are laid on this table and then wrapped round the knees to provide warmth, *ibid.*); the base of a column, pedestal (Beaussier, s.v.); a plate supporting the powder compartment and percussion mechanism of the flint-lock rifle (*ibid.*); in Spain, small pieces of silver or gold worn by women in their collars and known in Spanish as *corci* (Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols*, 93); *kursī* is the seat of a bishop, his see, diocese etc. (Dozy, *Suppl.*, *loc. cit.*); in orthography, each of the characters (*alif*, *wāw*, *yā'*) on (or under) which the *hamza* is placed; in calligraphy, a kind of embellishment in square form (Huart, *Calligraphes*, 352).

In certain miniatures illustrating an Arabic astronomical work, which represent *dhat al-kursī* (Cassiopeia) in the form of a woman seated on a chair with back and arm-rests, we find the shape of a genuinely "classical" chair (E. Wellesz, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii, 8-9 and figs. 6, 44, 47, 51), which, copied from one manuscript to another, tends to become modified to the point where it is adapted to the mediaeval Muslim concept (Sadan, *op. cit.*, 125-6). In general, the *kursī* is nothing more than a stool. But, surrounded by other lower seats (cushions for example), such a stool can draw attention to the person who is seated there (see the dimensions indicated by M. D. Lutfi in *Sumer*, xvi, 129-30, in the Arabic section, unless it is lecterns that are in question). These *kursī*-stools were of various heights. Some had straight legs, others crossed legs (they are illustrated by a rich iconography, as well as by texts: O. Kurz, *loc. cit.*; Sadan, *op. cit.*, 123-33). In the modern period, *kursī* is also applied to various chairs of "western-style" form.

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(Cl. Huart - [J. Sadan])

ḲURṬUBA, Spanish Córdoba, French Cordoue, English, Italian and German Cordova (Kordova), Latin Corduba, a town of southern Spain situated at 370 feet above sea-level on the right (north) bank of the central course of the Guadalquivir (from the Arabic al-Wādī al-Kabīr "the great river"), the ancient Baetis, with 1,234,000 inhabitants, is at the present day the capital of the province of the same name which lies on both sides of the river in the heart of Andalusia.

The southern and smaller half of the province, practically the famous La Campiña [see ḲANBĀNIYA], rising in the south-east to a height of over 1,200 feet, is more level, hot and fertile, being especially devoted

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to viniculture, while the northern, larger half which begins in the Sierra de Córdoba immediately to the north of the town, rises to heights over 2,900 feet high in the central Sierra Morena (Mariani Montes) with the plateau of los Pedroches which inclines in a northerly direction to the Zújar valley in the west and the Guadalmez valley in the east; this plateau is called *Iḳlīm al-Balāliṭa* by al-Idrīsī and by others *Faḥs al-Ballūṭ* "Field of Oaks", and in it lies the little town of Pedroche, known to the Arabs as Biṭrawdj or Bitrūsh (whence al-Biṭrūdjī [*q.v.*]). The north has a more temperate climate and includes great stretches of hill country, suited for sheep and horse breeding (*caballos cordobeses*) and rich deposits of coal and minerals. The name Córdoba has frequently been explained as from the Phoenician-Punic קרת טובה, "good town" since Conde first suggested this etymology in his *Descripcion de España de Xerif Aledris*, Madrid 1799, 161 (for even rasher etymologies, see Madoz, vi, 646 and al-Maḳḳarī, i, 355). The name is certainly not Semitic but Old Iberian (cf. Salduba, the Old Iberian name for Caesar-Augusta, whence Saragossa, Zaragoza; there is a Salduba = Marbella in the south between Málaga and Gibraltar). After the Second Punic war it became known as an important and wealthy commercial city (*aes Cordubense*) under the name Κορδύβη or Κορδυβά or Corduba. It was finally taken for Rome by C. Marcellus in 152 B.C., colonised with Roman citizens and as Colonia Patricia raised to be the capital of the Provincia of Hispania Ulterior. As Cordoba had taken the side of Pompey, it was severely punished by Caesar after the battle of Munda in 49 B.C., but in Imperial times it remained the capital of the province (it was the home of the two Senecas and Lucan) alternately with Hispalis (Seville) and Italica (later the Arabic Ṭālika).

Towards the second decade of the 5th century A.D., Cordova was devastated when the Vandals conquered Baetica en route for North Africa. In 554 it passed to the Byzantines, who had come into the Iberian peninsula to help King Athanagild of the Visigoths, and the Greeks spread all through southern Spain. They probably took upon themselves the rebuilding of the old protective wall of the Roman *urbs quadrata* and the enlargement of this enceinte in a southwards direction, as far as the northern bank of the river. In 571, King Leovigild, Athanagild's successor, recovered it from the Byzantines; but although it was an episcopal see, it remained a place of no importance under the Visigothic domination.

At the time of the Muslim conquest of Spain, Cordova was leading a precarious existence; its protective enceinte was partially ruinous on the west side, and a heavy surge in the river's height had destroyed its bridge. The freedman Mughīth al-Rūmī, lieutenant of Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād, occupied the town without resistance in Shawwāl 92/July-August 711, and three months later, in Muḥarram 93/October-November 711, the fortified church of San Acislo to the south-west of Cordova, where 400 knights of the Cordovan nobility had held out against the invaders, surrendered to al-Mughīth; he treated the Cordovan citizens with clemency and entrusted the guarding of the town to the Jews. The governor al-Ḥurr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Thaḳafī transferred the capital of al-Andalus from Seville to Cordova (97-100/716-19). His successor, the governor al-Samḥ b. Mālik al-Khawlānī (100-2/719-21) restored the old Roman bridge and the ruinous part of the protective enceinte, and he founded the first Muslim cemetery of the town, sc. the Maḳbarat al-Rabaḍ or "Cemetery of the Suburb" on the northern bank of the river. In *ca.* 133/750, the governor Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī expropriated the church of San Vicente, where he established the first cathedral mosque (*al-Djāmiʿ*) in Cordova. This governor (129-38/747-56) was overthrown by the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I b. Muʿāwiya al-Dākhil [*q.v.*], the only Umayyad who had escaped from the massacre of his house in Syria; the great period of prosperity of the city now began, and lasted throughout the Umayyad dynasty [*q.v.*] of Cordova, which was independent of the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād (138-403 or 422/756-1013 or 1031).

This incomparable period of splendour of the western rival of Baghdād, the city of the caliphs, is uniquely perpetuated in the great mosque lying just in front of the lofty ancient Moorish bridgehead, the Christian fortress-tower of La Calahorra (Arabicised from the Iberian Calagurris), the Kaʿba of the west; although, at the reconquest in 1236, it became a Christian cathedral and was disfigured by alterations, it has on the whole faithfully retained its Arabic character with its forest of pillars, its outer court (Patio de los Naranjos), the wall which encircles it as if it were a fortress or monastery, and the bell-tower, which is a work of the 16th century constructed from the remains of the 4th/10th century Arab minaret. Also, the name of La Mezquita or "The Mosque" has remained the popular one for this building. However, all the other splendid buildings and monuments of this world-famed period of splendour in the early middle ages have disappeared except for a few wretched fragments. When the shrewd ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I had laid the foundations for the supremacy of his dynasty in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, by attaining some success in putting a stop to the rivalries and quarrels of not only the Arabs of North and South but also between them and the Berbers of North Africa, the Spanish renegades and the Mozarabs who remained a constant weakness to Arab rule in Spain and brought about its ultimate fall, he began the building of the great mosque in the last two years of his life 171-2/787-8. His son and successor Hishām I (172-80/788-96) completed it, and built the minaret (often called in Spain *ṣawmaʿa* and *manār* = *manāra*), but ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II (206-38/822-52), son and successor of the *Amīr* al-Ḥakam I (180-206/796-822), found himself forced to enlarge the building; by extending the 11 naves southwards he added 7 transepts with 10 rows of pillars and built the second *miḥrāb* into the south wall, where was later constructed the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Villaviciosa (833-48), while his son and successor Muḥammad I (238-73/852-86) had in 852-6 thoroughly to overhaul the older building, which had been too hurriedly put up; he devoted particular attention to the decoration of the doors and walls, railed off the *maḳṣūra* reserved for the *Amīr* and the court in front of the *miḥrāb* by a wooden screen and built a covered passage (*sābāṭ*) from Alcázar, the palace to the west of the mosque, to provide a direct and private entrance to the *maḳṣūra* at the daily prayers. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, al-Nāṣir (300-50/912-61) [*q.v.*] who marks the zenith of the Arab epoch in Spain, rebuilt the minaret, which had been severely damaged by the earthquake of 880, in splendid fashion. He enlarged the *ṣaḥn* or courtyard in a northerly direction, demolished the ancient *ṣawmaʿa* and built another one, the forerunner of the great Hispano-Moorish minarets of the 6th/12th century, which support an actual bell hidden behind a stone revetment. It was this same prince who was the builder of the celebrated country estate Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ (now called Cordoba la Vieja) for his beloved al-Zahrāʾ, one-and-a-half

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hours' journey north-west of Cordova at the foot of the Sierra (cf. al-Maḳḳarī, i, 344 ff.). In 1853, Pedro de Madrazo identified the remains of this town, and in 1923 the whole of its enceinte was declared a national monument; since then, excavations have restored some of the splendours of the great caliph al-Nāṣir's creation, and especially, the great hall called the "Salon Rico", which is at present to a considerable extent restored. The most beautiful extension of the mosque proper (almost doubling it) was carried out by the learned and scholarly caliph al-Ḥakam al-Mustanṣir billāh (350-66/961-76), son and successor of the great ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who ordered his Prime Minister or Grand Vizier (called *ḥādjib* in Spain) Djaʿfar al-Ṣaḳlabi to extend the colonnades in the mosque to the south by the addition of 14 transepts, and built a splendid new *maḳṣūra*, a new *sābāṭ* and the third noble *miḥrāb*, which alone has survived in its entirety. The last great extension was made by Hishām II al-Muʾayyad's (366-99/976-1009) powerful vizier, the regent al-Manṣūr (Almanzor, d. 392/1002), who added seven colonnades to the whole length of the building in the east and thereby raised the total number of naves (previously 11) to 19, but threw the *miḥrāb* out of its proper place at the end of the central axis of the sanctuary (on account of the precipitious slope down to the Guadalquivir it was found impossible to extend the building further to the south). Like al-Zahrāʾ in the north-west, al-Madīna al-Zāhira ("the flourishing city"), founded to the east of Cordova by al-Manṣūr to be the seat of the government and its offices, was destroyed in the period of revolution in the beginning of the 5th/11th century and has now quite disappeared.

After the complete extinction of the Umayyads with Hishām III al-Muʿtadd (418-22/1027-31), Cordova became a republic under the presidency of three Djahwarids: Abu 'l-Ḥazm Djahwar b. Muḥammad b. Djahwar (1031-43), Abu 'l-Walīd Muḥammad (1043-64) and ʿAbd al-Malik (1064-70). In the latter year it passed to the ʿAbbādids of Seville; in 1091 to the Almoravids, who in 517/1123 built the protective enceinte of the eastern part of the town; and in 1148 to the Almohads. With its conquest by Ferdinand III of Castile in 1236, it was doomed to inevitable decline.

Of the countless Arab scholars who belonged to Cordova, we will only mention here Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [*q.v.*]), Averroës (Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*]) (d. 595/1198) and Maimonides (d. 601/1204 [see IBN MAYMŪN]).

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(C. F. SEYBOLD - [M. OCAÑA JIMENEZ])

AL-ḲURṬUBĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ABĪ BAKR B. FARAD̲J AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-K̲HAZRAD̲J AL-ANDALUSĪ, Muslim scholar of the Mālik, law school, an expert on *ḥadīt̲h* and well-known for his commentary on the Ḳurʾān. He is the subject of an article in the *Dībād̲j* of Ibn Farḥūn, which is devoted to biography of the Mālikī *fuḳahāʾ* of Spain and the Magh̲rib up till the 8th/14th century. He also features in an article in *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of al-Maḳḳarī. Very little information is known concerning his life. Born in Spain, he was one of those who travelled outside this country (al-Maḳḳarī). Al-Dh̲ahabī is said to have written of him: "He travelled, he wrote and he took lessons from the masters." In fact, he made his way to the Orient and settled at Munyat Abi 'l-K̲huṣayb in Upper Egypt (Mīnat Banī K̲haṣīb in the version of Ibn al-Imād, *Sh̲aḏh̲arāt*, v, 335); he died and was buried there in 671/1272.

Al-Dh̲ahabī says of him, in his *Taʾrīk̲h al-Islām*, that he was an *imām* versed in numerous branches of scholarship, an ocean of learning whose works testify to the wealth of his knowledge, the width of his intelligence and his superior worth. Al-Kutubī, in his *ʿUyun al-tawārīk̲h*, refers to him in approximately the same terms. But in addition to being a conscientious scholar, he was remembered as a pious man, inclined towards asceticism and towards meditation on the life after death. He appeared in public attired in a single garment and wore a small cap (*ṭaḳiyya*) on his head.

Among his masters, the best known is Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Ḳurṭubī whose commentary on Muslim, *al-Mufhim fī s̲h̲arḥ Muslim*, he studied. This man was an eminent Mālikī *faḳīh*, born in Cordova in 578/1173, and died in Alexandria in 656/1259. (He was a teacher of traditions and a foremost expert on the Arabic language. He travelled in the Orient where his reputation became widespread. Al-Nawawī quotes his *Mufhim* in a number of places in his own work.) There is mention of two other masters from whom he learned *ḥadīt̲h*: the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bakrī, and the *ḥāfiẓ* Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥafṣ al-Yaḥṣubī.

Among his works, his biographers first mention his commentary on the Ḳurʾān intitled *al-D̲j̲āmiʿ li-aḥkām al-Ḳurʾān wa 'l-mubayyin li-mā taḍammana min al-sunna wa-āyāt al-furḳān*. Then they refer to the following titles: *al-Asnā*, on the interpretation of the most beautiful names of God; *al-Taḏh̲kār fī afḍal al-aḏh̲kār*, where "he followed the pattern of the *Tibyān* of al-Nawawī, while producing a more complete work and making use of greater learning"; *Kitāb al-Taḏh̲kira bi-umūr al-āk̲h̲ira* [see AL-MAHDĪ]; *Sh̲arḥ al-Taḳaṣṣī*; *Kitāb Ḳamʿ al-ḥirṣ bi 'l-zuhd wa 'l-ḳanāʿa wa-radd ḏh̲ill al-suʾāl bi 'l-kutūb wa 'l-sh̲afāʿa*, which Ibn Farḥūn considers the best example of writing in this genre; and an *Urd̲j̲ūza*, where the names of the Prophet were brought together. All these titles testify eloquently to the religious preoccupations of al-Ḳurṭubī.

His commentary is of great richness and of great utility. All the authors who have spoken of al-Ḳurṭubī acknowledge it and insist on the benefit which may be derived from it. From the introduction onwards, he puts emphasis on the worth of the Ḳurʾān, on the elevated rank of those who are its "bearers", on the eminence in the eyes of God of those who make an effort (*iḏ̲j̲tihād*) to derive from it by *istinbāṭ* teaching which conforms to the *maʿānī*, that is to say, to that which God wishes to signify: "what is known with certainty by the man who

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knows the Book of God, is that he is to reject that which He forbids and to remember that which has been explained to him in this Book, to fear God and stand in awe of Him, to hold himself under His protection, and to abstain from disobeying Him through shame in respect to Him; then he is charged with the burdens of the prophets (*fa-innahu ḥummila aʿbāʾa 'l-rusul*) and he must become a witness to the Resurrection before adepts of religions of a different persuasion (*milal*)." Such is the high estimation placed by al-Ḳurṭubī on the role of the commentator.

The entire Introduction is divided into chapters which constitute a sort of ethic, methodology and theology of the commentary. Attention is drawn to the superior qualities of the Ḳurʾān (*faḍāʾil al-Ḳurʾān*) which comes from the light of the essence of God (*fa-huwa min nūr dhātihi*); God gives his servants the strength to bear it (4 ff.). Then (10), al-Ḳurṭubī turns to the manner of reading the Book of God (*kayfiyyat al-tilāwa li-Kitāb Allāh*) in a chapter which may be compared with that of al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyāʾ*, intitled *Ādāb ḳirāʾat al-Ḳurʾān*; he discusses at length the problem of knowing whether the Ḳurʾānic text may be chanted or set to music: he maintains that it is impious to believe that the Ḳurʾān requires embellishment by the human voice. An important chapter (17) concerns the inward dispositions of men who pursue knowledge of the Ḳurʾān: they must rid themselves of all hypocritical consideration of the self (*taḳdhīr min al-riyāʾ*) and, turning towards God through *tawba* and *ināba*, attain with self-purification to perfect sincerity (*iḵhlāṣ*). This could be interpreted, on account of the opposition of the two terms *riyāʾ* and *iḵhlāṣ*, well-known in Ṣūfism, as a sign of deep mystical piety, and this is confirmed by the passage which follows (20) dealing with that which the soul must observe and not neglect. Then comes a technical chapter (23) on the *iʿrāb* of the Ḳurʾān and the effort which must be made to read and recite it correctly. A few more headings may be noted: Value of commentary and commentators (26): That respect for the Book and its sacred character is an obligatory requirement of the reader and of the "bearer" of the Ḳurʾān (27); Against a commentary based on personal point of view (*raʾy*) (31); On interpretation (*tabyīn*) of the Book through the *sunna* of the Prophet (37); How to study and understand the Book and the *sunna* (39); and On the meaning of the saying of the Prophet: "This Ḳurʾān has been revealed according to seven letters" (or readings:) *nuzzila ʿalā sabʿat aḥruf*); "therefore read according to that which is the easiest for you" (41). Particularly interesting is the chapter (49) on the unity (*djamʿ*) of the parts of the Ḳurʾān; it comprises a precise and concise history of the text, as far as the recension of ʿUthmān, with a study of the arrangement (*tartīb*) of the sūras and verses (59). After which, al-Ḳurṭubī defines the meaning of the words *sūra*, *āya*, *kalima*, *ḥarf* (65), and he replies to the question as to whether there are in the Book words foreign to the Arabic language (68), which leads him to speak of the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān (*iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*) (59), of which he examines ten aspects: 1. the extraordinary stylistic arrangement (*al-naẓm al-badīʿ*); 2. the method (*uslūb*), different to all those followed by the Arabs; 3. the penetrating eloquence (*djazāla*) which cannot be that of any created being; 4. the information regarding events of the past since the beginning of the world until the revelation given to Muḥammad; 5. the power to handle the Arabic language in a way that no Arab has been able to do, which has led to the unanimous consensus on the fact that God "has placed every word and every letter in its correct place"; here al-Ḳurṭubī refutes the Muʿtazilī concept of *iʿdjāz*; 6. the fulfilment of promises, whether absolute, or accompanied by a condition; 7. information concerning the future; 8. the teaching of *aḥkām*, the permitted and the forbidden constituting the sustenance of all men (*ḳiwām djamīʿ al-anām*); the sonorous phrases (*al-ḥikam al-bāligha*) of which the number and the nobility are beyond the abilities of a human being; and 10. the coherence (*tanāsub*) between all that is contained in the Book whether of manifest or arcane nature, without any contradiction. The introduction ends with reflections on the *istiʿādha* and the *basmala*.

The commentary of al-Ḳurṭubī is principally distinguished by the recourse to a very great number of *ḥadīths*. Many are found here which are not mentioned by al-Ṭabarī and, unlike his eminent predecessor, al-Ḳurṭubī is more interested in the content (*matn*) than in the process of transmission. The *ḥadīths* are therefore assembled for the purpose of the reply that they offer to the question raised by the verse under discussion. Above all, the work consists of exegeses designed to clarify the meaning and implication of the Law. On this point, his work approximates to the composition of a treatise of *uṣūl* and of *furūʿ*, and it can be understood how Aḥmad ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm al-Bardūnī, in the preface to the second edition of the *Tafsīr*, should write: "This work is such that the reader can almost dispense with the study of works of *fiḳh*."

Al-Ḳurṭubī also devotes considerable space to philological and stylistic commentary, founded on the vast knowledge that he had of the work of grammarians, of works of rhetoric, as well as of books of *adab*. In addition, there are brief references to the theological ideas of *kalām*, accompanied by discussion of doctrines. For example, with regard to the verse (II, 7) "God has set a seal on their heart", he gives the Sunnī interpretation and rejects that of the Ḳadariyya. But, unlike Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Ḳurṭubī does not attempt to derive philosophical notions and conceptions from Ḳurʾānic verses. Thus, when explaining the word *ḳayyūm* (II, 255) in the verse of the Throne, al-Rāzī interprets it at once as denoting *ḳāʾim li-dhātihi* (existing through Himself) as Ibn Sīnā defined it in the *Ishārāt*, and he draws from this all the metaphysical consequences: al-Ḳurṭubī simply gives it the sense, according to Ḳatāda, of *al-ḳāʾim bi-tadbīr mā ḵhalaḳa* (He who concerns Himself with the government of His creation), or, according to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the sense of *al-ḳāʾim ʿalā kulli nafs bi-mā kasabat*, He who exercises His surveillance over every soul and that which it acquires, with a view to recompensing it according to its actions.

Finally, al-Ḳurṭubī reduces considerably, but not entirely, the dependence on interpretations and especially elucidations based on accounts furnished by rabbinical legends, apocryphal gospels and other equally unreliable sources. Thus he makes very little use of the *isrāʾiliyyāt* [*q.v.*], unlike al-Ṭabarī and even al-Rāzī.

Bibliography: Given in the article. The *Tafsīr* is quoted according to the 3rd Cairo edition (*Dār al-Kutub*), 1387/1967. (R. ARNALDEZ)

AL-ḲURṬUBĪ, YAḤYĀ B. ʿUMAR B. SAʿDŪN AL-AZDĪ, poet and Mālikī jurist, born in Cordova in 486/1093. He travelled extensively in the east, visiting Cairo, Baghdād and Damascus for the purpose of study. He died in Mawṣil on the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr in 567/1172. His chief surviving literary works are

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Dalāʾil al-aḥkām, *ʿAḳīdat al-Imām ʿAlī*, and the poem on Muslim religious observances, the *Urd̲jūzat al-wildān*, also known as *al-Muḳaddima al-Ḳurṭubiyya*, for which he is best known. The *Urd̲jūza* sets out in summary form the basic observances of the five "Pillars of Islam" in rhyming couplets designed to be easy for children to memorise, but the contents of the poem are in no way simplified for the juvenile reader. The eighteen *abwāb* into which the *Urd̲jūza* is divided deal both with the obligatory rul (*farāʾiḍ*) connected with each observance, and with rules which are recommended but not obligatory (*sunan*).

The *Urd̲jūza* has been the subject of two commentaries, those of Aḥmad b. Zarrūḳ al-Fāsī (died 898/1493) and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Kh̲alīd al-Tatāʾī (died 941/1535).

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(R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young)

ḲŪṢ, a town of Upper Egypt situated on the eastern bank of the Nile, some 30 km. to the north of the ruins of Thebes (al-Aḳsur/Luxor) where the course of the river is at its closest point to the Red Sea, or about 200 km. from Ḳusayr [*q.v.*].

This large village with a Coptic name, first called Ksa or Ksi (H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, v, Cairo 1928, 178) seems to have become a more important place with the name Apollinopolis Parva in the Ptolemaic age, when the Greek sovereigns of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. undertook to develop commercial contacts between Egypt and Arabia Felix and the Indian Ocean through the ports of the Red Sea, and favoured the building-up in this region of various centres to the detriment of what was left of Thebes. The remains of the small Ptolemaic temple are still visible in the town. Under the Roman domination, Apollinopolis Parva was, like Coptos/Ḳift [*q.v.*], although to a lesser degree, the terminus of the caravan route from Berenice; it took the name Diocletianopolis towards the end of the 3rd century A.D. A bishop of the town is mentioned among those present at the Council of Ephesus in 431. The Greek residents would appear to have been in a minority, and when the pressure exerted by nomadic peoples between the Nile and the Red Sea brought to an end contacts with the east and caused a decline of urban life, the town reverted to its Egyptian name (in Coptic form, Kôs) more than a century before the Arab conquest; this name was retained, transcribed into Arabic as Ḳūṣ. In the organisation of Arab Egypt, it belonged first to the *kūra* of Ḳift and al-Aḳsur. A rampart was constructed in about 212/827 to protect the urban area against the attacks of the Bed̲ja [*q.v.*].

Subsequently the town developed: al-Yaʿḳūbī noted towards the end of this century that it had taken the place of al-Aḳsur (*Buldān*, BGA, vii, 334, tr. Wiet, 188) and according to al-Masʿūdī, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, it had taken the place of Ḳift (*Murūd̲j*, iii, 50 = § 893). The reason for this prosperity must doubtless be attributed to the trading of its merchants with Nubia; its administrative status, however, did not change, because the population of the town was basically Christian, and the Muslim community was comparatively small. Under the Fāṭimids, the restoration of contacts with the Indian Ocean through the ports of the Red Sea, especially ʿAyd̲hab [*q.v.*] brought advantages, at first most notably to Uswān [*q.v.*], where goods unloaded at ʿAyd̲hab joined the Nile. But at the time of the serious crisis experienced by the Fāṭimid caliphate in the mid-5th/11th century, the occupation of the region of Uswān by the negro troops who took refuge there after being expelled from the capital, after 459/1067, and the revolt of the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt, disrupted commercial traffic until the restoration of order by the vizier Badr al-D̲jamālī [*q.v.*] in 469/1077; the traders then adopted the practice of joining the Nile at Ḳūṣ, thus avoiding the extreme south of Upper Egypt, where Uswān began to decline. The governor of the Upper Ṣaʿīd, given the task of maintaining order in the region, installed himself in the town which became the new capital of the south and a point of surveillance on the situation in the Red Sea. Ḳūṣ was henceforward an important market on the major trade-route with the Far East, frequently mentioned in the documents of the Geniza of Cairo on account of the presence of a Jewish community providing a staging-post for these exchanges.

The establishment in Palestine of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, which cut the normal route of the Pilgrimage to the Ḥid̲jāz, deflected towards Ḳūṣ a large proportion of the pilgrims (who used to embark at ʿAyd̲hāb, which lies opposite Mecca) and added still further to the increase of traffic. A mint was established there in 516/1122 (al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti*ʿ*āẓ*, iii, 93) and no doubt continued to function there until the arrival of the Ayyūbids. In the troubled times that marked the decline of the Fāṭimid caliphate, the role of the governor of the Upper Ṣaʿīd was seen as "the most important post after the vizierate" (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 191) and an ante-room of power, to which the careers of the viziers Riḍwān and Sh̲āwar also bear witness.

In 550/1155, Ṭalāʾiʿ b. Ruzzayḳ ordered the construction of the mosque and gave to the town one of the finest *minbar*s of the Fāṭimid epoch; the Muslim community grew, apparently through the installation of families from Uswān and Isnā; but the town continued to have a Christian majority.

The abolition of the Sh̲īʿī Fāṭimid caliphate seems to have been strongly felt; from 562/1167, Ḳūṣ was besieged by the Sunnī troops of Sh̲īrkūh, who did not succeed in capturing the town, and it seems to have been affected by the revolts in Upper Egypt that followed Saladin's accession to power in Cairo. However, when the Ayyūbids reverted to the policies of the Fāṭimids in the area of the Red Sea, the growth of Ḳūṣ continued. It served as a point of arrival for Yemenī traders in Egypt and it was a staging-post for the merchants of the "Alexandrian Kārim" (al-Nuwayrī [see KĀRIMĪ]). This flow of wealth into the town was reflected in the agricultural prosperity of the surrounding countryside, where the growing of sugar-cane was developed, and Ḳūṣ became a centre for sugar production. The urban area outgrew its fortifications, and in the 7th/13th century Yāḳūt considered it the third city of Egypt, after Cairo and Alexandria (*Mus̲h̲tarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 362). Cultural life developed; the poets Ibn Maṭrūḥ and Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr spent part of their lives in Ḳūṣ. The town was nevertheless unable to play the part of a regional capital because the minds of the growing Muslim community of Ḳūṣ were not reconciled to Sunnī

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Islam: the influence of the Sunnī counter-reformation promoted by the pietist school in the neighbouring town of Ḳinā [*q.v.*] led to the founding of the first *madrasa* of Ḳūṣ in 607/1210. Henceforward Ḳūṣ became in its turn a centre for the propagation of Sunnī Islam in Upper Egypt.

It is under the Baḥrī Mamlūks that the town seems to have reached its zenith, even though the inclusion of Egypt in a political unity embracing the Syrian states had long ago deprived the governors of Ḳūṣ of the power that they had enjoyed in the last days of the Fāṭimid caliphate. The expeditions mounted against the Christian kingdom of Nubia in the last quarter of the 7th/13th century and at the beginning of the 8th/14th one contributed to the maintenance of a strategic role for the town, its main function being to control the highways of the South.

Doubtless following the collapse of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and especially since the start of the Mamlūk period, the pilgrims to the Ḥidjāz for the most part reverted to the route via the Gulf of Suez, but a certain number continued to use the ʿAydhāb route, and traders still frequented it. Ḳūṣ was then known to Europeans as a staging-post in the transporting of spices. The profits from large-scale commerce, but also from urban craftsmanship (textiles in particular), created the wealth of its markets. The Christian community continued to be important and perfectly integrated into the Mamlūk state (they were employed in the administration of the funds of the sultans and *amīrs*); it was during this period that Athanasius of Ḳūṣ drafted in Arabic his grammar of the Coptic language. But the Muslim community now played a dominant role. Nothing, however, of an architectural nature remains of the Muslim city which seems to have developed around the ancient town, never penetrating the Christian enclave with its churches, grouped round the Pharaonic temple; this is because the severe post-mediaeval decline affected this peripheral zone first. The names are known, however, of some fifteen places of education, *madrasa*s or mosques, including a *dār al-ḥadīth*, whose Sunnī Muslim teaching was felt throughout Upper Egypt, eliminating the last traces of Shīʿism which in the Mamlūk period continued to hold out only in Udfū, creating a movement of people from the minor centres of the province to Ḳūṣ, and from Ḳūṣ to Cairo, and ultimately spreading Islamic culture in Upper Egypt to an unprecedented extent. The Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Daḳīḳ al-ʿĪd al-Ḳushayrī, al-Nuwayrī and al-Udfuwī were the products of this social and cultural phenomenon.

The factors which had assisted the expansion of the town disappeared altogether towards the end of the Baḥrī period and at the beginning of the Circassian era. The fight against the Arab tribes, constantly growing in strength since the disappearance of Christian Nubia permitted them useful access towards the upper Nile valley and Sudanese Africa, necessitated the dispatching and then the maintenance of military units at other points of the valley, especially at Asyūṭ [*q.v.*], from the middle of the 8th/14th century. On account of changes affecting the equilibrum between the Arab tribes controlling the highways, the use of the route from ʿAydhāb to Ḳūṣ came to be endangered following the disorders of 767/1365-6; goods still had to be transported to Ḳūṣ via Ḳuṣayr until, faced with the instability prevailing over Mamlūk territory as a result of the decline of the administration of the Baḥrī Mamlūks, the traders decided to avoid Upper Egypt, unloading their wares at Ṭūr in the Sinai peninsula, closer to the Mediterranean. This occurred perhaps from 776/1374-5 onwards, the date at which a serious drought affected Ḳūṣ and the surrounding region. (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iii, 300).

Henceforward, the major commerce of the spice trade only occasionally passed through Ḳūṣ. The town, living on its assets, nevertheless remained probably the most important urban centre of Upper Egypt until the catastrophic crisis at the start of the 9th/15th century: famine, epidemic and political upheaval. According to al-Maḳrīzī, the plague of 808/1405-6 killed 17,000 people at Ḳūṣ (*Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, iv, 124), or a large section of the population. In the unfavourable demographic context of the 9th/15th century, and in view of the total transformation of the regional framework which had formerly promoted the prosperity of the town, this destruction of the fabric of the town proved irreparable. When the Mamlūk state had succeeded in surmounting the problems of the early decades of the century, at least from the time of the sultanate of Barsbāy [*q.v.*] onwards, the governor of Ḳūṣ was nothing more than a secondary figure under the authority of the *kāshif* of Asyūṭ. A section of the Muslim élite apparently left this declining city, and the proportion of the population formed by Christians began to rise once more, in an Upper Egypt no longer invigorated by commerce of any kind and henceforward less Islamised then the rest of the country. Commercial relations, on a reduced scale, with the Red Sea through the Ḳuṣayr highway, now tended to be directed from Kinā, and not from Ḳūṣ; it was to Kinā that the *ḳāḍī* was transferred after the Ottoman conquest. The major regional centre was henceforward Girga [*q.v.*], where the Hawwāri Bedouins [*q.v.*] settled; their hegemony was gradually established over the region in the course of the 9th/15th century and was to be maintained until the end of the 18th century. The material ruin of the mediaeval Muslim urban cadre seems to have been essentially brought about during the 17th century, a period when the city, although the seat of a *kāshif*, appears to have sunk to its lowest depths of degradation and dilapidation. It only recovered a certain degree of vitality in the second half of the 18th century, although the population numbered only 5,000 at the time of the French expedition.

The renewal of the town dates from the end of the 19th century. The swelling of the population following the rural exodus to towns, the opening-up of the town towards the outside world by means of education dispensed by foreign missions and the Egyptian state, and the installation of a modern sugar-producing industry, have brought about the rebirth of a expansive urban area, where, apart from a few isolated remains, nothing bears witness to the ancient mediaeval centre.

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(J.-Cl. Garcin)

ḲŪS OWASİ [see ḲOṢOWA].

ḲUSANṬİNA [see ḲUSṬANṬĪNA].

AL-ḲUSANṬĪNĪ (in dialect Ḳsentīnī, in French Ksentini) Rashīd, Algerian dramatist, comic actor and song-writer. Under his real name Ibn al-Akhḍar (pronounced Bel-Lakhḍar) he was born on 11 November 1887 at Bouzarea (a surburb of Algiers). His father, a shoemaker, was a native of Constantine. As a child he attended a Ḳurʾānic school, where his

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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progress was mediocre, and he learned French in the street. Some years later he was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker. In 1909 he married one of his cousins by whom he had two daughters, both dying in infancy. Having grown up in a class of petty Algerian artisans, nostalgic for the past and constantly on the verge of poverty, al-Ḳusanṭīnī inherited a dual legacy of bitterness and failure. He felt ill at ease in his milieu, from which he brusquely broke away in 1914, abandoning his wife and setting out to travel the world. During the first months of the war he worked as a merchant seaman; Marseilles, Malta, Salonica, India, China and America were all to be visited in turn by this son of the Mediterranean, this bit of a "card", insatiably curious, interested in everything but attached to nothing.

Four years later he returned to France, where he worked for a while in a factory in Normandy and married a Frenchwoman. In 1920 he moved to Paris and obtained employment as a cabinetmaker in the workshop of a large store. It was at this time that he began attending theatres and he even played a number of walk-on parts, in particular at the Alhambra, the Châtelet and the Odéon.

Returning to Algiers in 1926, he rapidly became friendly with some amateur comic actors (ʿAllalū, Daḥmūn, Baṣh Djarrāḥ), and, a few months later, he appeared in public for the first time in a play by ʿAllalū, *Bou Akline* (*Bū ʿAklīn*), a play which owed its success to his flair for energetic bufoonery. From the very start he made a powerful impression, with his innate acting talent and his unusual gift for improvisation, expressing himself not only with his face but with his whole body, from head to foot; he was all movement. His silhouette, his mime, the twinkle of his eye, the unexpected laugh gave a sharp edge to each response emphasising the word, with an incomparable shaft of humour. To call him a comedian would be an understatement; he was a spectacle.

In fact, he was still not sure at this time how to make his own entry into the threatre, and his first attempt—*al-ʿAhd al-wāfī*, "The promise kept", a drama in three acts performed in Algiers in March 1927, was far from being a masterpiece. After this failure, he was luckier the following year with a comedy (*Bū Bōṛma*), which was warmly received by the Algerian public.

Over the next ten years, al-Ḳusanṭīnī was to compose, stage and act in twenty-five plays, as well as a number of farces, most of which have been lost. In this brief space of time he chalked up a number of important dates in the history of the young Algerian theatre. In fact, his successes were as varied as were the responses of the public and the critics, and the conditions under which the plays were staged. Even the settings varied: sometimes the municipal theatre of Algiers, Constantine or Oran, sometimes a cinema auditorium, sometimes, in a rural district, a hastily-adapted barn. Furthermore, these performances generally gave only a meagre profit to the author and his colleagues, actors, singers, dancers and musicians.

During this same period, al-Ḳusanṭīnī played minor roles in French films like *Sarati le Terrible* and *Pépé le Moko*, alongside Harry Baur and Jean Gabin.

After 1938 he practically stopped writing for the stage, but, deeply attached to his profession, he was acting in the plays of his successor, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Bāsh Ṭarzī, almost to his last day. He died in Algiers on 2 July 1944, having lived for close on twenty years the somewhat austere existence of the milieu to which he belonged; he was however, a straightforward man, generous and sincere, an enemy of all forced pretence and all hypocrisy.

Written in Algerian dialect and almost entirely unpublished, al-Ḳusanṭīnī's work covers a wide variety of genres. But in spite of the diversity of form, the central core is one of powerful originality. His work comprises:

(a) Approximately two hundred satirical songs, for the most part on moral and social themes, often written as parodies of well-known Arabic and French songs. About a hundred have been recorded on disc. The most successful of these are: *Mən taḥt l-oᶜdjār*, "Under the veil"; *Wlīd l-blād*, "The father's son"; *Ḳālā ḳulnā* "The gossips"; *Bīh grello* "That gives him the itch"; *Djārī Sīd-Aḥməd* "My cousin Sid Ahmad"; *Z-zmān tbəddəl* "Times have changed";

(b) About thirty sketches, composed of series of humorous and entertaining scenes with two or three characters, accompanied by songs, in a realistic setting, that of the Algerian petit-bourgeoisie, whose foibles and vices are energetically satirised. Half of these have been recorded on disc: the peasant before the judge, the rustic and the man-about-town, the drunkard, the old man and the old woman, the old woman and the ghost, the mysterious table, the unwilling sportsman Bachir, etc.

(c) Twenty-five stage-plays, listed below in chronological order: 1. *al-ʿAhd al-wāfī* (see above); 2. *Bū Bōṛma*, comedy in three acts, Algiers, 22 March 1928; 3. *Zeghirebbane ou les deux mangeurs de haschisch et le fils du roi* (*Zrirabbān*), comedy in three acts, Algiers, 15 February 1929; 4. *Tûnəs w-əl-Djazāᵓir*, "Tunis-Algiers", revue in two acts, Algiers, 11 March 1929; 5. *Ḵūdh ktābī* "Take my book", comedy in three acts, Blida, 13 November 1929; 6. *Bābā Ḳaddūr əḍ-ḍəmmāᶜ* "Bābā Kaddour the Envious", or "My cousin from Istanbul", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 20 December 1929; 7. *Lundja 'l-Andalusiyya*, comedy in five acts, Algiers, 28 February 1930; 8. *Shədd rūḥək* "Take care!", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 25 January 1931; 9. *Thuḳba f-əl-arḍ* "A hole in the ground", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 18 February 1931; 10. *Čənəč* "Carry on talking!", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 11 January 1932; 11. *Bū Səbsī* "The man with the pipe", comedy in three acts. Algiers, 18 January 1932; 12. *ʿAyša w-Bəndū*, comedy in four acts, Algiers, 22 January 1932; 13. *al-Muršṭān*, "The lunatic asylum", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 25 January 1932; 14. *Fāḳū* "They woke up!", revue in two acts and twelve tableaux, Algiers, 5 February 1932; 15. *Yā rāsi yā rāshā* "It's her or it's me!", comedy in two acts, Algiers, 7 February 1932; 16. *Zīd aᶜlīh* "Outdo him!", melodrama in three acts, Algiers, 2 January 1933; 17. *Allāh yəstərnā*, "Allah protect us!", comedy in three acts, Algiers, 23 January 1933; 18. *Bābā Shīkh*, comedy in three acts, April 1933; 19. *Təkhīr əz-zmān*, "The time is ripe", comedy in three acts, Mascara, 1933; 20. *Ḵhūdnī b-əs-sīf*, "Take me by force!" comedy in one act, Djidjelli, 20 November 1934; 21. *Sbābī djārī* "It's my neighbour's fault!", comedy in one act, Djidjelli, 20 November 1934; 22. *Shədd mlīḥ* "Hold tight!", comedy in two acts, Orléansville, May 1935; 23. *Ḳaṣba Ūtīl*, comedy in two acts, Fez, 1936; 24. *Yā ḥasra ʿlīk*, "All this trouble you're causing me!", melodrama in three acts, Bougie, 3 July 1936 (inspired by Marcel Pagnol's film *Angèle*); 25. *Aš ḳālū* "What are they saying?", comedy in three acts, Blida, 19 February 1938.

The theatrical work of al-Ḳusanṭīnī thus presents a rich variety. It is in fact possible to classify his plays as: drama (1); melodramas (2); revues (2);

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farces (8), which were performed at public festivals and whose essential object was to entertain the spectators; moral comedies (7), where the author satirises Algerian society; and finally, comedies of character (5), which describe the failings and vices of humanity. But it is clear that such a classification cannot be absolute, since all these elements, or at least the majority of them, combine, to varying degrees, in each play: there is a plot, simple to the point of being negligible, a depicting of morals and a description of human nature in general, set in motion with the full panoply of sarcasm, with man as a prey to a quasi-tragic contradiction, represented by the blunt and malicious rustic, or one of his rivals, the vagabond, the insecure, the unfortunate, condemned to do battle in the jungle of society and struggling there in his own way, clumsily, nervously, sometimes craftily, his conscience never easy, but at the same time anxious for respectability, secretly longing to integrate himself in the world which rejects him, always ready to accept the situation that presents itself, and even more than this, to be excited by outward appearances, as a means of approaching reality; in short, a Charlie Chaplin figure, drinking anisette and munching Barbary figs.

The comedy of al-Ḳusanṭīnī depends to some extent on the characters, but more frequently on the situations, and also on the wit of the dialogue, which in most cases is not included simply for its own sake, but with the object of throwing light on a character.

However, without being totally pessimistic, the themes tackled by al-Ḳusanṭīnī are not primarily light-hearted—a fact not uncharacteristic of a humorist. We find here the naïve provincial cheated by flatterers and mischievous servants, vain bourgeois merchants exploited by swindlers, egotistical parents sacrificing the well-being of their children for their own interests or for social traditions, etc. But this gloom, which should not be exaggerated and which al-Ḳusanṭīnī, a keen observer, has drawn from his own experience of life, is always concealed beneath his comic sense. At the moment where comedy is in danger of turning into tragedy, farce intervenes, with its sometimes rather crude elements, and brings back the laughter. Predictably, under these circumstances, the dénouements tend to be happy. Al-Ḳusanṭīnī is no more concerned than was Molière in making his endings plausible. Often, in fact, the dénouement should logically be an unhappy one; but then it would no longer be a comedy.

Al-Ḳusanṭīnī is a comic author and not a philosopher. It is vain to attempt the discovery of a coordinated doctrine in his works. However, it is not impossible to draw from his plays a group of ideas which make up what might be called a system of morality.

Everything which is contrary to nature and hostile to reason is anathema to al-Ḳusanṭīnī: the prejudices which trap Algerian society in a stifling traditionalism, the superstitions which divert the faithful from true piety, the hypocritical distortion of religion to favour the machinations of corrupt individuals and profiteers, and the greed which transforms man into a kind of moral monster. Conversely, he is eager to spring to the defence of the young, even when they are not totally irreproachable.

It is clear that such a philosophy might appear to be a somewhat superficial approach to the problems; nevertheless, the fact remains that it is a philosophy closely linked to the life experienced by the mass of Algerians between the First and Second World Wars, concerned with the images that people saw around them every day, in the street as well as within their families, and this is fairly remarkable.

Al-Ḳusanṭīnī confined himself in general to making rough drafts, sketching out his ideas, laying down the simple foundations of what was to become a play on the stage. His style also reflects this improvisation: it is a comedy style, meaning that it commends itself better to performance than to reading. It is admirably suited to its purpose, natural, alive, full of ingenious features and significant images, always pleasing and witty, often provocative.

In his satirical verses, which by contrast were written before being sung, the phrases are short and staccato, punctuated by exclamations and rhetorical appeals; it could be said that they represent an almost breathless approach to the pursuit of emotion.

In conclusion, it is thanks to al-Ḳusanṭīnī that Arabic comedy rose for the first time in Algeria to heights similar to those attained, for example, in Athens with Aristophanes, in Rome with Plautus and Terence, and in France with Georges Courteline.

For his high qualities of theme and of form, in drama as well as in his satirical songs, al-Ḳusanṭīnī deserves to be long remembered.

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KUSAYLA B. LAMZAM, or KASĪLA was, in the tradition of the Massinissa and of Jugurtha, one of the most eminent figures in the struggle of the Berbers to preserve their independence. In 55/674, at the time when the *mawlā* Abu 'l-Muhādjir Dīnār came from Egypt to replace ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ as governor of the recently-conquered province of the Maghrib, Kusayla was certainly "king" of the Awraba, a broad alliance of tribes of the Barānis group, for the most part sedentary. The territory of the Awraba was centred at that time on the region of Tlemcen, called Pomaria in antiquity, and it probably stretched from west of the Aurès range to Walīla (= Volubilis) to the north of Fez. It may be recalled that Idrīs [*q.v.*] was brought to power by the Awraba of Walīla. At the time of the conquest, the majority of the latter were no doubt Christianised. In fact, according to al-Bakrī their

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capital Tlemcen maintained, along with the features of its ancient civilisation, a large Christian population until the 5th/11th century. It was at Tlemcen that Abu 'l-Muhādjir was confronted by Kusayla. The new governor, preferring a policy of conciliation to one of force, took the opportunity of making an ally of the "king" of the Awraba. Kusayla became converted to Islam and henceforward lived with Abu 'l-Muhādjir at Takerwān which had replaced the capital founded by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, and the name of which, by its prefix, symbolised a full scheme of Arab-Berber agreement.

The death of the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Muʿāwiya, led to a change of policy. In 62/681 ʿUḳba set out once again for Ifrīḳiya, dreaming only of vengeance and a great *djihād*. With him, the policy of subjugating the Berbers by force took on a new lease of life. His first act was to put Abu 'l-Muhādjir in irons, to take Kusayla prisoner, and to re-instate as the capital, with its former name, the place which he had initially selected for the purpose during his first term of authority. Subsequently, forcing Abu 'l-Muhādjir and Kusayla to accompany him, he embarked on the major expedition which was supposed to take him—there is no serious reason to doubt it—as far as the Atlantic. On the way, in spite of the warning of Abu 'l-Muhādjir, he went out of his way to humiliate the Berber "king". We are familiar with the typical scene, described in all the sources, where ʿUḳba, as a means of humiliating Kusayla, forces him to skin a sheep in his presence.

In the early stages, the lightning campaign that he initiated, the more unexpected in that it followed the policy of peace and conciliation of his predecessor, seems to have had the advantage of surprise, which explains, in part at least, his initial decisive success. But resistance soon became organised. In fact, ʿUḳba made no major conquest. The Barānis, the most romanised of the Berbers, allied themselves with the Byzantines. The Awraba secretly made contact with Kusayla, their chief. He—it is not known from where—escaped from detention under ʿUḳba, and assumed leadership of the resistance. Over-confident in his successes, did ʿUḳba for his part, as all the sources assert, commit the foolish error of sending the bulk of his troops towards al-Ḳayrawān, keeping with him only a handful of men, some of three hundred horsemen? Was there an over-riding need to relieve the capital threatened by the Byzantines? Or was this more simply a question of an act of indiscipline on the part of soldiers exhausted by a long and tedious campaign? Whatever the case may have been, to the south of Biskra, at Tahūda (= Thabudeos), ʿUḳba found himself confronted by Kusayla at the head of powerful Barānis and Byzantine contingents. Here he found, along with all his men, including Abu 'l-Muhādjir, the epic and spectacular death of which he dreamed and which perpetuated his legend. A mausoleum, that of Sīdī ʿUḳba, was erected on the site of the battlefield and became a centre for pilgrimage which is still revered today.

At al-Ḳayrawān, there was panic, which illustrates the importance of Kusayla's victory and especially the strength of his forces. The idea of evacuating the country, proposed by Ḥanash al-Ṣanʿānī, finally prevailed over that of resistance, supported by Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī. So the army withdrew. But al-Ḳayrawān did not lose the whole of its Arab and Muslim population. It had already advanced beyond the status of a simple military camp, a fact which deserves underlining. Between the years 64-9/683-8, it became the capital of a huge Berber kingdom ruled by Kusayla. Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, i, 31) notes that: "Kusayla granted *amān* to the Muslims who had stayed in al-Ḳayrawān. He established himself there as sovereign (*amīr*) of all the inhabitants of Ifrīḳiya and the Maghrib, including the Muslims present in that area." Hence no xenophobia, no persecution, no religious fanaticism. We may underline this fact, reported by witnesses who had no cause to flatter their adversaries. Kusayla himself, we are assured, took care not to renounce Islam after his victory. These measures are sure evidence of a political programme designed to deprive the Arabs of any religious pretext for invading the Maghrib once again.

But the wave of conquest was not yet exhausted. When the crisis which arose in the East with the revolt of Ibn al-Zubayr had abated, Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī set out for Ifrīḳiya with a strong army. Kusayla, who was not sure of the conditions prevailing at his rear in al-Ḳayrawān, chose to go and wait for his enemy at Mams, 50 km. to the west of the capital, thus in a region where mountains could offer refuge in the event of defeat. The battle, in which he lost his life, went against him. But it should not be believed that it was as decisive as our sources claim. In fact, although victorious, Zuhayr preferred to evacuate the region again, so as not to succumb to the good things of this world, so we are told. In turn, he met his death on the return journey, at Barḳa where the Byzantines had effected a landing. Was this supposed to be a combined operation, designed to catch the Arabs in the Ifrīḳiyan trap, a plan which failed because of poor co-ordination? If Kusayla's attempt to found a great empire governed from the city founded by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ had succeeded, the history of the Maghrib would certainly have taken a different turn. But were the Berbers ripe then for such a scheme? With al-Kāhina [*q.v.*], the torch of resistance passed subsequently to the Buṭr, but with no more lasting success.

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(M. TALBI)

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ḲUṢAYR, a port situated on the African

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shore of the Red Sea, a little to the north of lat. 26°. A gap in the madreporic barrier which runs along the coast (A. Prompt, *La vallée du Nil*, in *Bull. de l'Institut Égyptien*, 3rd ser., 1891) has allowed at various periods of history the utilisation of this anchorage which, by virtue of the sweep described by the Nile towards the east at the level of Ḳift, Ḳūṣ and Ḳinā [*q.vv.*], is in fact the nearest access from the sea to the Nile (about 200 km.).

Remains of works from the period of the Middle Kingdom and from Ptolemaic times (P. Jouguet, in *Histoire de la nation égyptienne*, iii, 94-5) show that the site was used from ancient times onwards, although it lost its importance in the Roman period when, because of difficulties in navigation through the Red Sea to Suez, landing was preferred on the coast further to the south, at the port of Berenice, in the neighbourhood of the future ʿAydhāb, despite the increased distance along the track between the sea and the Nile thereby required (G. W. Murray, *The Roman roads and stations and the Eastern Desert of Egypt*, in *Jnal. of Egyptian archaeology*, xi [1925]). Towards the end of the Romano-Byzantine period, inadequate control of the regions through which this more southerly road passed probably brought Ḳuṣayr an increased importance, and at the opening of the Islamic period it served as a port of embarkation for pilgrims travelling to the Ḥidjāz.

However, when the Fāṭimid caliphate in Cairo revived the ancient traffic of Greco-Roman times with the Yemen and the Indian Ocean shore lands, the security which was re-established in the mountainous desert between the Nile and the Red Sea favoured the use once more of the southerly route to ʿAydhāb, a port which was moreover more or less opposite the holy places of the Ḥidjāz. From the end of the 5th/11th century, the installation of the capital of Upper Egypt at Ḳūṣ nevertheless brought a certain amount of traffic to Ḳuṣayr, even if it was still much less important than that of ʿAydhāb. Whilst ʿAydhāb was over two weeks' journey from Ḳūṣ, Ḳuṣayr is given as only three days' journey from it, and is described as "the port of Ḳūṣ". In the Mamlūk period, naval units intended to maintain Mamlūk control over the Red Sea were stationed there, and some commercial operations were conducted through Ḳuṣayr. The western portolans of the 14th century mix up, however, Ḳūṣ and Ḳuṣayr (which last they pinpoint correctly but call "Chôs"). The revival of Ḳuṣayr increased in tempo after 767/1365-6 when the abandoning of the ʿAydhāb road, by now increasingly unsure, brought about the decline of the latter port, from which large-scale commerce now turned away; but after some fifty years, it was Ṭūr, on the Sinai peninsula, which inherited the role of ʿAydhāb as the main spices port on the Red Sea.

The local importance of Ḳuṣayr continued to grow in the 9th/15th century. Apart from the fact that the spice merchants sometimes still used it as a port of disembarkation, Ḳuṣayr became the main outlet for Upper Egypt on to the Red Sea. Corn exported to the Ḥidjāz travelled via Ḳuṣayr, which had become the departure port for the Pilgrimage and whence one could also travel to the ports of Ethiopia. The inconspicuous Christian missions which tried to establish relations with the Negus of Ethiopia set off from Ḳuṣayr, and Fra Mauro's map of 1460 gives it the name of "Cuser" (the site of ʿAydhāb further to the south symptomatically received that of "Chaser"). Ḳuṣayr's primacy was all the more firmly established because the economic centre of gravity of the Upper Ṣaʿīd was from this time onwards fixed in the northern part of the province. The beginning of the Ottoman occupation saw the rise of Ḳinā, which replaced Ḳūṣ as the regional centre and also, it seems, as the main departure point for Ḳuṣayr. The greater part of commercial traffic continued to consist of corn, continuously despatched to the Ḥidjāz, and of coffee imported from the Yemen. In the 18th century, Hawwāra control over Upper Egypt did not harm the port's traffic, in fact the reverse, since Ḳuṣayr's situation along the route to the Indies attracted the attention of the French and British as much as that of the Beys of Cairo. Bonaparte's soldiers found at Ḳuṣayr an agglomeration essentially made up of stalls open to the sky, with a very scanty permanent population (this being also the case with ʿAydhāb in his time), and with Ḥidjāzī influence very strong (*Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, i, 193-202). Under Muḥammad ʿAlī, buildings for the Egyptian government were again set up at Ḳuṣayr. The small town became one of the district centres of the province of Ḳinā. The pilgrim traffic remained each year the main source of activity for the port, but after 1859 the Pilgrimage traffic was deflected to Suez. At the time of the 1897 census, Ḳuṣayr had *ca.* 1,802 inhabitants.

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(J.-Cl. Garcin)

ḲUṢAYR ʿAMRA [see ARCHITECTURE].

ḲUṢAYY, an ancestor of Muḥammad in the fifth generation and restorer of the pre-Islamic cult of the Kaʿba in Mecca.

His genealogy is unanimously given in all sources as Ḳusayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Kaʿb b. Luʾayy b. Fihr or Kuraysh b. Ghālib (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ǧamhara*, Tab. 4), and his life and exploits are recorded by our sources in three recensions which only differ from each other in trifling details; these go back to Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 146/763-4), Ibn Isḥāḳ (d. 150/767) and ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djuraydj al-Makkī (d. 150/767). Ḳuṣayy is represented, like the usual legendary type of hero who founds a city, as having passed his childhood and youth far from his native land and in obscurity: a younger son of Kilāb b. Murra, a descendant of the Kuraysh whose supremacy in Mecca had been replaced by that of the Banū Khuzāʿa, he loses his father soon after his birth and is taken by his mother Fāṭima bint Saʿd b. Sayāl who had married again, her second husband being a member of the tribe of Banū ʿUdhra, to that new husband's tribe in the north of the Arabian Peninsula (in the neighbourhood of Sargh, according to Ibn al-Kalbī [in Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 36, 26] a place on the Syrian frontier of the Ḥidjāz, near Tabūk [Yāḳūt, iii, 77], or right into Syrian territory near Yarmūk [al-Bakrī, 773]); here his original name of Zayd was changed to Ḳuṣayy from the root *ḳ-ṣ-y*, "to go far away". Having learned his true origin from his mother, he returned to Mecca where as a result of his marriage with Ḥubbā, the daughter of the Khuzāʿī chief Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya, who controlled all the arrangements for the worship of the Kaʿba and the pilgrimage, he soon acquired an important position in the city. On the death of his father-in-law, Ḳuṣayy managed to succeed him in his offices, either after a long struggle with the Khuzāʿa, or as a less reliable tradition has it by means of a tricky bargain which he made with (Abū) Ghubshān, with the son or only some more distant

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relative of Ḥulayl (cf. Ibn Durayd, *al-Iṯtiḳāḳ*, 277, 7 with 282, 2). The detailed narrative of the events which brought Ḳuṣayy to fame is given in the article Ḫuzāʿa.

Becoming master of Mecca and guardian of the Kaʿba, Ḳuṣayy rebuilt the latter and organised its worship; he united the clans of the Ḳuraysh, who were previously scattered, into a solid body which assured them the mastery of the town for the future; indeed it is even said that it was on this account that the name Ḳuraysh (from *taḳarraṣa*, "to combine") replaced the old name Banu 'l-Naḍr; Ḳuṣayy is said to have been called *al-Muǧammiʿ* "the re-uniter". On his death, the sacred offices that had become his perquisites, were inherited by his four sons ʿAbd al-Dār, ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā and ʿAbd Ḳuṣayy, the second of whom through his son Hāshim was the direct ancestor of the Prophet. The house which Ḳuṣayy had built himself quite close to the Kaʿba was henceforth the centre of the civil and religious functions of the Ḳuraysh under the name *Dār al-Nadwa*. To Ḳuṣayy is also attributed the discovery and digging of the well of al-ʿAǧūl (Ḳuṭb al-Dīn = *Chron. Stadt Mekka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 107, below; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 48; Yāḳūt, iii, 19-20; al-Bakrī, 646, cf. 766).

From what has been said above, it is evident that the Ḳuraysh regarded Ḳuṣayy as their true founder and the founder of the Kaʿba. The antiquity of this tradition is attested by a verse of al-Aʿshā (al-Bakrī, 489) and by several of Ḥassān b. Ṯābit. Later historiography has tried to harmonise this old native tradition with the genealogical system which later became established and according to which Ḳuraysh = Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr (Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, N.) as well as with the tradition quite different in origin and character of the Abrahamic cult of the Kaʿba and its vicissitudes under the Ǧurhum and the Ḫuzāʿa. Ḳuṣayy is therefore to Mecca "what Theseus was for Athens and Romulus for Rome" (Caetani). In the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to say whether he should be regarded as a historical personage transformed into a hero or the mythological transfiguration of a hero. His name is found, although by no means commonly, in the Arab onomasticon: a Nahīk b. Ḳuṣayy al-Salūlī, a contemporary of Muḥammad, is mentioned by Ibn al-Aṯīr, *Usd*, vi, 14-15; Ibn Ḥaǧar, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. Cairo vi, 257; the *Ǧamhara* of Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskel, Tab. 114) mentions a Ḳuṣayy b. ʿAwf and (Tab. 125) a Ḳuṣayy b. Mālik. The fact that this name is to be recognised in the קצי of the Nabataean inscriptions and probably also in the Κουσας of a parchment from Dura on the Euphrates (cf. Cumont, *Les fouilles de Doura-Europos*, Paris 1926, 320) does not justify us in concluding that it is of northern origin, since as we have seen, it is found among different tribes. The tradition which makes Ḳuṣayy pass his childhood in Syria is in favour of the hypothesis which makes the worship of the Kaʿba introduced, or at least renewed, as a result of influences from the north; perhaps in some statements of tradition (e.g. al-Kalbī, quoted by Ibn Saʿd i/1, 39, 1-11) we have an echo of an actual fact, namely that on the old cult of Hubal [*q.v.*], "the idol of the Ḫuzāʿa" there was super-imposed that of al-ʿUzzā and Manāf-Manāt, for which we have definite evidence in Northern Arabia in particular.

In any case, the figure of Ḳuṣayy soon became legendary; his story, as we have seen, has the characteristic features of the legends of eponymous heroes; his alleged sons are only symbols of the part played by Ḳuṣayy in the religion of Mecca. If it is not quite true that he was the object of regular divine worship (the name ʿAbd al-Ḳuṣayy borne by one of his sons does not necessarily imply the divine character of the father), he was undoubtedly venerated according to the ancestor worship, which certainly existed in pre-Islamic Arabia, although we know very little about it. The eponymous hero of the people of al-Ṭāʾif, Ṯaḳīf, is analogous in character to Ḳuṣayy. The latter's memory remained particularly associated with the Dār al-Nadwa [*q.v.*].

Whatever the origins may be, it is certain that at the beginning of the 6th century A.D. the control of the Kaʿba and of the *ḥaǧǧ* was in the hands of a clan claiming descent from Ḳuṣayy and that the Ḳuraysh were agreed that he was the founder of their tribal unity. It is to be noted on the other hand that even if this clan included among its members some of the recognised chiefs of the Ḳuraysh, among others the Banū Umayya, it was far from having complete political and financial control in its hands; the Banū Maḫzūm, for example, one of the most powerful families in Mecca, were not descended from Ḳuṣayy. It seems probable then that the Meccan "republic" was constituted on the initiative and under the direction of the Banū Ḳuṣayy, but that the latter were forced to admit into their social organism other clans having the same rights and privileges as themselves, although the prestige of noble blood and supremacy in religious matters always remained the exclusive prerogative of the Banū Ḳuṣayy.

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(G. Levi Della Vida)

ḲUṢDĀR, Ḳuzdār, the name of a town in mediaeval Islamic Balūčistān [*q.v.*], modern town and district of Ḫuzdār in the former Kalāt state [see kilāt] in Pakistan. It lies in lat. 27° 48′ N. and long 66° 37′ E. at an altitude of 4,050 feet, some 85 miles south of Kalāt; the long, narrow valley of the Kolachi River in which it is situated is strategically important as a nodal point of communications, from Karāčī and Las Bēla [*q.vv.*] in the south, from Kaččhī in the east, from Kalāt in the north, and from Makrān and Ḫārān [*q.vv.*] in the west.

Ḳuṣdār was first raided by the Arabs under Sinān b. Salma al-Huḏhalī, who was appointed governor over the Indian marches early in Muʿāwiya's caliphate by Ziyād b. Abīhi, and then by al-Mundhir b. al-Ǧārūd al-ʿAbdī (Balāḏhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433-4). The 4th/10th century geographers mention it, together with Ḳīzkānān or Ḳīḳān [see kilāt] as one of the towns of the region of Ṭūrān or Ṭuwārān, which must have lain in the east-central part of Balūčistān (see Minorsky, *EI*[1] art. *Ṭūrān*), and as being 80 *farsaḫs* from al-Manṣūra in Sind. Kīzkānān is mentioned in the middle years of this century as being the residence

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of the local ruler, but Kuṣdār is described as the chief town, with a citadel and a flourishing mercantile quarter, to which traders from Khurāsān, Kirmān and India resorted, and with fertile agricultural lands around it (Ibn Ḥawḳal², 324-6, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 317-20; Muḳaddasī, 476, 478, 486; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 123, 373; Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut, iv, 353; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 331-2). Kuṣdār was certainly the seat of the local ruler by the later years of the century, the time of the rise of the early Ghaznawids, for in 367/977-8 Sebüktigin reduced the ruler of Kuṣdār to obedience. However, his son Maḥmūd of Ghazna had to come once more and attack Kuṣdār in 402/1011 and make its ruler tributary (ʿUtbī, in Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 74), and his son Masʿūd in 420-1/1030-1 also sent his uncle Yūsuf b. Sebüktigin to Kuṣdār and Makrān on a punitive expedition (Bayhaḳī, in R. Gelpke, *Sulṭān Masʿūd I. von Ġazna. Die drei ersten Jahre seiner Herrschaft (421/1030-424/1033)*, Munich 1957, 87 ff.).

Thereafter we hear little about Kuṣdār. In recent times it fell within the Khānate of Kalāt. H. Pottinger visited it in 1810 and found it a small town of *ca.* 500 houses, it being the summer residence of Mīr Murād ʿAlī of the Brahūī Kambarānī tribe, brother-in-law of Maḥmud Khān of Kalāt (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 35-7). C. Masson noted a large tepe north of the town of Khuzdār, with the remains of mud walls, presumably relics of the mediaeval Kuṣdār (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 41-4). In 1870 a fort was constructed there and a garrison placed in it by Mīr Khudādād b. Miḥrāb Khān of Kalāt in the course of his warfare with the Djām or local ruler of Las Bēla [*q.v.*]. Khuzdār town and district now form a *taḥṣīl* of the Djahlawān Subdivision of the Kalāt District of Pakistan, with a population in 1961 of 26,476.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned above, see *Imperial gazeteer of India*, xv, 298-9, and *Population census of Pakistan* 1961. *District census reports. Kalat*, I-24-5, IV-2.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KŪSH, a Biblical personage whose name appears in ch. x of Genesis in the genealogical lists of the posterity of Noᵃḥ (Nūḥ). According to the information in verses 6-7, Kūsh, the eldest son of Ḥām, is the brother of Miṣrayim, Pūṭ and Kᵉnaʿan (Kanʿān), the father of Sᵉbāʾ, Ḥᵃwīlāh, Saḇtāʾ, Raʿmāh and Saḇtᵉkāʾ and, by Raʿmāh, the grandfather of Shᵉbāʾ and Dᵉdān. Miṣrayim is Egypt, Pūṭ doubtless Libya, Kᵉnaʿan, the land of Canaan (Palestine and Phoenicia). Most of the names of the descendants of Kūsh are to be attached to the maritime regions of the Red Sea. Sᵉbāʾ has been identified hypothetically with the port of Saba in the Bay of Adulis on the south-west of the Red Sea, which is mentioned in Strabo (xvi, 4, 8, 10); Ḥᵃwīlāh, which is given in Genesis xxv, 18, for the western border of the Ishmaelites' territory, has been associated with the name of the South Arabian tribe of Khawlān; is Sabtah the Σαβατα of Strabo (xvi, 42), the Sabota of Pliny (vi, 155, xii, 63), the Σαββαθα of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (27)? Whatever may be the case, it is to be located in the Arabian peninsula, as Raʿmāh is placed by various authors in Ḥaḍramawt. Shᵉbāʾ, which is not the Kingdom of Saba, is situated in the north-west of Arabia. As for Dᵉdān, this is the oasis of al-ʿUlā, near Madāʾin Ṣāliḥ, in the north-east of the Ḥiḏjāz.

Thus Kūsh appears to be linked by this genealogy with Arabia and the Red Sea. But in verse 8 of the same ch. x of Genesis, which seems to reflect another tradition, he is presented as the father of Nimrōd (Arabic Namrūd) with whom Mesopotamia is associated.

Indeed, in the whole text, Kūsh, as an ethnic term, in the ordinary way designates neither Arabia nor Mesopotamia, but the neighbouring populations of Egypt, on the south-west borders of the land, i.e. precisely the region which the Egyptians called Kʾsh (see also Babylonian *kūšu*, Assyrian *kūsu*, Old Persian *kūša*). An oracle of Ezekiel (xxix, 10) also announces the destruction of the land of Egypt "from Migdol to Syene (from the extreme north to the extreme south) and as far as the frontier of Kūsh". In 2 Kings xix, 9, the Pharaoh Tirhāqāh, of the so-called Ethiopian dynasty, is called King of Kūsh. Everything leads us to suppose that Kūsh is the name of ancient Nubia, i.e. of the region which extends as a whole from the first to the fourth cataract of the Nile. The Septuagint translates it in general as Ethiopia, which, because of the value placed on the word "Ethiopian" in antiquity, is at the source of the erroneous interpretation of *kūšī* as "black" or "African".

In the Ḳurʾān, Kūsh is named no more than the sons of Nūḥ. Islamic tradition, which knew his name, however, supplies pieces of evidence which do not agree totally with one another or with the evidence of the Bible. They are all reported by al-Ṭabarī. According to some, Kūsh, son of Ḥām, is the brother of Miṣrayim, Kūṭ (Biblical Pūṭ) and Kanʿān (*Annales*, i, 212, 217). But elsewhere Kūsh appears as the son, and not the brother, of Kanʿān, himself presented as a fourth son of Ḥām (i, 219, 220; see also i, 192; Ibn al-Aṯīr, i, 50). He is given finally as the predecessor of Kanʿān as king of the universe after the disappearance of the sons of Afrīdūn (*Chronique*, French tr. H. Zotenberg, i, 120). In all the traditions, he is the father of Namrūd, tyrant (*mutaḏjabbir*) of Bābil, conforming with Genesis, x, 8. But if, in the general way, the paternity of the Ḥabasha as well as those of the peoples of Sind and Hind are attributed to him, the Nubians on the other hand are never explicitly associated with him. In the genealogy supplied by al-Ṭabarī (i, 223) on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih, it is from Kanʿān, brother of Kūsh, and his wife Ḳrnbyl, great-granddaughter of Yāfiṯ, that the Nubians are descended, together with the populations of Fezzān, the Zanḏj, the Zaghāwa and all the Blacks (or, according to another passage, the blacks with fuzzy hair). Elsewhere (i, 216), it is Ḥām who is the only one named as the ancestor of these peoples.

The Kushitic languages.—It is from the name Kūsh that the word Kushitic is derived, under which are grouped a body of Hamito-Semitic (but not Semitic) languages spoken by about fifteen million people, the majority of them Muslims, scattered over a vast territory of almost 2 million km², within which are included the populations speaking the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. The area is constituted basically by the Horn of Africa and spreads in the north into Sudanese and Egyptian territory to around the first cataract of the Nile and in the south into Tanzania, as far as the 4th degree of latitude.

Beḏja (Tu-Beḏawiye) is spoken by Muslims in the north of the area, in the northern part of Eritrea, and stretches between the Nile on the west (where it is in contact with Nubian and Arabic) and the Red Sea (where it is in contact with Semitic Tigré) as far as the environs of Ḳuṣayr. It is true that in the northern

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most part, the Muslim ʿAbābde tribes are today almost entirely Arabised. At the same time, in the south, a part of the Beni Amer (Banū ʿĀmir) nomads have abandoned Bedja for Tigré. Between these two groups are to be distinguished, with their particular dialects, in the centre the Bishari and Hadendowa, and in the south the Halenga and Arteiga.

Still further to the south, on the shores of the Red Sea, there is the area of Saho and ʿAfar, other Kushitic languages.

Saho is the language of an almost entirely Islamised population leading a pastoral existence in the south of the Massawa region in Eritrea. The Irob-Shao Christians, who constitute an enclave on the Abyssinian plateau, have partially abandoned Saho in favour of Semitic Tigrinya.

The language of the ʿAfar (Arabic Danākil) is spoken in the south of Eritrea, in the north of the region of Djibouti, and extends towards the west as far as the Awash River.

The Somali-speaking tribes who inhabit the extreme shore of the Horn at the mouth of the Tana River are also almost entirely Islamised. The most important dialects are those of the Isāḳ who inhabit the shore of the Gulf of Aden and the Darōd tribes at the edge of the Indian Ocean as far as the north of Kenya and who also inhabit the province of Ogaden in Ethiopia. In the north, in the territory of Djibouti and as far as Diré-Dawa in Ethiopia, it is the dialect of the ʿIsā which is widespread.

In the valley of the Wēbi Shebelle as far as Khamar (ancient Mogadishu), it is Hawiya which dominates, while in the south, in the province of Benadir, Digil is spoken, a dialect of the Sab, also widespread in Aden among the emigrant foreigners called *Djabartīs* [see DJABART].

The Oromo (whom the Europeans, adopting an Abyssinian word resented as pejorative by the natives, call Galla) at present occupy a vast territory from the centre of the Abyssinian plateau as far as the centre of Kenya (to the north of Mombasa and along the Tana River). These are on the whole pagans. Islam, however, has conquered a part of the northernmost populations. Of the dialects of the Oromo, Mača in the west, Tulamā in the north-east and Borana in the south-east, are very close to each other. They are opposed to a southern dialect group, sc. that which constitutes the speech of the Bararetta and Kofira in Kenya.

Agaw, in the north of Ethiopia, occupies no more than a limited and fragmented territory, having for the most part given place to Semitic, sc. Tigrinya and especially Amharic. A northern Agaw dialect, Bilin, is spoken by a small Muslim population. Other dialects still in use are Khamir, Khamta, Ḳwara, Kəmant and Awngy or Awiya.

To the west, a group of languages relatively close to one another covers the region of the lakes (from Zway to Shamo and Lake Rudolf) and extends into the adjacent mountainous zone (the province of Sidamo). These are Gudella or Hadiya and Kambatta in the north-west of the region in question, Alaba, Sidamo, Darasa, Burdji and Konso in the east. Generally connected with them, but without any totally compelling reason, are Gidole or Gardulla, Arbore, Galaba etc. On the other hand, there is a tendency today to consider Rendille in the north-east of Kenya, on the edge of Lake Rudolf, and Bayso in an island to the north of Lake Abaya, as projections of Somali.

In the region of Omo, one can distinguish Ometo, Dawro or Kullo, Goba, Walamo, Maruto or Gatsamba, Badittu, Zaysse, Basketto, Doko, Čara, Djandjero, Kaffečo, Anfillo, Shinasha or Gonga, etc.

In the same region, some languages, which are probably Kushitic, are spoken by Nilotic peoples, sc. Gimira, Madji and Gunza.

A Kushitic extension in Tanzania is possibly represented by Iraḳw and less probably by Mbugu.

There may be seen from this simple inventory, although it remains incomplete, the immense linguistic variety of the vast area generally considered as Kushitic. It is still very inadequately explored, and numerous tongues are known to us only by a rare and insignificant documentation. There result from this problems of classification which lead at times to calling into question the very membership in the group of some of the most anciently recognised languages. There has also been a proposal to detach from the Kushitic ensemble an Omotic group consisting essentially of the languages of the region of the Omo, and from this some authors have come to consider Bedja as a particular division of Hamito-Semitic without any special connection with Kushitic.

In so far as the existing documentation allows one to judge, such questionings appear excessive. The existence of common traits peculiar to a body which can be called Kushitic do not appear capable of being explained by simple phenomena of diffusion. But it is no longer as possible today to admit the traditional division into two groups: Lower Kushitic with Bedja, ʿAfar, Saho, Somali and Oromo, Upper Kushitic consisting of Agaw, Burdji, Sidamo and the western languages. Without attempting here to propose a real classification, for which the state of studies still gives no authority, one may to some extent rely on the characteristics of these languages to discern some particular affinities. The linguistic information which is to be supplied below can justify the following table:

A. *Northern Kushitic*: Bedja;
B. I. *Eastern and southern Kushitic*: ʿAfar, Saho, Somali and Oromo;
   II. *Central Kushitic*: Agaw and languages of the region of the lakes;
C. *Western Kushitic*: languages of the region of the Omo.

The group of Eastern and Southern dialects and that of the Central dialects are closer to one another than each of the two others.

Linguistic characteristics.—These are the principal common traits in the Kushitic languages or in the majority of them.

(i) *On the phonetic plane*.—The predominant syllabic type is of the consonant + vowel form, at the beginning of a word; closed syllables of the consonant + vowel + consonant type are present especially as final syllables. In the intervocalic position, the best-tolerated consonant groups have a first liquid element or are constituted by a nasal — an oral homorganic consonant (*mb*, *nt*, etc.).

The consonant system includes in general "emphatics", most often glottalised in effect, which complete, at the same point of articulation, the orders formed by an unvoiced stop and a voiced stop, without always participating themselves in correlation of voicing. The majority of the languages also present a post-palatal order: *ḳ*, *g̱*, *ḵ*, but none opposes a *g̱* to a *ḵ*. However, one must take account of the very frequent present of a voiced cerebral *ḍ* which can adjoin the "emphatic", unvoiced dental.

Except in some Agaw dialects which are innovative on this point, there is no distinction in the labial zone between the spirants and occlusives. Where there is

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an *f*, it is not opposed to *p*, and the voiced equivalent is in general *b*, never *v*. The following table, in which the phonemes are put in parentheses, being frequently, but not in all cases, represented, will give an idea of the Kushitic consonant system:

labials: *p*|*f*, *b*, *m*, *w*;
dentals: *t*, *d*, (*ṭ*), *ḍ*, *n*;
sibilants: *s*, (*z*);
palatals: *ḳ*, *g*, *ḵ*, *y*;
laryngals: *h*, *ʾ*;
liquids: *l*, *r*;

The pharyngals *ḥ*, *ʿ*, the labio-velars *ḳʷ*, *gʷ*, at times *ḵʷ*, the prepalatals *č*, *ǧ*, at times *c*, the emphatics *ṣ* and *ṭ*, are only attested in certain languages. The minimal vowel system is triangular, with five vowels: *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*, with most often an opposition of quantity.

The majority of languages are familiar with tonal opposition, in various degrees of development. In a language like Bedja, only a small number of lexemes of the CVC-form seem to bear a characteristic descending tone, capable of constituting a distinctive morphological mark, cf. *det* "mother": *dêt* "mothers", *kʷât* "sister": *kʷât* "sisters"; but in Awiya and in Moča for example, tones play as important a role in the morphological plan as in the lexical one: (Moča) *bûno* "ashes": *bùno* "coffee"; (Awiya) *ǝǧíé* "I give": *ǝǧié* "he gives". Unlike the tonal schemes, the accentual schemes are not generally distinctive, except possibly in some forms where phonetic evolutions have accidentally conferred on them a differentiating role: (Bedja) *ḥa'ḍâb adir* "I killed a lion", *'haḍâb adîr* "I killed lions".

(ii) *On the morphological plane.*—Lexemes are constituted in Kushitic by constant radicals with variable morphemes, generally suffixed: (Sidamo) *mín-*: *mín-ino* "he built", *mín-é* "house", (Ometo) *meḳ-*: *meḳ-és* "he forms", *meḳ-a* "form"; (Somali) *ḍeḥ-*: *ḍeḥ-da* "environment", *ḍeḥ-é* "to be between, among", *ḍeḥ-dǒdī* "between". Despite some phenomena of apophony in some languages (Bedja *dir* "to kill": *dar* "to massacre", *rimid* "to avenge": *rimad* "to be revenged", the radical vowel may be considered stable in every series of derivation, as may be seen from the preceding examples.

By far the most frequent form of radical is CVC: 90% of the verbal radicals in Kaffečo, 67% in Somali. In Bedja, however, and uniquely in Bedja, it yields predominance to radicals of type CVCC or CVCVC. But analysis reveals that these roots are often derived from Semitic, and particularly from Arabic. The verbal system is based in general on the fundamental opposition of two aspects: the incompleted and completed. Conjugation is of two types. In some languages, a certain number of verbs are conjugated by means of prefixed signs. This is the case with ʿAfar, where this type of conjugation represents more than a third of all verbs, and especially with Bedja, where it represents nearly two-thirds; but Somali and Agaw have only four verbs with prefixal conjugation. For all the other verbs and in all the other languages, conjugation is suffixal. Thus the verbal forms are constituted in principle according to one of the following two schemes:

A. *Prefixal conjugation*: sign of the person + sign of the aspect/mode + verbal root + desinence of the gender and/or number. Example ʿAfar: *i-a-ǧigá* "you know" incompleted indicative); *t-i-ǧigá* "you knew" completed or perfective indicative).

B. *Suffixal conjugation*: root + sign of the aspect/mode + desinence of the gender and/or number. For example Bedja: *tám-t-én-i* "you (fem.) eat" (incompleted indicative) *tám-ta-i* "you (fem.) ate" (completed or perfective; *tam-ti-i* "(if) you were eating" (modal).

These schemes are capable of minor modifications in various languages. In particular, attention is drawn to newly-developed forms by means of suffixed morphemes. The most frequently used variable morphemes are:

— for the gender and number: *t* for the feminine singular and *n* for the plural;

— for the aspect: *a* as the sign of the incomplete is often opposed to an antecedent vowel (*ā*, *e*, *i*) for the completed or perfective, while the modal form is characterised by *u*; certain languages however, such as Bedja or Agaw, present some slightly different situations from this point of view;

— for the expression of the persons, the paradigm is the following: Sing. 1. (ʾ-) 2. *t*-, 3. masc. (*y*-), fem. *t*-; Plur. 1. *n*-, 2. *t*-, 3. (*y*-). (The forms between parentheses are often represented by *ø*). The identity of this system of signs with that of Semitic and Berber conjugation, whose very characteristics it presents (the same form in the singular for the 2nd pers. and the 3rd fem., distinct forms for the 1st pers. sing. and plur., the 1st pers. plur. being in addition deprived of the sign of number) has led to the positing of the probable hypothesis that the morphemes of aspect/mode which in the scheme follow these marks, are no more etymologically than short auxiliary verbs conjugated by means of prefixes.

The completed: incompleted opposition, with possibly a modal form, does not exhaust the complexity of the Kushitic verbal systems. Periphrastic forms, constituted by means of auxiliaries, often serve to add the expression of different aspectivo-temporal nuances such as the near past, the pluperfect and especially the "continuous-progressive" or "concomitant". Examples: ʿAfar: *tábelā tínā* (incomplete + complete of *nā* "to be") "you were engaged in looking, you were looking"; Somali: *ʿún-a* "he eats (will eat)", *ʿún-ay-a* "he is engaged in eating".

As regards their conjugation, the languages of the Omo have a separate place in the Kushitic group. The scheme there is also suffixal, but the morphemes used and their modes of combination are peculiar to them. For example, Ometo: 2nd sing. incomplete *er-ása* "you know", complete *er-áá-asa* "you knew".

The Kushitic languages distinguish various secondary verbal themes by added signs. A first method of derivation is partial or total duplication of the radical which gives the roots intensive or frequentative value: Agaw (Bilin): *dāb-* "to cover": *dābdāb* "to cover completely"; Sidamo; *ḳub* "to shake": *ḳubḳub* "to shake strongly"; Bedja: *beʾas* "to turn": *babeʾas* "to turn and turn again"; Oromo: *bēk-* "to know": *bebbēk* "to know well".

The second method is the fixing of signs to express the orientation of the process in relation to the subject: *s* (*š*, *sh*) for the causative, *t* (*d*), *m*, n for the internal reflexive, the passive and the reciprocal. Hence in Bedja: *hiṣham* "to extend" (intrans.), *hiṣham-iṣh* "to extend" (trans.); *dir* "to kill", *so-dir* "to have [someone] killed"; *tam* "to eat", *tam-am* "to be eaten"; *min* "to shave", (*a*)*to-man* "to be shaved". In Oromo: *čab* "to break" (intrans.), *čab-s* "to break" (trans.), *bēk-a* "he knew", *bēk-at-a* "he understood"; *arg* "to see", *arg-am* "to be seen". In Ometo: *ke* "to go out", *ke-s* "to cause to go out"; *beʾ* "to see", *beʾet* "to be seen".

One should also mention a type of verbal composition widespread in the majority of the Kushitic languages and which consists in the juxtaposition of

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an invariable element (plain verbal radical, noun, interjection, onomatopoeia, etc.) and of a verb meaning "to say": ʿAfar: *hō y* "to say *ho*" = "to roar", Sidamo: *suta y* "slowly + to say" = to act slowly"; Agaw: *yik y* "down + to say" = "to lower"; Oromo: *ol gečč* "to say + up = to raise"; Ometo: *shí'i ga* "hush + to say = to be silent".

The Kushitic languages of the centre and east have various series of pronominal forms. One of them, called "emphatic", is used especially to act as a subject. Other forms generally suffixal serve to express the complements of the verb and noun. The following tables will show both the common bases and the developments peculiar to the various languages:

"Emphatic" pronouns

		Somali (Benadir)	ʿAfar	Oromo	Awiya	Sidamo
Sing.	1	*ani*	*anū*	*áni*	*án*	*áni, ané*
	2	*adi*	*atū*	*áti*	*ənt*	*áti, até*
	3 mas.	*ussu*	*ússuk*	*ínni*	*ŋi*	*isi, isó*
	fem.	*iyyo*	*issi*	*ishín*	*ŋi*	*ise*
Plur.	1	*anu*	*nanū*	*nū(i)*	*ənnódji*	*ninke*
	2	*idin*	*issīn*	*isīn(i)*	*ənnódji*	*kin'e*
	3	*iyyu*	*ussún*	*isān(i)*	*ŋádji*	*inse, insa*

Attached pronouns

		Somali	ʿAfar	Oromo	Sidamo
Sing.	1	*-key*	*-yi*	*-ko, -kīya*	*-'ya*
	2 mas.	*-kā*	*-ku*	*-kĕ*	*-ki*
	2 fem.	*-kā*	*-kā(y)*	*-kē*	*-ki*
	3 mas.	*-kīs*	*-tā*	*-sa*	*-si*
	fem.	*-kēd*	*-tā*	*-shi, -she*	*-si*
Plur.	1	*-keyn*	*-na*	*-kĕna*	*-nke*
	2	*-kīn*	*-sīn*	*-kēsan(i)*	*-n'e*
	3	*-kōd*	*-kān*	*-kēsan(i)*	*-nsa*

In Northern Kushitic (Bedja) the "emphatic" forms, apart from the first persons, appear to be clearly constituted by an invariable base with personal suffixal signs added: Sing. 1. *ani* 2. mas. *bar-i-ūk*, fem. *bat-i-ūk*, 3. mas. *bar-i-ūs*, fem. *bat-i-ūs*; plur. 1. *āni*, 2. mas. *bar-i-āk*, fem. *bat-i-āk*, 3. mas. *bar-i-ās*, fem. *bat-i-ās*.

The languages of the west have a system of their own which is well illustrated by Ometo: Sing. 1. *tā*, 2. *nē*, 3. *i*; plur. 1. *nu*, 2. *inte*, 3. *enta*.

All the Kushitic languages recognise a distinction of gender between masculine and feminine, at times in a vestigial state, as in certain languages of the west, for example. Among the varied signs which are used, the frequency of the suffixal morpheme *-t-* for the feminine should be noted. On the syntactical plane, the essential fact is the agreement of the majority of the languages on the order determinant-determined. The only exceptions are Somali and Oromo which regularly present the inverse order; in Bedja, the qualifying adjective follows the qualified noun when the latter has a definite article. But in all the languages, the dependent proposition precedes that on which it depends (except, in certain particular cases, in Bedja and Somali) and the verb is placed at the end of the phrase after the subject and the various complements.

On the lexical plane, the certain cognate forms are still relatively few in number, above all because of inadequacy of the theory of phonetic correspondences. Nevertheless, the existence of a common vocabulary can be established in several forms. Here are some examples. Bedja: *sim*, Agaw: *shun*, Sidamo: *shum'e*, Ometo: *sun-ta*, Djandjero: *sun* "name"; Somali: *wadne*, ʿAfar: *wodana*, Oromo: *onne*, Sidamo: *wodana*, Ometo: *wozana* "heart"; Somali: *daw*, Oromo: *dandi*, Sidamo: *doga*, Burdji: *dawa*, Agaw: *dokʷ*, Ometo: *age*, Kaffa: *dag* "way". For some words, the languages of the west present forms which distinguish them from the rest of the Kushitic group: Bedja: *lili*, Somali: *il*, ʿAfar: *il*, Oromo: *ig-ia*, Sidamo: *ille*, Agaw: *yil*, but Ometo: *ayfe*, Djandjero: *afa*, Kaffa: *afo* "eye"; Bedja: *yaf*, Somali: *af*, Sidamo: *afo*, but Djandjero, Kaffa: *nônô* "mouth".

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(D. COHEN)

KUSHĀDJIM, MAḤMŪD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. AL-SINDĪ B. SHĀHAK, ABU 'L-FATḤ, poet of the 4th/10th century whose death is variously given in the sources between 330/941 and 360/971, but which must have taken place *ca.* 350/961. Originally from a family of Sind [see IBRĀHĪM B. AL-SINDĪ], he was born at al-Ramla and lived at al-Mawṣil at the court of Abu 'l-Haydjā' ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān [see ḤAMDĀNIDS], and then at Aleppo, in the entourage of Sayf al-Dawla [*q.v.*]; he also made several journeys to Egypt, Baghdād, Damascus and Jerusalem. His verses are described by R. Blachère, *Motanabbī*, 134, as "excessively florid and enjoying a contemporary vogue", which is confirmed by al-Masʿūdī, who in his own lifetime, devoted long passages to him in his *Murūdj* (see index). He was closely associated with his son-in-law al-Ṣanawbarī [*q.v.*], and he is one of the creators of nature poetry in Arabic, in which he evokes visual pleasure by his descriptions of gardens, flowers and trees. But he was also a *kātib*, an astrologer and master-cook to Sayf al-Dawla; he excelled in so many branches of knowledge and activity that his surname Kushādjim is said to be an acrostic formed out of the initial letters of the subjects in which he excelled, or out of various adjectives—a *kāf* for *kitāba*/*kātib*, *shīn* for *shiʿr*/*shaʿir*, *alif* for *adab*/*adīb* or for *inshā'*, *djīm* for *djadal*/*djawād*, *mīm* for *mantik*/*munadjdjim*. It is even said that, after having studied medicine, he added a *tā'* (for *ṭibb*) to his name, which became Ṭakushādjim, but had hardly any success.

He has left behind a *Dīwān*, first published at Beirut in 1313/1895-6, then at Baghdād in 1970 (by Ṭ. Kh. M. Maḥfūẓ); a collection of *Rasā'il* (*Fihrist*, 200), an *Adab al-nadīm*/*al-nudamā'*, ed. Būlāḳ 1298, Alexandria 1329; a *K. Khaṣā'iṣ al-ʿarab*; a *K. al-Ṭabīkh*; a *Kanz al-kuttāb* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 154, 162-3; a *K. al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṭārid* (partial ed., carelessly done, Baghdād 1954) comprising some 20 poems on hunting, some of which are reproduced in the *K. al-Bayzara* (cf. F. Viré, *Le traité de l'art de volerie*, Leiden 1967, 2), in the *Dīwān* and in vol. x of al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*.

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(CH. PELLAT)

AL-ḴUSHASHĪ, ṢAFĪ AL-DĪN AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. YŪNUS, AL-MADANĪ AL-DADJĀNĪ, Ṣūfī mystic and scholar, b. Medina 991/1583. Little is known of his life. His family on his father's side migrated from the village of Dadjān near Jerusalem and settled in Medina. He spent part of his life as a soldier. In 1011/1602-3 he travelled with his father to the Yemen, where he studied with various of the religious teachers, especially those with whom his father, Muhammad b. Yūnus had studied. An incident not specified in the sources disturbed him deeply, causing him to return hurriedly first to Mecca, and then to Medina, where he continued to study from some of the great mystics of Indian origin, especially al-Shinnawī and Ṣibghat Allāh, and through them, the works of al-Ghawth al-Hindī. He was affiliated to several mystical orders, including the Naḳshbandī, the Ḳādirī and the Shaṭṭārī. He attracted numerous students, and enjoyed a reputation for extraordinary humility. He is of particular importance because of the character of his transmission of the doctrines of the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], particularly as reformulated by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī [*q.v.*] to various parts of the Muslim world, including Sumatra and Java. Among his students for almost twenty years (1051-70/1641-60) was the Sumatran ʿAbd al-Raʾūf of Singkel, and numerous Djāwī associates of whom we do not know the names. His pupil and successor as *shaykh* of the Shaṭṭāriyya order, al-Kūrānī [*q.v.*], maintained his wide circle of students, and gives much information about him in his *al-Amam* (see *Bibl.*). It is worthy of note that Ṭāhir, the son of his greatest student al-Kūrānī, was a teacher of Shāh Walī Allāh [*q.v.*].

His works include Ṣūfī interpretations of *ḥadīth*, rare among Ṣūfī authors, who devote most of their exegetical skill to the Ḳurʾān. He was noted for the extent to which he associated Ḳurʾānic and *ḥadīth* quotations with his views, and his skill in presenting the *isnād* of every *ḥadīth* that he cited. A commentary on his rhymed credal statement *al-ʿAḳīda al-manẓūma* by his student Ibrāhīm al-Kūrānī entitled *Ḳaṣd al-sabīl* was rendered into Malay, possibly by his student ʿAbd al-Raʾūf.

His books on *ḥadīth*, *uṣūl* and *taṣawwuf* number more than fifty. One has been published (*al-Simṭ al-madjīd fī talḳīn al-dhikr*, Ḥaydarābād 1327). Other works, listed by al-Baghdādī, include *Hāshiya ʿala 'l-Insān al-kāmil li-ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī*, *al-Kalima al-wusṭā fī sharḥ ḥikam Ibn al-ʿAṭā'*, and *al-Kamālāt al-ilāhiyya*. He died at Medina in 1071/1660-1, and was buried in the Bakīʿ cemetery.

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ḲUSHAYR, an Arab tribe forming part of the great group of the Banū ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa [*q.v.*] whose fortunes we find them almost continuously sharing in the period before as well as after Islam.

They had particularly close associations with the tribes of ʿUḳayl and Djaʿda, whose genealogical table makes them brothers. Their genealogy is Ḳushayr b. Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa. Tradition makes the mother of Ḳushayr Rayṭa bint Ḳunfudh b. Mālik of the tribe of the Banū Sulaym [*q.v.*]. During the pre-Islamic period, the Banū Ḳushayr settled in al-Yamāma were involved in all the wars of the ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa, especially in those against the Tamīm, the Shaybān, whose chief Ḥādjib b. Zurāra was made prisoner by Mālik b. Salama al-Khayr b. Ḳushayr, called Dhu 'l-Ruḳayba, at the battle of Djabala, and against the kings of al-Ḥīra (cf. *Naḳāʾiḍ*, ed. Bevan, 70, 404-5). After Muḥammad's successes in central Arabia, the Ḳushayr joined with the other tribes of the ʿĀmir in sending him envoys and coming to an arrangement with him; it is to this time that tradition dates their conversion to Islam (cf. the texts in Caetani, *Annali*, i/1, 297 [9 A.H., § 78]). Later they took part, without particularly distinguishing themselves, in the wars of conquest in Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and settled particularly in the eastern parts of the Arab empire. In the Umayyad period they were very numerous and powerful in Khurāsān, of which several Ḳushayris were governors (among others Zurāra b. ʿUḳba, whose family possessed a very highly esteemed breed of horses). This Ḳushayrī colony has as its founder and common ancestor Hayda b. Muʿāwiya b. Ḳushayr, a half-mythical personage who is said to have lived to a fabulous age and to have had a thousand descendants (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, ii, 56, No. 1890; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Muʿammarīn*, in Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Phil.*, ii, 97). On the other hand, we find in Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 273, a similar longevity attributed to Dhu 'l-Ruḳayba, the Ḳushayrī chief mentioned above, and indeed almost all the Ḳushayrīs of note settled in Khurāsān recorded by history, belonged to the clan of Salama al-Khayr to which Dhu 'l-Ruḳayba belonged, and which seems to have been the aristocracy of the tribe.

The Ḳushayr did not number many poets of note among them; the best known is Yazīd Ibn al-Ṭaṯhriyya who lived between the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period.

The genealogical sources, and in particular Ibn al-Kalbī, also mention other ethnic groups bearing the name Banū Ḳushayr, two of which belonged to the southern tribes of the Aslam and the Aws (Anṣār).

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AL-ḲUSHAYRĪ, the *nisba* of two noted Khurāsānian scholars.

1. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Hawāzin, theologian and mystic. He was born in 376/986 in Ustuwā (the region of actual Ḳūčān [*q.v.*] on the upper Atrak), the son of a man of Arab descent (from B. Ḳushayr) and a woman from an Arab (from B. Sulaym) *dihḳān* family. He got the education of a country squire of the time: *adab*, the Arabic language, chivalry (*furūsiyya*) and weaponry (*istiʿmāl al-silāḥ*). When as a young man he came to Naysābūr with the intention to get the taxes on one of his villages reduced, he became acquainted with the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ, who became his master on the mystical path. Later on he married Abū ʿAlī's daughter Fāṭima (born 391/1001).

Besides his mystical exercises, he studied *fiḳh* with the Shāfiʿī jurist Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Bakr al-Ṭūsī (d. 420/1029) in nearby Ṭūs; he seems also to have visited the city of Marw *fī ṭalab al-ʿilm* (Subkī, v, 158). In Naysābūr he studied *kalām* and *uṣūl al-fiḳh* with the Ashʿarī scholars Abū Bakr b. Fūrak (d. 406/1015-16) and Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāʾīnī (d. 418/1027).

After the death of Abū ʿAlī in 405/1015, he seems to have become the successor of his master and father-in-law as leader of the mystic sessions (*madjālis al-taḏhkīr*) in the *madrasa* of Abū ʿAlī (built in 391/1001), which henceforth was known as *al-madrasa al-Ḳushayriyya* (later on as *madrasat al-Ḳushayriyya*, "the *madrasa* of the Ḳushayrī family").

At an indeterminable date, al-Ḳushayrī performed the Pilgrimage in company with Abū Muḥammad al-Djuwaynī (d. 438/1047), the father of the *Imām al-Ḥaramayn*, and other Shāfiʿī scholars; during these travels he heard *ḥadīṯh* in Baghdād and the Ḥidjāz. Probably after his return to Naysābūr he held his first *madjlis al-imlāʾ*, i.e. session for the teaching of *ḥadīṯh*, in 437/1046.

After Naysābūr had passed under the control of the Saldjūḳs in 429/1038, al-Ḳushayrī was involved in the struggles between the Ḥanafī and Ashʿarī-Shāfiʿī factions in the city. In 436/1045 he issued a manifesto defending the orthodoxy of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī; the document (preserved by Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn*, 112-14; cf. Subkī, iii, 374 f.; Halm, *Der Wesir al-Kundurī*, 214 ff.) was signed by the most renowned Shāfiʿī scholars of the city. When in 446/1054 the Ḥanafī-Shāfiʿī conflict broke out into a violent *fitna*, al-Ḳushayrī was imprisoned by his adversaries, but was rescued some weeks later by his partisans by force of arms. As a reaction to these events, he wrote his famous "Complaint", *Shikāyat ahl al-sunna bimā nālahum min al-miḥna* (preserved by Subkī, iii, 399-423; separately ed. by Muḥammad Ḥasan, see below), by which he defended al-Ashʿarī against the slanderous accusations of his adversaries (analysed in Halm, *Der Wesir al-Kundurī*, 224 ff.).

In 448/1056 al-Ḳushayrī went to Baghdād, where the caliph al-Ḳāʾim commissioned him to teach *ḥadīṯh* in his palace. After his return to Khurāsān he left Naysābūr, now dominated by the Ḥanafī faction, and emigrated with his family to Ṭūs, where he stayed until the accession to the throne of sultan Alp Arslan in 455/1063. When the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk re-established the balance of power between the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfiʿīs, he returned to Naysābūr where he lived until his death. He died on 16 Rabīʿ II 465/30 December 1072 and was buried in his *madrasa* besides his father-in-law Abū ʿAlī al-Daḳḳāḳ. He left six sons and several daughters; some of his numerous descendants (cf. the pedigrees in Bulliet, *Patricians*, 180-4; Halm, *Ausbreitung*, 61) officiated as *khaṭīb* of the Shāfiʿī Manīʿī mosque in Naysābūr.

Even if al-Ḳushayrī's studies covered the whole scale of the traditional Islamic sciences, his writings

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mostly deal with mystical topics. His great mystical *tafsīr*, the *Laṭāʾif al-ishārāt*, was composed before 410/1019; the *Tartīb al-sulūk* is an introduction to the practice of *taṣawwuf*, and the famous *Risāla* (composed in 438/1045) is a most important compendium of the principles and terminology of Ṣūfism (analysed by R. Hartmann). In all his works (cf. Subkī, v, 159; Brockelmann, I, 556 f.) al-Ḳushayrī tried to reconcile mystical practices, suspected by so many scholars, with the principles of the *Sharīʿa*.

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2. ABU ʾL-NAṢR ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM B. ʿABD AL-ḴARĪM B. HAWĀZIN, son of the former; Shāfiʿī-jurist and Ashʿarī theologian. Born in Naysābūr before 434/1043, he studied *tafsīr* and *uṣūl* with his father and with the *Imām* al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī. When in 469/1077 he publicly taught Ashʿarī *kalām* in the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdād, he provoked the wrath of the local traditionalist Ḥanbalī faction supported by the masses, and caused a violent *fitna*. The vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, who protected the young scholar, had to summon him to Iṣfahān, from where he sent him back to Naysābūr. There Abu ʾl-Naṣr died, after a peaceful life, in 514/1120, in his eighties.

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ḴUSHBEGI [see ḴOSH BEGI].

AL-ḴUSHDJĪ [see ʿALĪ AL-ḴUSHDJĪ].

KUSHIYĀR B. **LABĀN** B. BASHAHRĪ, ABU ʾL-ḤASAN AL-DJĪLĪ, Persian astronomer and mathematician. He was born in Gīlān, to the south of the Caspian sea, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, probably between 322/934 and 332/944. The date of his death is equally obscure, but was probably in the first quarter of the 5th/11th century. Very little is known of his life; most of it was spent in Baghdād, with the peak of his career in *ca.* 990/1000.

His principal works comprise two *zīdj*s, the *z. al-djāmiʿ* and the *z. al-bāligh*, as well as an arithmetical treatise, the *Uṣūl ḥisāb al-Hind*. His astronomical tables mark an advance on those of Abu ʾl-Wafāʾ and al-Battānī. Whereas the latter only indicate the values of sines and the cotangent, Kushiyār also gives those of the tangent, and the values of these functions are given by him to the third sexagesimal.

His other great work, the *Uṣul ḥisāb al-Hind*, contains the first description of the "Indian system of calculation", i.e. of the system of numeration by position (the value of the figures depending on their place in a number), which brought about a revolution in the ways of calculating used in the Near East. The work is divided into two parts. In the first, the author works out logarithms for the four basic arithmetical operations and for finding the square root. Whole numbers are treated within the decimal system, and fractions in the sexagesimal one. The second part deals with this latter system, already used by the astronomers, but set forth by Kushiyār in a way of numeration by position. He shows how whole numbers can be converted from the decimal into the sexagesimal system, and then sets forth logarithms for the basic arithmetical operations, for finding the square root and for finding the cube root. Finally, he gives a famous multiplication table, called "the table of sixty", for multiplying within the sexagesimal system. In these various calculations, he already makes use of the elementary rules for multiplying and dividing both positive and negative whole powers. As for the figures which he uses, for calculations made in the sexagesimal system he uses the Arabic alphabetical characters, the *ḥurūf al-djumal*; but for those in the decimal system, the so-called "Indian" figures, the origin of what were later called "Arabic numerals". Kushiyār's system of logarithms for finding the square root forms the basis for the theory of decimal fractions which was subsequently to be elaborated by al-Karadjī and al-Samawʾal.

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(K. JAOUICHE)

KUSKUSŪ (A.), a word probably of Berber origin meaning couscous, a culinary preparation containing semolina which is the national dish of the peoples of North Africa. It appears with the article and with a final *nūn* in an anecdote depicting an Oriental being advised by the Prophet, in a dream, to treat with *al-kuskusūn* a sick Maghribī; this anecdote, related by Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v.) is very well known and is probably responsible for leading Moroccan scholars to adopt the form attributed to the Prophet. L. Bauer (*Wörterbuch der arabischen Umgangsprache*², Wiesbaden 1957, 402), heard *kusukson/kuskusān* in Palestine, describing it as "Teigkügelchen in Fleischdampf gekocht". Couscous was known in Spain, and the word *kuskusū* is provided with the article in the *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* published by A. Huici Miranda (Madrid 1965, 181), but this is a case

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of an arabisation which is not found in vernacular Arabic, where the word never takes the article; *sekso, kskso, kuskus, kusksi*, etc., which betrays its non-Arabic origin. The equivalent term among the majority of the Bedouin tribes of Algeria and at Tlemcen is *ṭʿām* used alone, elsewhere it is *ʿayš*, *mʿāš*, or *noʿma*, all of which illustrate the importance of couscous in the minds of the people, especially those in rural areas, who make it the invariable staple of their evening meal.

The quality and the weight of the grains as well as the presentation of the dishes offer a considerable diversity, which is covered by the generic terms cited above but which is expressed by means of a detailed and extremely varied vocabulary according to regions. We confine ourselves here to a description of the general processes.

Couscous may be prepared at any time, but it is exclusively the work of women: some chose out of preference the nights of Monday and of Friday to take advantage of the *baraka* [*q.v.*] which is attached to them. The housewife makes an invocation and she must not see or hear anything that might constitute a bad omen; on the contrary, it is the custom to speak in her company only of saints, of the prosperity of the land, etc.

To make her couscous, the woman sits on the ground, places in front of her a wooden plate called *djəfna, gəṣʿa, kəṣriyya*, etc. and, to one side, a receptacle containing lightly salted water and a sack of semolina; in some regions, a little flour is also used and to the salted water are added a few drops of *nīsān* water (rain of early May preserved in a flask). The housewife takes a handful of semolina, puts it in the plate, sprinkles it with salted water applied with the hand or with a spoon and proceeds to roll it (verb *fṭəl*) with the flat of her hand, until small grains are formed with the size of small buckshot. When the stock of semolina provided is exhausted, the grains are passed through a sieve, and the bigger ones are rolled again until they acquire the desired dimensions or set aside to make a coarse couscous called *mḥammṣa, bərkūks, bərkukeš, mardûd*, etc. The grains are then cooked in steam and may be kept for some time.

When they are to be eaten, the housewife cooks them for a second time. In a cooking-pot (*ḳədra*), she boils water to which she adds vegetables (chick-peas, turnips, wild teasels, etc.) and/or mutton or beef sometimes browned in a little oil; she puts the couscous grains in a special receptacle (*kəskās*), a conical vessel made of earthenware or plaited alfalfa, the perforated, smaller base of which is placed over the cooking-pot and sealed by means of a twist of straw. Escaping, the steam passes through the holes and cooks the couscous. The housewife takes care that no curds are formed, and when the grain is cooked, she tips it into a bowl, garnishes it with a little butter and covers it with gravy. The vegetables and the meat are most often laid out on the grain. The diners make pellets with their thumb, index and second fingers, and flick them dexterously into their mouths.

In the preparation of couscous with sugar (*səffa, məsfūf*), the cooking-pot contains only water; once cooked, the grains, which are generally finer, are garnished with rather more butter, and the cone which they form in the dish is decorated with ground sugar and cinnamon.

Among the other varieties, we mention *bərbūkh*, with fine grain, eaten cold, without butter, and moistened with a little milk; *barbūša*, made with barley semolina; this is called *ṣīkūk* in Morocco. The *Kitāb al-Ṭabīkh* gives the recipe of *fityānī* which is prepared by cooking grain in gravy and which is sprinkled with cinnamon; it also mentions couscous with chicken.

Couscous is quite widely known at the present time, especially in France where it is found commercially produced in food factories and sold "pre-cooked"; conical utensils ("couscoussiers") made of metal are also produced. Restaurants serve several varieties of this Maghribī dish accompanied by a sauce strongly seasoned with pepper (*marga ḥārra*; *harīsa*).

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ḲUSS B. SĀʿIDA AL-IYĀDĪ, a semi-legendary character of Arab antiquity pictured as the greatest orator of all the tribes (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 52) and whose eloquence has become proverbial (*ablagh min Ḳuss*: al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ*, i, 117-18; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] even formed an adjective rhyming with *ḳudsī* in the title of his history of the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin, *al-Fatḥ al-ḳussī* "of Ḳussian inspiration"). He is also an heroic figure, described as being also the poet, sage, judge, etc. par excellence of the Arabs of his time. His genealogy cannot be established with certainty, but the nearest to reality seems to be: Ḳuss b. Sāʿida b. ʿAmr b. Shamir b. ʿAdī b. Mālik b. Aydaʿān b. al-Namir b. Wāʾila b. al-Ṭamaṯhān b. ʿAwdh Manāt b. Yaḳdum b. Afṣā b. Duʿmī b. Iyād (cf. Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 174 and Register, ii, 473). Moreover, his very name poses a problem, since it is unique (cf. however the toponym Ḳuss al-Nāṭif, in Yāḳūt, iv, 97-8); although it is given without the definite article, it could well be connected with *ḳass* and *ḳissīs* and point therefore to a relationship more or less close to the Christian clergy. It is not impossible that Ḳuss had relations with the Christians of Nadjrān, but it is wrong to take him, as has sometimes been done, as the bishop of that town, perhaps on account of an assimilation brought about by the phrase "eloquent as the bishop of Nadjrān" (see e.g. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 88). Legend, which also credits him with a number of miracles, has it that he presented himself at the court of the Emperor of Byzantium, but he seems to have delivered his orations in the regions between ʿIrāḳ (where the Iyād [*q.v.*] had been established, but had lost however their independent existence by the end of the Djāhiliyya), the Ḥidjāz and Syria. Nothing is known of the date of his death, which Cheikho (*Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 211) fixes arbitrarily in 600 A.D., and, it is at Rūḥīn, one of the dependencies of Aleppo, that his tomb was fixed, becoming the goal of a still much-followed pilgrimage in the 7th/13th century (al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 5/10; Yāḳūt, ii, 829; D. Sourdel, in *Syria*, xxxi [1953], 89-107). Interred beside him were supposedly the two friends to whom he is said to have devoted an elegy (in *ṭawīl* metre, and the rhyme-*ākumā*) which is often

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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mentioned but attributed to various poets (al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 261-8 = ed. Cairo ii, 66-79, of which *shāhid* 92 is taken from this piece of verse, lists the possible authors in his long commentary; see also D. Sourdel, *op. laud.*, 100-1).

In fact, as well as his eloquence—the specimens which are extant of this, in rhymed prose, being of very doubtful authenticity—tradition further ascribes to him a poetic talent and attributes to him an extensive œuvre whose remnants are equally suspect (they have been gathered together, with extracts from his homilies, by L. Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya*, 211-18).

He is counted amongst those who enjoyed longevity, having allegedly lived between 180 and 700 years, so that in the view of certain people he had even known the Apostles; but we have here the manifestation of a tendency of the traditionists to prolong considerably the lives of certain personalities of the past [see MUʿAMMARŪN]. Although al-Suyūṭī (*al-Laʾālī al-maṣnūʿa fi ʾl-aḥādīth al-mawḍūʿa*, i, 95-100) criticises the legend of Ḳuss, no-one doubts his historical existence, which seems to be attested by an *ḥadīth* often given on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās. When receiving a delegation from the Bakr b. Wāʾil (whom the Iyād had joined), the Prophet is said to have enquired about Ḳuss, and learning that he was dead, to have recited a passage from a speech which he had heard delivered at ʿUkāẓ and to have had someone (Abū Bakr or another person) remind him of some lines of the orator-poet's which he had forgotten. He is even said to have exclaimed, "I hope that on the Day of Resurrection, he will return to life and form a people of his own". Al-Djāḥiẓ, who is usually fairly prudent, remarks (*Bayān*, i, 52) that if the Prophet repeated his words, it was because Ḳuss upheld the concept of monotheism and believed in the resurrection. This is why he was quickly included in the list of the *ḥanīfs* [*q.v.*] and of the "people of the interval" [see FATRA], and even considered as an ascetic (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 365). Ibn al-Athīr (*Usd*, iv, 204) and Ibn Ḥadjar (*Iṣāba*, No. 7340) cite him in their biographies of Companions, and although Ibn Isḥāḳ and Ibn Hishām do not mention him, ʿAlī b. Burhān pays some attention to him in his *Sīra Ḥalabiyya* (i, 210-12, 216-18).

Finally, tradition attributes to him the merit of being not only the first to believe in the resurrection, but also to have been the first to preach mounted on a camel or leaning on a sword or staff [see ʿANAZA] and to use the formula *ammā baʿdu* and write at the beginning of a letter (!) *min Fulān ilā Fulān* (cf. Goldziher, in *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, 56). He is even said to have formulated the juridical rule that "proof is incumbent on the plaintiff and the defendant who denies his guilt must speak on oath". All these legendary details are evidently aimed at exalting the prestige of a personage considered to be a precursor of Islam.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources cited in the article, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 45, 189, 308-9; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, 11; Sidjistānī, *Muʿammarīn*, ed. Goldziher, in *Abhandl. zur arab. Philol.*, ii, 76-8; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 61; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 147; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 133-5, iii, 257 = §§ 135-7, 1122; *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 41-2 (ed. Beirut, xv, 192-3); Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 335; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, i, 268 = Cairo, ii, 77-9; Yāḳūt, i, 2, ii, 435, 781, 829; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 212; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Moḥammad*, i, 102-6; Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 727. (CH. PELLAT)

ḲUṢṢĀṢ [see ḲĀṣṣ].

ḲUSṬĀ B. LŪḲĀ AL-BAʿLABAKKĪ, mediaeval scientist and translator. He was of Christian origin, from the town of Baʿlabakk [*q.v.*]. In Baghdād, where he worked for some time as a doctor, scientist and translator, his reputation was as high as that of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*]. He was fluent in Greek, Syriac and Arabic, being particularly noted for his excellent style in Arabic. The last part of his life was spent in Armenia, where he was induced to take up residence by the prince Sanḥarīb. According to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djibrāʾīl, he came into contact with a certain Abu 'l-Ghiṭrīf al-Baṭrīḳ, for whom he composed a number of scholarly works. Ḳusṭā died in Armenia *ca.* 300/912-13; a shrine was erected over his grave, which was accorded the same honours as the graves of kings and other eminent personages.

It was, of course, usual for Arabic scholars to be well versed in a wide range of subjects, and Ḳusṭā was no exception. He is said to have been skilled in medicine, philosophy, geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and music—all these subjects are included in the lists of his works given by the biographers. Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 410-11), having first stated specifically that he has excluded translations, lists over thirty of Ḳusṭā's original works, and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa adds a further thirty works to this list (*ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, Cairo 1882, i, 244-5). Medical works, which preponderate, include the following treatises: on gout; infectious diseases; insomnia; knowledge of fevers, types of crises in illnesses, the pulse; paralysis-types, causes and treatment; the four "humours"; and phlebotomy. Non-medical works include several treatises on philosophy and logic; on astronomy, on the celestial sphere; two commentaries on Euclid's *Elements*, a treatise on algebra, a commentary on the book of Diaphantos on algebra; on the steelyard (*ḳarasṭūn* [*q.v.*]); on weights and measures; and on burning mirrors. Some of Ḳusṭā's translations are extant, e.g. those of Diaphantos, Theodosios, Autolykos, Hypsikles, Aristarchos, and Hero. For a list of his works, both originals and translations see Suter, 40-2 and Index, and Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 270-4, v, 285-6, and Indexes). Both writers give locations of extant manuscripts.

No comprehensive study of Ḳusṭā's works has yet been undertaken, nor has there been made any detailed evaluation of his contribution, certainly a significant one, to the progress of science. His services as a translator must surely rank at least equally with his original works. The biographers are unanimous in praising his skill as a translator of Greek works into Arabic, and in the light of the surviving translations their esteem seems to be fully justified. For example, although the original of Hero's *Mechanics* is lost, an examination of Ḳusṭā's Arabic version (Carra de Vaux in *JA*, 9e Série [1893], Tome i, 386-472, Tome ii, 152-269, 420-514 = Arabic text and French translation) leaves us with little doubt that this is a faithful and sensitive rendering.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Iḫbār al-ʿulamāʾ*, Cairo 1326/1908, 173-4; H. Suter, *Die Abhandlung Qosṭa ben Lūqās und zwei andere anonyme über die Rechnung mit zwei Fehlern und mit der angenommenen Zahl*, in *Bibl. Math.* 3. F 9 (1908-9), 111-2; G. Gabrieli, *Nota biobibliografica su Qusṭā*, in *RAL*, classe d. sci. mor., xxi (Rome 1912), 341-82; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of Science*, i, 602 and Index; W. H. Worrell, *Qusta ibn Luqa on the use of the celestial globe*, in *Isis*, xxxv (1944), 285-93; Brockelmann, I, 204-5, 512; A. G.

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Page 567 of 600

https://archive.org/details/bk1302/page/n569/mode/1up

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ḲUṢṬANṬĪNA, Ḳusanṭīna, Constantine, a town in Algeria and the chief town of the *wilāya* (department) of the same name. It lies 330 miles east of Algiers and 50 miles south-east of Skīkda (former Philippeville), which is the port for Constantine, with which it is connected by railway, in lat. 36° 22′ N. and long. 18° 56′. The population in 1965 was 235,000.

The situation of Constantine makes the town a natural fortress. It is built on a rocky plateau in the form of a trapezoid, bounded on the south-east, north-east and north-west, by deep ravines and connected with the surrounding country on the south-east only by a narrow isthmus. The plateau itself declines rapidly from north to south. The Ḳaṣba on its highest point is 2,500 feet above sea-level, while the Marabout of Sīdī Rāshid not a mile away is only 2,170 feet high. Of the ravines which represent the moats of this natural fortress, the most remarkable is that which runs along the south-east and north-east faces of the plateau, at the bottom of which the Rummel (Wādī 'l-Raml) flows. This river runs along a narrow gully, a real cañon, the walls of which rise sheer upright to a height of 500 to 600 feet, disappears for 1½ miles under three subterranean passages which the water has hollowed out, makes its exit in waterfalls and descends to the verdant plain of al-Ḥamma. Across this gorge, above which on the right bank rises the plateau of Manṣūra (2,340 feet), the Romans threw a bridge which existed for several centuries after the Arab conquest. Al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique*, ed. and tr. de Slane, Ar. text 63, tr. 131-2) mentions it, and al-Idrīsī (ed. de Goeje, 111, ed. Naples-Rome, iii, 265) describes it as one of the most remarkable works which it had ever been granted him to see. Consisting of two rows of arches, one above the other, 217 feet high, a road and an aqueduct bringing the water necessary for the town ran across it. It collapsed in the 7th/13th century, was rebuilt in the 18th by order of Ṣāliḥ Bey under the supervision of a Spanish engineer, and on finally breaking down in 1947, it was replaced by an iron bridge 423 feet long crossing the Rummel at a height of 528 feet. Another bridge is, farther up the river, to connect the plateau of Manṣūra with the quarters previously in existence to the southwest of the town.

This last preserves an originality of aspect which is in striking contrast to that of other Algerian towns. It resembles a great Kabyle village rather than a oriental city. It is an agglomeration of houses with clay roofs, penetrated by an irregular system of narrow, tortuous streets, which sometimes descend like stairways to the edge of the ravine, the heights of which are crowned by houses. A few monuments recall the past history of Constantine. The great mosque dates from the time of the first Ḥafṣid sovereigns (7th/13th century). The mosques of Sūḳ al-Ghazāl, of Sīdī Lakhḍar and of Sīdī al-Kattānī, all of which were built in the 18th century, belong to the Turkish period, as does the palace built by Aḥmad, the last Turkish Bey, just before the French conquest.

The origins of Constantine are obscure. But in all probability, the site must have been occupied at a very early period by autochtonous peoples. The classical texts mention the existence of a town named Cirta at this place. The origin of the name (*ḳart* "town" [see ḲARYA]) would lead one to suppose that the Carthaginians had established a colony there. In any case, Cirta appears in the period of the Punic Wars as the capital of the kings of Numidia; Syphax had a palace there. Masinissa and his successors erected important buildings in it and invited Greek and Roman merchants thither. During the civil wars of the 1st century B.C., P. Sittius Nucerianus, an adventurer, seized Cirta and on the latter's ultimate triumph received the town and territory. Cirta then became a Roman colony under the name of Colonia Cirta Julia or Cirta Sittianorum. Juba II made it his capital after the restoration of the kingdom of Numidia by Augustus and lived there for seven years (24-17 B.C.), till he was forced to exchange Numidia for Mauritania. Cirta still remained the capital of the republic of the "four colonies", then in the 3rd century A.D. it became that of the province of Numidia Civilis or Numidia Cirtensis established by Maximianus Herculus in 297. In the course of the civil wars which followed the abdication of Diocletian, the inhabitants recognised the authority of the usurper Alexander and gave him asylum after he had been driven from Carthage and thus brought upon their heads the wrath of Maxentius. The latter took Cirta and razed the town to the ground in 311. It was rebuilt in 313 by Constantine, the conqueror of Maxentius, and received the name of Constantine which it has retained to the present day. At the Vandal invasion, Constantine was occupied by the barbarians, but given back in 442 by Gaiseric to the Emperor. After the destruction of the Western Empire, Constantine remained independent, till the Byzantines, victorious over the Vandals, brought Northern Africa under their sway in 533. It remained subject to them till the invasion of North Africa by the Arabs.

The chroniclers are silent as to the date at which it fell into the hands of the Muslims. It is probable, however, that it was not affected by the first Arab incursions but was only occupied at the end of the 1st/7th century at the same time as Carthage and the other Byzantine strongholds which were the last to surrender. Included in the province of Ifrīḳiya, Constantine owned the rule successively of the governors of Ḳayrawān, the Aghlabids, the Fāṭimids, then the Zīrids. The latter retained it even after the Ḥammādids had deprived them of a portion of the eastern Maghrīb. They lost it entirely at the Hilālī invasion. The Ḥammādid al-Muʿizz took advantage of their troubles to seize the town and include it among his own possessions. The successors of al-Muʿizz retained the town for a century in spite of a revolt instigated by the uncle of the *amīr* al-Nāṣir. After the capture of Bougie by the Almohads, Yaḥyā, the last king of Bougie, sought refuge in Constantine, then giving up any idea of further resistance, surrendered to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin whose troops took possession of the town. Attacked unsuccessfully by ʿAlī b. Ghāniya in 581/1185, Constantine remained faithful to the Almohads till the final collpase of the empire founded by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin.

At this period, Constantine was a very prosperous city: "Ḳustanṭīna", says al-Bakrī (*op. cit.*, 63, tr. 131-2), "[is a] large and ancient town with a numerous population; ... it is inhabited by various families who were originally part of the [Berber] tribes established at Mīla, in the land of Nafzāwa in that of Ḳasṭīliyā, but it belongs to certain Kutāmī tribes. It has rich bazaars and a prosperous trade". Al-Idrīsī describes Constantine (Ḳusanṭīnat al-hawāʾ, "of the air", because of its position) as a populous and commercial town. "The inhabitants, he continues, "are rich; they have agreements with the rural population (*al-ʿArab*) and co-operate with them for the cultivation of the soil and the preservation of the harvests.

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Their silos are so good that corn may be kept in them for a century without suffering any deterioration. They collect large quantities of honey and butter, which they export to the outside . . ." (*loc. cit.*).

When the Almohad Empire broke up, Constantine recognised the authority of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyā', who was proclaimed at Tunis in 628/1230 [see ḤAFṢIDS]. The history of the town under the Ḥafṣids (7th-10th/13th-16th centuries) is very confused and disjointed. The rulers of Tunis attached great importance to the possession of Constantine; they frequently lived there and delighted in improving it; they usually entrusted its government to princes of their own family. Nevertheless, in spite of their precautions and trouble they lost it on several occasions; in 681/1282 for example, in the reign of Abū Isḥāḳ, the governor Ibn al-Wazīr rose against the sovereign of Tunis, who had to send his son, Abū Fāris, to retake the town by force. In 683/1284, its inhabitants opened their gates to the pretender Abū Zakariyyā' of Bougie; in 704/1305 at the suggestion of the governor Ibn al-Amīr, they submitted to the Ḥafṣid sovereign of Tunis, whom they cast off almost immediately afterwards, however, to place themselves again under the authority of the king of Bougie, Abu 'l-Baḳā'. The latter succeeded in restoring to his own advantage the unity of the Ḥafṣid kingdom in 709/1309 and for some years maintained peace in the eastern Maghrib. But new troubles were not long in arising. From 712/1312 to 719/1319, Constantine was almost independent under the authority of the vizier Ibn Ghamr, who succeeded in placing on the throne of Tunis a prince of his own choosing, Abū Yaḥyā. In 725/1325, the revolt of another vizier, Ibn al-Ḳātūn, exposed the inhabitants to an attack, which proved unsuccesful, from the ʿAbd al-Wādids. The wars which then broke out in the eastern Maghrib between the Marīnids and the ʿAbd al-Wādids, as well as the good government of the governors Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Zayd, son and grandson of Abū Yaḥyā, king of Tunis, gained Constantine a few years of respite. But peace, which had only been established with difficulty, was again broken in the middle of the 8th/14th century by Marīnid expeditions. Abu 'l-Ḥasan entered Constantine without striking a blow and supplanted Ḥafṣid authority by his own in 748/1347. The defeat of Abu 'l-Ḥasan at Ḳayrawān brought about a revival in favour of the Ḥafṣids and one of them, al-Faḍl, took advantage of the occasion to seize the town. He held it for only a short time. The former Ḥafṣid governor, Abū Zayd, set at liberty by Abū ʿInān, retook Constantine, then abandoning his protector, proclaimed as Sulṭān a son of al-Ḥasan named Tāshfīn. Soon afterwards, Abū Zayd's brother, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās, overthrew him and dethroned Tāshfīn. He in his turn took the title of Sulṭān, repulsed the Dawāwida and Sadwīkash Arabs, who had laid siege to Constantine in 756/1355, but could not prevent the town being taken by Abū ʿInān, who came in person against it. He regained it from the Marīnids in 761/1360. Becoming Sulṭān of Tunis in 772/1370, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās maintained peace in the province of Constantine till his death. His successor Abū Fāris had on the other hand twice to reconquer the town from his brother Abū Bakr, who had seized it with the help of the Arab tribes.

We have no exact details on the history of Constantine in the 9th/15th century. Rebellions against Ḥafṣid rule were, it seems, less frequent than in the preceding century, but its authority was more nominal than real. During this period, the real masters of Constantine were the chiefs of the Awlād Sala, a section of the Arab tribe of Dawāwida. In the town itself the exercise of authority was in the hands of a few families, clients of the Awlād Sala. Such, for example, were the family of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin of Marabout origin, whose chiefs exercised by hereditary right the functions of *shaykh al-Islām* and *Amīr al-Rakab* (leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca); the family of the Banū Bādis, whose members had arrogated to themselves the duties of *ḳāḍī*; and that of the Banu 'l-Faggān (or Lafgūn), famous as legal authorities.

The arrival of the Turks in Northern Africa reopened an era of troubles for Constantine. There were two parties in the field. The one, led by the ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, was favourable to the maintenance of Ḥafṣid suzerainty; the other, led by the Lafgūn, invited the Turks thither. According to Vaysettes, a first attempt by the Turks to occupy the town was made as early as 923/1517. According to Mercier, Ḥasan, one of Khayr al-Dīn's lieutenants, forced the people of Constantine to recognise his master's authority in 925/1519 or 926/1520. The submission of the town was only an ephemeral one, however, for in 932/1526 a representative of the Ḥafṣid sovereign of Tunis was residing in the town. It is not till 940/1534 that the establishment of a garrison definitely marks the occupation of Constantine by the Turks. Their authority was not firmly established without difficulty. The belated partisans of the Ḥafṣids did not bow at once to the Turkish yoke, but sought to rid themselves of their new masters. In 975/1567-8 they massacred the Turkish garrison and expelled their supporters. To restore order, the Pasha Muḥammad had to lead an expedition against Constantine, the inhabitants of which did not dare resist but opened the gates without showing fight. Another rebellion broke out in 1572 and was suppressed with the greatest rigour. The ʿAbd al-Muʾmins who had instigated it, were deprived of their privileges, and from that date ceased to play a predominant part in the affairs of the town. They resigned themselves to their fall with a very bad grace. We find them again in 1052/1642 taking advantage of the difficulties caused to the Turks by the revolt of the Kabyles and the insubordination of the great Arab chiefs to stir up risings again which were, however, speedily put down. After being selected as the capital of the *beylik* of the East in the 10th/16th century, Constantine enjoyed complete tranquility for the half century following the period of government of the Bey Farḥat (1046/1637). But the intervention of the Algerians in the affairs of Tunisia ended in exposing Constantine to the reprisals of its neighbours. In 1112/1700, Murād Bey of Tunis, victorious in two battles against ʿAlī Khōdja Bey of Constantine, laid siege to the town and blockaded it for three months. The Dey of Algiers at length received warning of the precarious situation of the town by a messenger, who had succeeded in escaping from Constantine after being let down the cliff by a rope, and sent an army to its help, the arrival of which the Tunisian general did not dare await.

The 18th century marks the zenith of Turkish domination at Constantine. The *beylik* was held during this period by men of energy and intellect, ruling like independent sovereigns rather than as docile representatives of the Dey of Algiers. Such were Kalyān Ḥasan Bey, called Bū Kamya (1713-36), Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn called Bū Ḥanak (1736-54), Aḥmad al-Ḳullī (1756-71) and above all Ṣāliḥ Bey (1771-92). Constantine owes to them many public works and buildings of general interest. Bū Kamya built the

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mosque of Sūḳ al-Ghazāl; Bū Ḥanak made new streets and built the Mosque of Sīdī Lakẖḍar. Ṣāliḥ Bey rebuilt the bridge over the Rummel and the Roman aqueduct bringing the waters of the Djabal Waḫsh to the city; he also built the mosque and *madrasa* of Sīdī al-Kattānī and commissioned Italian artificers to built him a palace adorned with faiences and marble columns purchased in Italy.

A period of anarchy and disorder succeeded this brilliant epoch. Ṣāliḥ Bey himself, deposed by the Dey of Algiers, to whom he had given offence, tried to stir up a rebellion but perished miserably. Seventeen Beys ruled Constantine in the period 1792-1826. Some of them only held office a few months or even a few days; almost all were distinguished by their cruelty and rapine. Constantine suffered much from this state of affairs. To the internal disorder were soon added attacks by the surrounding peoples. The Kabyle hordes of the Marabout (Ibn al-Aʿrash Sulaymān Kāhya) rose against the Turks and advanced up to the walls of Constantine in 1804. A Tunisian army commanded by Sulaymān Kāhya besieged the town three years later. It was blockaded for two months (April-May 1807) and was once bombarded. The approach of a relieving army from Algiers caused the Tunisians to raise the siege, and in their retreat they lost 1,167 prisoners and all their artillery.

Aḥmad, the last Bey of Constantine, possessed those qualities which were lacking in his predecessors, Intellectual, active, ambitious and energetic, he unfortunately made himself hated by his acts of cruelty and by the exactions levied by him to raise funds to built a palace in Constantine to replace the old Dār al-Bey. After the French occupation of Algiers, he sought to profit by the disappearance of the *odjaḳ* to create an independent principality in the east, and had the title of Pasha given to him by the Ottoman Porte. Deposed by a decree from General Clauzel on 15 December 1830, he nevertheless retained possession of Constantine. The hesitation on the part of the French government, which tried to come to terms with him for his voluntary submission and after the failure of these negotiations did not wish to enter on a dangerous campaign, delayed his fall. But in 1836, Marshall Clauzel, then governor-general of Algeria, obtained permission to undertake an expedition against Constantine. Leaving Bone on 2 November, the French troops arrived without difficulty in sight of the town and took up a position on the heights of the Manṣūra and of the Kudya. Two sorties by the besieged, led by Ibn ʿĪsā, *ḫalīfa* of the Bey, were repulsed; on the other hand, two attacks by the French in the night of the 22-3 December also failed. Clauzel decided to raise the seige and returned to Bone after a retreat which was rendered very difficult by bad weather. This check was made good the following year. An army under General Damrémont laid siege to Constantine on 6 October 1837. He was killed on 12 October; but his successor, General Valée, ordered an assault on the 13th. The town was taken after fierce fighting by columns led by Colonels Combe and Lamoricière. Aḥmad Bey, who had left Constantine on the approach of the French troops, retired to the south where he held the country against the French for eleven years longer. It is said that the siege of 1837 was the ninetieth that Constantine had to endure.

After the French occupation, Constantine, the administration of which had been entrusted to a *ḥākim* under the supervision of the military authorities, became the headquarters of a *commandement supérieur* and the base of French operations in the eastern province. At first under military law, it was not given a municipal government till 1848 and became the capital of the *département* in 1849. Since then the town has developed considerably. It has in fact remained a market and centre of supplies for the tribes of the east; its native industries have survived and supply the population of the surrounding country with cotton stuffs and articles of leather.

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(G. YVER*)

(AL-)ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA, Constantinople.

1. To the Ottoman Conquest (1453).

The city, which Constantine the Great on 11 May 330 raised to be the capital of the Eastern Empire and which was called after him, was known to the Arabs as *Ḳusṭanṭīniyya* (in poetry also *Ḳusṭanṭīna*, with or without the article); the older name *Byzantion* (*Buzanṭiyā* and various spellings) was also known to them, as well as the fact that the later Greeks, as at the present day, used to call Constantinople simply ἡ πόλις as "the city" par excellence (Masʿūdī, iii, 406 = § 1291 n.; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 235; Abu 'l-Fidā, ii/1, 39; Dimashḳī, 241, 259; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 431). From εἰς τὴν πόλιν arose the Turkish name "Istanbul" [*q.v.*]. *Ḳusṭanṭīniyya*, with the variant *Ḳusṭanṭiniyya*, remained the official designation on coins and firmans under the Ottomans.

The campaigns of the Arabs against Constantinople. It is said that the Prophet himself had foretold the conquest of Constantinople by the faithful. The Ottoman historians adduce the following *ḥadīth* "You shall conquer Constantinople; peace be upon the prince and the army to whom this shall be granted!" (ʿĀlī, *Künh al-aḫbār*, v, 252; Ṣolaḳzāde, 194; Ewliyā, i, 32, 73; ʿAlī Sāṭiʿ, *Ḥadīḳat al-djewāmiʿ*, i, 2); Suyūṭī's *al-Djāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr* is given as authority; older references are wanting. As a matter of fact, the Umayyads set about this enterprise with the energy and valour that inspired the early warriors of Islam. In the year of the world 6146 (beginning 1 September 653), according to Theophanes, 345, a fleet was equipped in Tripolis "against Constantinople", which under the leadership of Αβουλαθάρ (i.e. Busr b. Abī Arṭāt) defeated the Greek fleet at Phoenix (Finika) on the Lycian coast [see DHĀT AL-ṢAWĀRĪ in Suppl.], but did not reach Constantinople; at the same time, Muʿāwiya had invaded Byzantine territory by land.

In the year 44/644 took place the campaign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḫālid, who advanced as far as Pergamon; the admiral Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, according to Arabic sources, is said to have reached Constantinople (Ṭabarī, ii, 86).

In the course of the next years, Faḍāla b. ʿUbayd advanced as far as Chalcedon, and Yazīd, son of Muʿāwiya, was sent after him (according to Theophanes, in the year 6159 of the world, beginning 1 September 666; according to Elias of Nisibis, Yazīd

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appeared before Constantinople in 51/672); a fleet commanded by Busr b. Abī Arṭāt supported this enterprise. In 672 a strong fleet cast anchor off the European coast of the Sea of Marmora under the walls of the city. The Arabs attacked the town from April to September; they spent the winter in Cyzicus and renewed their attacks in the following spring until they finally retired "after seven years' fighting". A great part of the fleet was destroyed by Greek fire; many ships were wrecked on the return journey (Theoph., 353 ff.). There are difficulties in the chronological arrangement in Theophanes of the various phases of this seven years' blockade. The land army seems to have appeared before Constantinople in 47/667 and the fleet to have finally retired in 53 673. The Arab historians vary between the years 48 49, 50 and 52 and place the death of Abū Ayyūb in the year 50, 51, 52 or even 55. As the fighting around Constantinople was spread over several years, the difference in the estimates is not so unaccountable.

This siege has acquired particular renown in the Arab world, as the Anṣārī Abū Ayyūb Ḵhālid b. Zayd fell in it and was buried before the walls of Constantinople; the finding of his tomb during the final siege by Meḥemmed II was an event only comparable to the discovery of the holy lance by the early Crusaders at the siege of Antioch. (The grave of Abū Ayyūb is first mentioned by Ibn Ḳutayba, 140; according to Ṭabarī, iii, 2324, Ibn al-Aṯīr, iii, 381, Ibn al-Djawzī and Ḳazwīnī, 408, the Byzantines respected it and made pilgrimages to it in times of drought to pray there for rain (*istisḳā'*); the Turkish legend is given very fully in Leunclavius, *Hist. Mus.*, 41 ff. and in the painstaking monograph by Ḥādjdjī ʿAbd Allāh, *al-Āṯār al-madjīdiyya fi 'l-manāḳib al-ḵhālidiyya*, Istanbul 1257.)

There was a truce for over 40 years between Byzantines and Arabs until in 97/715-16 Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik came to the throne. A *ḥadīṯ* was at this time current according to which a caliph who should bear the name of a prophet was to conquer Constantinople. Sulaymān took the prophecy to refer to himself and equipped a great expedition against Constantinople. His brother Maslama led the army which was equipped with siege artillery through Asia Minor, crossed the Dardanelles at Abydos and surrounded Constantinople. The Arab armada anchored partly near the walls on the coast of the Sea of Marmora and partly in the Bosporus; the Golden Horn was barred by a chain. The siege began on 25 August 716 and lasted a whole year; Maslama then found himself forced to retire owing to the attacks of the Bulghars and the scarcity of provisions (Theophanes, 386-99; full details in Ibn Miskawayh, ed. de Goeje, 24-33; cf. also Ṭabarī, ii, 1314 ff.; Ibn al-Aṯīr, iv, 17 ff.; cf. the vivid account in Gelzer, *Pergamon unter Byzantinern und Osmanen*, 49-64). There are many references to Maslama's hazardous march among the later Arabs. Even several centuries later they knew of "Maslama's Well" at Abydos, where he had encamped (Masʿūdī, ii, 317 = § 738; Ibn Ḵhurradādhbih, 104), and the mosque built by him there (Yāḳūt, i, 374). ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭayyib, the first Muslim to lead an attack on the "Gate of Ḳusṭanṭīniyya" was one of Maslama's comrades (Ibn Ḳutayba, 275). Maslama is said to have made the building of a house near the Imperial palace for the Arab prisoners of war one of the conditions of the treaty of peace and to have built the first mosque in Constantinople (Muḳaddasī, 147; Ibn al-Aṯīr, x, 18; Dimashḳī, 227); finally, he is credited with building the Tower of Galata (Dimashḳī, 228) and the ʿArab Djāmiʿ in Galata (Ḥādjdjī Ḵhalīfa, *Taḳwīm al-tawārīḵh*, year 97 A.H.). Ewliyā and his sources have made two sieges out of Maslama's campaign and embellished their narrative with incredible stories. Nerkesī (d. 1044/1634) discusses Maslama's campaigns in the fourth section of his Pentas, following, so he says, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-ʿArabī's *Musāmarāt*.

Only on one other occasion did an Arab host appear within sight of Constantinople, namely in 165/782. Hārūn, the son of the caliph al-Mahdī, had marched through Asia Minor unopposed and encamped at Chrysopolis (Scutari). The Empress Irene, who was acting as Regent for her son Constantine, hastened to make peace and agreed to pay tribute (Theophanes, 455 ff. under the year 6274 of the world [781-2]; Balādhurī, 168; Ṭabarī, iii, 504 ff.; Ibn al-Aṯīr, vi, 44 : year 165/781-2). Ewliyā and his authority (Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Djamālī, died 957/1550 according to Rieu, *Catalogue*, 46 ff.) have made no less then four regular sieges of Constantinople out of the campaigns of the Arabs under al-Mahdī and Hārūn against the Greeks. After the second, Hārūn gained a quarter in the city by a trick similar to that by which Dido gained the site of Carthage (Leunclavius, *op. cit.*, 54; Ewliyā, i, 81 = *Travels, etc.*, i/1, 25); the same story is given by Clavijo, 23, of the settlement of the Genoese in Galata, and Ewliyā, *Travels*, i/2, 66, of the building of Rumeli Ḥiṣār by Meḥemmed II.

The Arab accounts of Constantinople date from the 3rd/9th century. They considered the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosporus as a single "canal" (*ḵhalīdj*), connecting the Mediterranean with the Black Sea. Iṣṭaḵhrī and others mention the great chain which prevented the entrance of Arab ships; this is probably the chain, which was stretched between Galata and Constantinople in time of war, that is referred to. The high double walls of the city with their towers and gateways, including the Golden Gate, the Aya Sofya, the Hippodrome with its monuments (notably the Egyptian obelisk), the four brazen horses at the entrance to the palace, and the great equestrian statue in bronze of "Constantine" (really of Justinian, the so-called Augusteus) are described by them in greater or less detail. Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasī devote particular attention to the Praetorium where their countrymen, prisoners of war, were kept under a mild custody and to the mosque attributed to Maslama (Yāḳūt, i, 709, s.v. *Balāṭ*, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, i, 592, 767). The most detailed account is that of Ibn al-Wardī (8th/14th century); he mentions the bronze Obelisk of Porphyrogenitus, the Pillar of Arcadius and the Aqueduct of Valens and also knew that the Golden Gate was closed. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 431-44) described from his own observation the monastic life of his time; the latest notices are given by Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415) in his dictionary the *Ḳāmūs*.

Apart from prisoners of war, numerous Muslim merchants and envoys from the caliphs and other Muslim rulers sojourned in Byzantium; the Mamlūk Sulṭāns occasionally banished thither troublesome persons with their families; Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns and pretenders (Ḳïlïdj Arslān II, Kaykhusraw I, Kaykāwūs II) repeatedly spent long periods in Constantinople; remarkable details of their life in the capital are given by Byzantine writer and in the Saldjūḳ historians.

No definite traces have as yet been discovered of the two sieges by the Arabs and the residence of Arabs and other Muslims in Constantinople; in particular, the mosque of Maslama has not come to

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light; it is first mentioned by Const. Porphyr., *De adm.*, ch. xxii (Bonn *Corpus*, 101, l. 22); it was destroyed in a popular rising in 1200 and pillaged by the Crusaders in 1203 (Nicetas Choniates, 696, 731, ed. Bonn). According to Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 381, cf. x, 18 (whence Abu 'l-Fidā derives his information), it was restored in 441/1049-50 by Constantine Monomachos at the request of the Saldjūḳ Ṭoghrïl Beg. According to Makrīzī (i, 177, ed. Quatremère), Michael VIII Palaeologus built a mosque about 660/1261-2 which the Mamlūk Sulṭān Baybars equipped in splendid style. The accounts of the ʿArab Djāmiʿ and other buildings by the Arabs in Constantinople belong to the domain of fable.

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(J. H. MORDTMANN)

2. AFTER THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST [see ISTANBUL].

KÜSTENDIL, KÖSTENDIL (in Serbian: Ćustendil), a town of some 35,000 inhabitants in Western Bulgaria. It was in the Serbo-Bulgarian Middle Ages a small fortified stronghold on a hill above the wide plain of Küstendil, serving as a princely residence, and was known as Velbuzhd. In Ottoman times it was capital of the *sandjāḳ* of Küstendil, and was an Islamic cultural and administrative centre of some importance. The town is the indirect successor of the Roman Pautalia, of which substantial remains have been unearthed.

The Ottoman chroniclers Saʿd al-Dīn and Münedjdjimbashī mention that the ruler of the land of Konstantin (the son of the Serbian nobleman Dejan) accepted Ottoman overlordship in 773/1371-2, after the latter had captured the strategic fortresses of Ikhtiman and Samokov. Neshrī mentions Konstantin among Murād's vasals during the Ḳaramān Campaign. ʿAshïḳpashazāde, Oruč Beg and the Anonymus Giese do not however mention the acquisition of the land of Konstantin. This prince married Helena, the daughter of the Bulgarian Tsar Ivan Alexander (their daughter married Manuel Palaeologus, emperor of Byzantium), and died as a loyal Ottoman vassal in the Battle of Rovine in 1395 assisting Bāyezīd I against the Walachians (797/1395). He left no suitable heir behind. The memory of the princely couple is perpetuated by the monastery of Poganovo in the ravine of the Erme north of Küstendil, today just across the Yugoslav border. Konstantin's lands, including the towns and castles of Štip, Radomir, Petrič, Melnik, Vranje and the rich silver mines of Kratovo (places today partly in Yugoslavian, partly in Bulgarian territory), were transformed into an Ottoman *sandjāḳ* known as Ḳostadin-ili, the land of Ḳostadin. There are some traditions that the Bulgarian population rose in revolt in the difficult years of the Fetret Dewri and around the time of the ascession of Murād II. The fortified town had allegedly to be retaken, after which it was dismantled. The unreliable population was transferred to the neighbouring villages. Whether true or not, it is at least certain that in the time of Murād II a new open town was founded below the "Castle Hill", grouped around a mosque, a caravanserai and a school. The new settlement became known as Illdja-yi Küstendil, or Illdja in Turkish, Konstantinova Banja or Velbužka Banja in Slavic. The Turkish form Küstendil appears to be a corruption of Ḳostadin-ili.

At the end of the 8th/14th century and the beginning of the 9th/15th century, important groups of Turkish colonists from Asia Minor were settled in the *sandjaḳ* of Küstendil. According to an Ottoman census from the beginning of the 10th/16th century, these groups numbered 6,640 families. The Christian section of the population then comprised 56,988 families. According to the census of 925/1519, the city itself counted a Muslim population of 293 families and 60 bachelors, as well as 47 Christian families, six bachelors and eight widows, perhaps altogether 1,800 civil, non-administrative inhabitants. In spite of this relatively small size, Küstendil appeared in 1499 to the widely-travelled Rhenish knight Arnold van Harff as "eyn gar grosse schone Stadt". This source also remarks that "Wruskabalna" (Velbužka Banja) had a palace where the sultan kept a number of his wives. At the beginning of the 20th century, Jordan Ivanov still saw a "Seray Kulesi", situated next to a fine basin (*ḥawḍ*) built and paved with large slabs of marble. Tower and basin were situated in the "Seray Mahallesi".

In the 10th/16th century, Küstendil witnessed a rapid expansion. In 966/1559 an anonymous Italian traveller described it as a town with "about a thousand houses, built in the Turkish manner, many mosques and quite a number of baths. The town is inhabited by Turks and some Jews . . ." We passed the night in a Khan, called Imaret, which in our language is an inn. A Sandjakbeg ordered the construction of this very convenient building for the traveller and stranger, for the salvation of his soul." During this century, a number of military commanders and members of the administration erected a considerable number of mosques and caravanserais, and opened up mineral baths. Meḥmed-i ʿĀshïḳ in his *Menāẓïrü'l-ʿawālim* (Halet Efendi, No. 616, I, fol. 212a) noted in 997/1589 twelve mineral baths, many with stone-built domes over the disrobing section and over the bathroom proper, others even with separate rooms. The most beautiful was the so-called Beg Illdjasï. In 894/1489 the *beglerbegi* of Rumeli, Khādïm Süleymān Pasha, had erected a large domed mosque and a double bath in the city, and had laid out a water supply system which brought good drinking water from the village of Bogoslov, some 15 km. away, to the town. The villagers of Bogoslov received a privileged status as *ṣu-yoldjï*. The *taḥrir defteri* of 925/1519 also attributes an *ʿimāret* and a number of shops to this governor. (The mosque, very similar to that built by Khādïm Süleymān Pasha on the banks of the Tundja in Edirne, was demolished shortly before the Second World War.) Other important buildings were the ʿImāret Djāmiʿi, with

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caravanserai, *madrasa* and bath, erected in 937/1531 by Meḥmed Beg (the building was often confused with the mosque of Murād II; see Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinde Fatih devri*, iv, Istanbul 1974, 806, which enumerates and continues the old mistakes). The mosque was demolished in 1949. Other 10th/16th century buildings, happily preserved, are the Dervīsh Banya from 973/1566 and the large mosque of Aḥmed Beg from 983/1575-6, this last now serving as a local museum.

According to the Ottoman census register of 981/1573, the town then numbered 623 Muslim households, 90 Muslim bachelors, 84 Christian households, 28 Christian bachelors, 14 widows and a Jewish community of four families. The whole population, including the members of the administration and their families, amounted perhaps to 4,000 souls. By then the number of Muslim *maḥalles* had risen from six (in 925/1519) to 21, the number of *imāms* of mosques from seven to seventeen. An Ottoman *Djeleb* register (*Turksi Izvori za Bālgarskata Istorija*, iii, Sofia 1972, 129-50) from 981/1573 gives a fair cross-section of the composition of the town's population. A total of 57 Muslim *djelebs* are registered against six Christians, all given by name, patronymic and profession. Both groups were almost all craftsmen, leatherworkers, smiths, *mūtāfs*, *ḥelvādjīs*, goldsmiths, shoemakers, soapmakers, cartwrights, etc. Out of the number of *djelebs* in the villages of the *ḳaḍā'* of Küstendil, 558 were Christian against 20 Muslims, from which may be concluded that the Bulgarian Christian element continued to be the bulk of the rural population.

In the 11th/17th century, the development of Küstendil apparently stagnated. The city had suffered badly from earthquakes in 993/1585 and 1051/1641. Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, vi), who visited it in 1071/1660-1 and left his signature on the front wall of the Aḥmed Beg Mosque, counted eleven small *maḥalles* with 1,100 houses, and he further made some important notes on the Islamic buildings of the city, among which he mentions a number of mosques, three *madrasas*, five *tekkes*, six schools and twelve mineral baths "with lofty vaults and many basins".

In March 1690 Küstendil was occupied by an Austrian force under Antonio Valerio Žić, which led to a considerable diminishing of the Muslim population. In about or after that year, the entire settlement was surrounded by a wall with towers and gates, and the Castle Hill was again fortified. A picture of these works, made at the end of the 17th century by the Dutch artist Harrewyn, is preserved in the "Prenten Kabinet" of the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum.

In the early 19th century, Küstendil recovered slowly. St. Denis gives the number of inhabitants in 1807 as 7,000. J. Hütz (*Beschreibung der europäischen Türkei*, Munich 1828, 250-1) gives the same number. Ami Boué (*Recueil d'itinéraires*, i, Paris 1836) counted 9,000 inhabitants, Bulgarians and Muslims. The *Sāl-nāme* of the Ṭūna Wilāyeti of 1285/1868-9 mentions 16 mosques in Küstendil, three *madrasas* and 16 *tekkes*. When in 1878 Küstendil came within the frontiers of the newly-established Bulgarian state, most of the Muslim inhabitants emigrated. In 1890 Jireček (*Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1891) counted in 1890 10,689 inhabitants, of which only 581 were Turks. Jireček still saw nine lead-covered mosques. Jordan Ivanov noted in 1908 ten mineral baths. Today (1979) only two mosques and one of the baths remain preserved, and the Muslim element is reduced to a handful of families.

Küstendil produced some Ottoman scholars and men of letters, such as Sanūberzāde Ḥāletī (d. 973/1566); Shem'ī Meḥmed Efendi Küstendil, scholar, poet, and calligrapher who was for a long time *muftī* of the town (d. 1272/1855-6); and especially, Küstendilī Mollāzāde Süleymān Sheykhī Efendi, for a long time *shaykh* of the Naḳshbandī convent of Küstendil, who left behind some 26 works including a *History of Küstendil*. The Naḳshī Dergāh, built by Süleymān himself, and in the yard of which he was buried, was demolished shortly after Bulgaria became independent.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see on the Roman and mediaeval town: Jordan Ivanov, *Küstendilskiyat Hisarlâk i negovite starine*, in *Izvestiya Bâlgarskoto Arheol. Družestvo VVV*, Sofia 1919-20, 55-123; idem, *Severna Makedoniya*, Sofia 1906. Travellers: *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* (1497-1501), Cologne 1860; *Descrizione del Viaggio* (1559) *P. Matković*, in *Starine*, x, Zagreb 1879; St. Denis, *Histoire de l'empire Ottoman depuis 1792 jusqu'en 1844*, Paris 1844, i. On Ottoman colonisation and census materials: Ö. L. Barkan, *Les déportations comme méthode*, ... in *Revue de la Fac. des Sciences Econ. de l'Université de Istanbul*, xi (1953), 63; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlad-i Fatihan*, Istanbul 1957; extracts from the *taḥrīr defterleri* from 1519 and 1573 (icmal defter Maliye No. 170, Defter-i Mufassal, Liva-i Küstendil, No. 88, Ankara, Tapu ve Kad. Genel. Müd.) are given by M. Sokoloski in *Balcanica*, i, Belgrade 1970, 103-5. On the monuments of the Ottoman period: H. Minetti, *Osmanische provinzialer Baukunst auf dem Balkan*, Hanover 1923; P. Miyatev, *Les monuments osmanlis en Bulgarie*, in *RO*, xxiii (1959); Osman Nūrī Peremeci, *Tuna Boyu tārihi*, Istanbul 1942; Georgi Stoïkov, *Kultovi i obstestveni sgradi iz Trânsko, Breznishko i Küstendilsko*, in *Kompleksni Naučni Ekspeditsii v Zapadna Bâlgariya*, Sofia B.A.N. 1961, 79-178; Asen Vasiliev, *Khudožestveni Pametnitsi i Majstori Obrazopis iz njakoj selista na Küstendilsko, etc.*, in *Kompleksni Naučni Eksp.*, 179-267. A photograph of the demolished mosque of Süleymān Pasha was published in *Kratka Istoriya na Bâlgarskata Arkhitektura*, Sofia 1965, 455. On p. 178 of the same work appears a plan of the Dervish Banya. On the writers: Hammer, *Gesch. Ott. Dichtkunst*, and Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānlī mü'ellifleri*. On the inscription of Ewliyā Čelebi: R. F. Kreutel, in *Isl.*, xlviii (1971-2), 269 ff. (M. Kiel)

KUSŪF, Khusūf, eclipse of the sun or of the moon. As regards linguistic usage, it may be noted that *al-kusūf* is used alike for the eclipse of the moon (*kusūf al-ḳamar*) and for that of the sun (*kusūf al-shams*), e.g. in al-Farghānī, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, al-Battānī, al-Bīrūnī; but they are often distinguished as *al-khusūf*, eclipse of the moon, and *al-kusūf*, of the sun, e.g. by al-Ḳazwīnī (on the linguistic usage, it should be noted that according to the *Mafātiḥ al-ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 222-3 the viith form, as in *inkasafat al-shams*, should not be used, although this is very often done; e.g. by al-Ḳazwīnī and others).

The eclipse of the sun and of the moon have from the earliest times attracted the liveliest attention. Ptolemy, following Hipparchus, studied the theory of eclipses, and following him the Arabs and Syrians, etc. We shall deal first with the eclipse of the moon. It must be premised that the apparent path of the moon—we must adhere to the geocentric view—cuts the ecliptic in two opposite points, which however in course of time come to move on to the

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ecliptic. These points are called *al-djawzahar* (Persian *djawz čihr*, nut-shape, or less correctly *gūy čihr*, globe-shape); they are also called *al-tinnīn*, "dragon" (see below). All the planets have of course such *djawzahar*; without an addition the word always refers to the moon. Their positions are given in the Ephemerides. The massive ball into which, according to Ibn al-Haytham, the moon is inserted, and which carries it along as it moves, is called *falak al-djawzahar*.

The eclipse of the moon is caused, as was early recognised, by a dark body coming between the sun and the moon. It was at one time thought that this was a dragon, which ended at two opposite points on the globe of the heavens and had the same motion as the nodes of the moon. Eclipses occur when we cannot see the moon, because the head or tail of the dragon comes between us and the moon. From this idea comes the name for the crescent and waning nodes, i.e. the points where the moon passes through the ecliptic, "head, *al-raʾs*" and "tail, *al-dhanab*", which were retained long after the "dragon" had disappeared. The sign ☊ for the length of the node is a distorted dragon. The astrologers credited this dragon with certain influences on the horoscope. But Severus Sebukht (*ca.* 650) (F. Nau, *Notes d'astronomie syrienne*, in *JA*, Ser. 10, xvi [1910], 15) long ago denied this, as there was no dragon and the calculations in question referred to the movements of the modes. But we still find in al-Bīrūnī's *Tafhīm*, etc. the assertion that head and tail have separate natures. The head is hot, auspicious, and indicates increase (of property etc.). The tail is cold, brings misfortune, and indicates diminution of wealth, etc. Eclipses of the sun or of the moon are really caused by the earth coming between the sun and moon or the moon coming between the earth and the sun. Instead of *djawzahar* we often have the word "node" *ʿaḳd* and *ʿuḳda* used, also in combination with *raʾs* and *dhanab*.

The shadow of the earth arising in the first instance, because the sun is considerably larger than the earth, consists of a cone-shaped convergent shadow (the shadow) on one side and a divergent shadow (penumbra) on the other side. Only in the shadow is there absolute darkness. As the diameter of the shadow at the place of the moon's path is considerably greater than that of the moon at the same point, under certain conditions, the moon may remain some time in the shadow and therefore be perfectly eclipsed for the period. Ibn al-Haytham, for example, investigated these conditions very fully (E. Wiedemann, *Beitr.* xiii, *Über eine Schrift von Ibn al-Haitham, "Über die Beschaffenheit der Schatten"*, in *SBPMS Erl.* [1907], xxxix, 226).

If earth, sun and moon were very small bodies, mere points, eclipses would only take place when the sun and moon were exactly in the nodes. But as they are large, eclipses also occur when these bodies have passed beyond the nodes, i.e. have experienced an alteration in latitude and longitude. A total eclipse occurs when the breadth is smaller than the difference between the diameter of the shadow and that of the moon, a partial eclipse when it is larger than the latter but smaller than the sun of the diameters; if it is however equal to the latter, there is only a contact but no eclipse.

Taking into consideration the shadow alone, the *makhrūṭ* (cone) or *ṣanawbar* (pine-cone)—its cross-section is called *dāʾirat al-ẓill*—we have the following: the entrance into the shadow is called *badʾ al-kusūf*, beginning of the eclipse; the phase from the beginning of the eclipse, to the beginning of totality, is called *suḳūṭ* (falling, the ἐμπτωσις of Ptolemy), the middle of the path covered in shadow is called *wasṭ* (middle). The phase which corresponds to complete emergence is called *tamām al-indjilāʾ* ("the completion of disappearance"); *al-makth* ("stop, stay") means the phase in which the moon is eclipsed; in a partial eclipse there is no such stop. A *kusūf kull al-ḳamar bilā makth*, a total eclipse without a stop, is said to occur when the moon's path is such that the darkened moon touches the cone of the shadow at only one point; then a total eclipse exists at this point only. For the case of total eclipse, the place where it begins is called *awwal al-makth* and where the moon begins to emerge from the shadow, *ākhir al-makth*.

A diminution of light but no complete extinction also occurs when the moon moves through the half-shadow. In his classical work on the shadows Ibn al-Haytham (see above) discussed the theory of this question and checked it by observation. In very rare cases, however, the whole of the eclipsed moon does not appear quite black but shows different colours, especially a dark red; this was observed by various early astronomers and minutely described by Ibn al-Haytham (his statements agree with modern observation, e.g. Joh. Müller, *Lehrbuch der kosmischen Physik*[5], § 9, p. 196). Al-Bīrūnī further studied these colours (*al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, *maḳāla* vii, *bāb* vii, *faṣl* iii); he also examines critically earlier views and particularly Indian ideas on the astrological significance of the colours (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Über die verschiedenen bei der Mondfinsternis auftretenden Farben nach Bīrūnī*, in *Eders Jahrbuch für Photographie, etc.*, 1914). This light on the completely eclipsed moon is explained by the fact that the sun's rays are diverted in passing through the earth's atmosphere and thus enter the shadow and illuminate the moon. According to the amount of moisture in the atmosphere, these diverted rays are more or less coloured. For the possibility of a solar eclipse, the conditions are the same as for a lunar one.

Solar Eclipse: As the angle at which the moon appears to us is smaller, although only slightly, than that at which the sun appears, the moon can never completely cover the sun. Therefore even at a so-called total eclipse of the sun, even if the centres of sun and moon and earth all lie on a straight line, a narrow rim of light still remains. Bright formations, the corona and the protuberances radiate from this. They are described by al-Bīrūnī in *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, *maḳāla* viii, *bāb* xi (cf. E. Wiedemann, *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und Sonnenfinsternis*, in *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Med.*, xv [1923], 43).

The local times at which the same lunar or solar eclipse appears at different places are obtained from the difference of their geographical longitudes. The calculations are made difficult by the fact that these bodies show a considerable parallax. This partly explains the great differences between the calculated and true values.

It would take us too far to go into the details of the theoretical considerations, for example when each eclipse begins, how long it lasts, its periodicity, etc. In the works of al-Farghānī, Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā, al-Ḳazwīnī, al-Djaghmīnī, al-Khīrakī, and particularly in that of Abu 'l-Faradj, *Le Livre de l'ascension de l'esprit*, ed. F. Nau, Paris 1899, also in the *Kitāb al-Tafhīm* etc. of al-Bīrūnī, we find more or less full general descriptions, while the works on astronomical theory like the *Zīdj* (tables) of al-Khʷārazmī, of al-Battānī, the *Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī* of al-Bīrūnī, the *Zīdj* of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, etc., give information about

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mathematical considerations and the particular observations to be made (on the above scholars, cf. H. Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der math. Wissensch.*, x [1900]).

To obtain a standard for measuring the amount of the eclipse, the diameter of the sun or of the moon, was divided into twelve equal parts, called "fingers" (*iṣbaʿ* or *iṣbaʿ al-kusūf*) and the number of these that were eclipsed was calculated. In the West one spoke of "digits". In the same way, the surface is imagined to be divided into 12 equal parts and it is calculated how many of these are eclipsed. The latter may be calculated from the former which refer only to length. Al-Battānī, for example, gives tables in connection with this. The diopter of Hipparchus was used to measure the magnitude of a lunar eclipse. Two rods are fixed at right angles to a rod. The one with a small round hole is fixed and the other with a larger round hole can be moved towards the other. The second hole is so placed that at an appropriate distance from the other the moon is seen to fill it exactly. A dark plane is pushed in front of the second hole. The amount *a* of the shifting of its edge from one side of the hole, which bounds the dark side of the moon, to the edge of its bright part, is measured, and the magnitude *b* of the shifting over the whole surface of the moon and their relation expressed as $a:b$. The amount g in fingers of the eclipse is $g = \frac{a}{b}\,12$.

Bibliography: Given in the article. For details of eclipse computations, see now E. S. Kennedy, *A survey of Islamic astronomical tables*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S., xlvi/2 (1956), 123-77, esp. 143-4.

(E. WIEDEMANN)

KŪT AL-ʿAMĀRA, a place in al-ʿIrāḳ (lat. 32° 30′ N., long 45° 50′ E.), on the left bank of the Tigris, between Baghdād and ʿAmāra, 100 miles south-east of Baghdād as the crow flies. *Kūt* is the Hindustānī word *kōt* meaning "fortress" [see KŌFWĀL] found in other place-names in al-ʿIrāḳ, like Kūt al-Muʿammir; Kūt al-ʿAmāra is often simply called Kūt. Kūt lies opposite the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy, also called al-Gharrāf, the old canal connecting the Tigris with the Euphrates, which has several junctions with the Euphrates, e.g. at Nāṣiriyya and Sūḳ al-Shuyūkh. The plains to the north of Kūt are inhabited by the Banū Rabīʿa, a division of the great tribe of Banū Lām [*q.v.*]. Kūt is not an old town; it has been proposed to identify it with al-Madhār mentioned by Yāḳūt (iv, 275; cf. Le Strange, *Lands*, 38, and H. H. Schaeder in *Islam*, xiv, 17). In the beginning of the century and down to 1860 it was a miserable little village surrounded by walls of terre pisée (Keppel in 1824, according to Ritter; Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, Leipzig 1860, ii, 150). But after Messrs. Lynch obtained a concession for a line of steamers between Baghdād and Baṣra, Kūt became an important station on the river and the result was a considerable increase in its population. In the last period of Turkish administration (beginning 1861), Kūt was the capital of a *ḳaḍā*ʾ of the same name in the *sandjaḳ* of Baghdād. About 1890 the population was estimated at 4,115 (Cuinet), almost all Shīʿīs (but including about 100 Sunnīs and 100 Jews). The *ḳaḍā*ʾ extends northwards as far as the mountains of Luristān [*q.v.*]. The plain at the foot of the mountains is watered by the river Kallāl and contains several villages, the Turkish ownership of which was disputed by the Persian authorities. The population of the *ḳaḍā*ʾ likewise grew after 1861, and about 1890 numbered 30,000, all Sunnīs (except the population of Kūt itself).

It was at Kūt al-ʿAmāra during the course of the First World War that several thousand British and Indian troops were cut off by Turkish forces and compelled to surrender on 26 Djumāda II 1334/29 April 1916, after a siege lasting five months.

Ḳūt was first taken by the Sixth British-Indian division under Major-General Charles Townshend in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1333/late September 1915. Continuing his advance northwards, in an ill-judged attempt to occupy Baghdād, Townshend was repulsed at Ctesiphon in late November by the Turkish Sixth army under Yūsuf Nūr ad-Dīn Bey and forced to retire on Ḳūt. Here he decided to stand, for the ostensible purpose of blocking a Turkish advance down the Tigris to ʿAmāra, or by way of the Shaṭṭ al-Ḥayy to Nāṣiriyya. In fact, however, his troops were exhausted, he was burdened with many wounded, and the Turks, under their new commander, Khalīl Bey (later Pasha), were hard on his heels. If he had not halted at Ḳūt, his division would almost certainly have been caught in the open and destroyed.

Ḳūt was invested by the Turks on 27 Muḥarram 1334/5 December 1915. Townshend's force consisted of just under 13,000 infantry and artillerymen (he had sent his cavalry south before Ḳūt was encircled) and over 3,000 Indian non-combatants (cooks, drivers, etc.). A quarter or more of the fighting troops were sick or wounded. The Arab population of the town, which Townshend allowed to remain, numbered about 6,000. The besieging force was made up of one-and-a-half divisions (about 7,500 men) of the Turkish Sixth Army, whose total effective strength of something under 30,000 men was mainly disposed between Ḳūt and Shaykh Saʿd, 30 miles to the east. Its tactical direction lay with Field-Marshal von der Goltz, head of the German military mission in ʿIrāḳ.

Desperate endeavours were made by the main body of the British expeditionary force between January and April 1916 to relieve the garrison at Ḳūt. In a series of severely fought actions, notably at Shaykh Saʿd, Ḥanna and Dudjayla, the British and Indian troops suffered 23,000 casualties, while Turkish losses were estimated at 10,000. The British efforts were in vain, and in the last week of April Townshend asked Khalīl Pasha for terms. When the Turkish commander indicated that he would not be content with anything less than unconditional surrender, Townshend suggested, with the concurrence of the Cabinet in London, that the Ḳūt garrison be freed on parole in exchange for its guns, stores and one million pounds sterling. On the orders of Enver Pasha [*q.v.*], the Turkish Minister of War, the offer was rejected, and the fact of its having been made was afterwards used to good effect by the Turkish government to discredit Britain's reputation in the Middle East. A last-minute attempt to persuade Khalīl Pasha to change his mind was made by Colonel W. H. Beach, head of military intelligence in ʿIrāḳ, and Captains Aubrey Herbert and T. E. Lawrence of Military Intelligence, Cairo, who were authorised to double the ransom offered. The attempt failed, and twenty-four hours later, after destroying his guns and stores, Townshend surrendered, under a solemn guarantee from Khalīl Pasha, which was afterwards reaffirmed by Enver Pasha that his troops would be treated as "the honoured guests of the Turkish nation".

During the siege, the garrison at Ḳūt had suffered

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casualties of 1,818 men killed or died of wounds (278 of them Indian non-combatants) and 2,500 wounded. Nearly 250 of the Arab inhabitants had been killed and over 600 wounded, though more were to die after Turkish forces had re-occupied the town. The Turks allowed the worst cases among the British and Indian wounded, 1,475 in all, to be sent down to Baṣra in exchange for Turkish prisoners of war. Nearly 12,000 British and Indian troops, along with their Indian camp followers, went into captivity in Anatolia and elsewhere. By the end of the war more than 4,000 of them, including 70% of the British rank and file, had died from disease, starvation and inhuman treatment at the hands of their Turkish captors.

Ḳūt was retaken by the Mesopotamian expeditionary force in Djumādā I 1335/late February 1917, opening the way for the occupation of Baghdād a fortnight later. After the war, in the administrative reorganisation that accompanied the institution of the mandate, Ḳūt was made the principal town of a new *liwāʾ*.

Bibliography: C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 935 ff.; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iii, 139-42; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1899, 288 ff.; M. Moukbil Bey, *La campagne de l'Irak*, Istanbul 1919-Paris 1933; Sir Charles V. F. Townshend, *My campaign in Mesopotamia*, London 1920; H. von Kiesling, *Mit Feldmarschall von der Goltz Pascha in Mesopotamien und Persien*, Leipzig 1922; *Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers. Report of the Mesopotamian Commission* (*Cmd.* 8610), 1917; *History of the Great War based on official documents. The campaign in Mesopotamia 1914-1918*, by Brig.-Gen. F. J. Moberley, i-ii, London 1923-4; S. H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 294, 313; Sir Arnold T. Wilson, *Loyalties: Mesopotamia, 1914-1917*, London 1930; *Naval Intelligence Division. Admiralty Handbooks, Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944, 277-83, 543-4 and index. None of the popular accounts of the siege of Ḳūt and the ʿIrāḳ campaign of 1914-17 published in recent years (e.g. A. J. Barker, *The neglected war*, London 1967; R. Braddon, *The siege*, London 1969; R. W. Millar, *Kut: the death of an army*, London 1969) is of any scholarly value.

(J. H. KRAMERS - [J. B. KELLY])

ḲUTADGHU BILIG ("Knowledge that brings happiness"), the first long narrative poem in Turkic literature as well as the oldest monument of Turkic Islamic literature. A relatively long (6,645 distichs) didactic work, it is in Ḳarakhānid, the earliest variety of Eastern Middle Turkic and the first literary language of the Muslim Turks. Its author, Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjīb of Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*], a Muslim Turk educated in the Arabic and Persian languages and in the classical Islamic sciences, completed his work in 462/1069-70 in Kāshghar and dedicated it to Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Tabghač Bughra Khān (d. 495/1102), ruler of the eastern Ḳarakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS].

The *Ḳutadghu bilig* has come down to us in three manuscripts: the Harāt ms., dated 842/1439, which is in the Uyghur script and was made from an unknown version in the Arabic script; and the Farghāna and Cairo mss., both undated and in the Arabic script.

It is essentially a political essay which, in an Islamic setting, describes an ideal monarchy of the Sāsānid type. The main goal of this monarchy is the public good, which is conceived of as the strength of the king and the happiness of his subjects. This ideal kingdom is based on dedicated service rendered by highly-qualified state officials and servants to a wise and noble ruler of royal descent, who properly rewards those who serve him. Islam, of an Avicennan and Fārābian hue, has a vital role in it. Every individual must possess the faith and act in accord with it. He should not renounce this world: services rendered by ascetics in seclusion are of little value, since they produce no public good. Through his services to God and men, he should rather aspire to obtain both this world and the hereafter.

The author presents his views in a series of dialogues, in which the chief participants are a king, Kün Toghdī; his ministers, first Ay Toldī and, after his death, his son Ögdülmish; and the ascetic Odghurmish, a relative of Ögdülmish. The author uses these characters symbolically: Kün Toghdī represents the true path; Ay Toldī, happiness; Ögdülmish, reason; and Odghurmish, destiny.

No one source or model for the *Ḳutadghu bilig* has been discovered. Frequent references in it, however, indicate a broad spectrum of still-unidentified sources: poetic works (*shāʿir sōzi*); sayings of elders (*ōrüng bashlīgh ār, kökčin, avučgha*), the learned (*biliglig, bögü, bilgā*), the wise (*uḳushluḳ*), and notables (*sartlar bashī, ötükän begi*); as well as proverbs (*türkčä mathal*). Some of these references appear to be direct quotations, especially those in the form of quatrains.

The *Ḳutadghu bilig* follows the rules of Arabic-Persian prosody, but also includes a few elements of the traditional Turkic syllabic versification. It is in the *mathnawī* form and in the *mutaḳārib* metre (⏑ – – / ⏑ – – / ⏑ – – / ⏑ –). The quatrains (*rubāʿīs* or *tuyughs*) embedded in the poem are all in the same metre, and all have the rhyme pattern *aaba*. Alliteration and rhythmico-syntactic parallelism, features of pre-Islamic Turkic prosody, occur quite frequently. The author's style is concise and expressive. He favours such stylistic devices as epithets, apostrophes and rhetorical questions, and he often indulges in word-play and folk-etymology.

The language is very closely related to Late Uyghur, although the Persian language—colloquial and classical—has left an imprint in the form of loan-translations and direct borrowings, both on its grammar and vocabulary.

Philological research on the *Ḳutadghu bilig* is at a fairly advanced stage. The three extant mss. have been published in facsimile. There is also a good critical edition, translation into Modern Turkish and thorough philological analysis by R. R. Arat (*Kutadgu bilig*. I. *Metin*. Istanbul 1947, II. *Tercüme*, Ankara 1958). Its language has been described, very sketchily, by M. Mansuroğlu (*Das Karakhanidische*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, i, 87-112). Most of the lexical material of the *Kutadghu bilig*, with illustrations, has been included in the Old Turkic dictionary, prepared by Nadelaev and his team (*Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969). The best content-analysis of the work to date is that given by A. Bombaci in his book on the history of Turkish literature (*La letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 83-96).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see H. Vámbéry, *Uigurische Sprachmonumente und das Kudatku Bilik*, Innsbruck 1870; W. Radloff, *Kudatku-Bilik, Facsimile der uigurischen Handschrift der K.K. Hofbibliothek in Wien*, St. Petersbourg 1890; idem, *Das Kudatku Bilik des Jusuf Chass-hadschib aus Bälasaghun*, i, St. Petersburg 1891; O. Alberts, *Zur Textkritik des*

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(A. J. E. Bodrogligeti)

KUTĀHIYA, modern Kütahya, a town of north-western Anatolia, lying at an altitude of 3,251 feet/991 m. in lat. 39° 25′ north and long. 29° 59′ east. It is in the south-western corner of the well-cultivated plain of the Porsuk Çay, which eventually runs into the Sakarya river; the old town nestles on the slopes of the hill called ʿAdjem Dagh, which is crowned by the ruined citadel. In classical times it was Cotyaeum, the city of Cotys, and the largest city of Phrygia Salutaris, an early centre of Christianity and then in Byzantine times the seat of an archbishopric.

Kutāhiya was taken by the Turkmen Sulaymān b. Ḳutulmush in *ca.* 472/1080, in the aftermath of the battle of Mantzikert or Malāzgird [*q.v.*], and until the battle of Dorylaeum remained under Saldjūḳ control. It then reverted to the Greeks for a brief while as a frontier fortress subject to Turkmen attacks, and was retaken in 579/1183 by the Saldjūḳs under Kılıdj Arslan II [*q.v.*]. It later passed once again to the Byzantines but was finally regained by the Saldjūḳs in 631/1233-4. In the 8th/14th century it formed the centre of the *beylik* of the Germiyān-oghullarī [*q.v.*]. Süleymān Shāh Čelebi (*ca.* 765-90/1363-98) transferred Kutāhiya, with others of his towns, to the Ottoman prince Bāyezīd Yıldırım when the latter married his daughter Dewlet Khātūn. Süleyman's son Yaʿḳūb Čelebi tried to recover it on the death of Murād I (791/1389), but it was regained by Bāyezīd in the following year. After the Ottoman defeat at Ankara (804/1402), Kutāhiya was taken over by Tīmūr, who installed his son Shāh Rukh as governor whilst he himself went on towards Ephesus. In the subsequent period of succession squabbles in the Ottoman ruling house, Kutāhiya fell briefly into the hands of the Ḳaramānid Meḥmed I [see ḲARAMĀN-OGHULLARĪ] (814/1411), but was recaptured by Yaʿḳūb Germiyānī with Ottoman help. When Yaʿḳūb died at Kutāhiya in 832/1429, the principality of the Germiyān-oghullarī passed, according to his bequest, to the Ottoman Murād II.

Under the Ottomans, Kutāhiya was the capital of a *sandjaḳ* of Anadolu, and then in 1841 a *sandjaḳ* of the province of Khudāwendigār [*q.v.*]; in 1902 it comprised the *ḳadā*'s of Kutāhiya, Eski Shehir [*q.v.*], ʿUshāḳ [*q.v.*], Kedus or Gediz and Sīmāw. Kutāhiya was the farthest point reached by the Egyptian army of Ibrāhīm Pasha b. Muḥammad Pasha [*q.v.*] in its advance on Istanbul (1833), and his camp at the nearby hot springs of Yenidje was the scene of diplomatic negotiations which followed the intervention of the European powers. In *ca.* 1890, Cuinet numbered the population of the town at 22,266, including 4,000 Greeks and 3,000 Armenians; there were 24 mosques, 21 *madrasas*, 16 dervish *tekkes*, 4 churches, 9 caravanserais, 11 baths and 12 potteries. Kutāhiya was indeed formerly an important centre for the production of glazed, polychrome pottery with floral decorations, the so-called Rhodian ware, and this is still produced today in a somewhat cruder form; carpet weaving has also been an important family craft. A standard-gauge railway runs from Balikesir to Kutāhiya and joins the Eski-Şehir-Atyon Karahisar line a few miles further on. Kutāhiya is today the capital of an *il* (formerly *vilayet*) of the same name; in 1975 the town's population was 82,442 and that of the *il* 470,423.

The monuments of Kutāhiya, from the Germiyān and early Ottoman periods, are significant, and include the Ḳurshunlu Djāmiʿ (777/1375-6), the Ulu Djāmiʿ (814/1411), the Yaʿḳūb Čelebi Djāmiʿ (837/1433-4) and the Ḳaragöz Aḥmed Djāmiʿ (915/1509); notable is the use of tiles for roofing rather than lead. There are also some interesting old houses remaining.

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(C. E. Bosworth)

KUTAI, now a *kabupaten* (regency) in the Indonesian province of Kalimantan Timur (East K.) [see BORNEO in Suppl.] which stretches along the Mahakam river .It covers 40,000 km.² and has 250,492 inhabitants, among them 137,229 Muslims (1971). It is rich in oilfields (near Balik Papan), gold, and timber.

The population consists of: Kutainese, probably originally Malays who immigrated as pagans, and whose Malay language now bears the influence of Javanese, Buguinese and Banjarese; Buginese, from South Sulawesi, and especially from the old kingdom of Wajo, who appeared as sailors, shipbuilders and traders since the first half of the 17th century; Banjarese, who may have participated already in the colonisation of Kutai by Hindu-Javanese from Banjarmasin, which later on kept close contacts with Kutai; Bajau, who originate from the Sulu Islands and who came first as sea-

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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nomads until they finally settled on the coasts; several Dayak tribes, living mainly in the interior and up-river areas; and some 245 Chinese and 246 Indian traders (1971).

In the hillside area of Muara Kaman, some plates with votive inscriptions in Sanskrit from the 4th century A.D., which belong to the oldest known Hindu relics in the archipelago, have been discovered. The Hindu kingdom of that area, which in the course of time moved more to the interior, obviously developed independently from the Hindu and Buddhist empires in Java, and was only conquered and consequently Islamised by Kutai around 1630 A.D.

Kutai itself appears in history as a dependency of Majapahit at the time when Gajah Mada was *patih* of that kingdom (1331-64), as is stated in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (14, 1).

According to the *Salasila raja-raja di dalam negeri Kutai Kerta Negara*, or Chronicle of Kutai, Islam was first introduced during the reign of Raja Makota by Tuan di Bandang (in Buginese sources known as Dato' ri Bandang), who only stayed for a short while, and Tuan Tunggang Parangan, both of whom arrived from Makassar, most probably in the first years of the 17th century. In his efforts to spread Islam, Tuan Tunggang Parangan extensively used magical means, as the *Salasila*, composed under the reign of Raja Makota's grandson Pangeran Adipati Sinum Panji Mendapa ing Martapura before 1635, eloquently narrates.

This *Salasila* reveals a still-existing attachment to the animistic and magical mentality which is stronger here than in other Malay chronicles. It tries to avoid anachronism, such as the mentioning of Islamic terms or customs in its narratives about pre-Islamic events, and although it shows a remarkable familiarity with the moral and legal prescriptions of the *Tādj al-salāṭīn*, or *Makota segala raja-raja*, and the Javanese *Panji* narratives as well as the *wayang*, it gives the impression that the *adat* law [see ʿĀDA, iv. Indonesia] which remained in use even at the sultan's court at Tenggarong, was to a large extent the old, indigenous one.

An important role in the history of Kutai was played by the Buginese settlers, most of whom originated from Wajo, and who were centred on Samarinda, forming the strongest "foreign" colony and enjoying some kind of internal autonomy under the *Pua Adu* or *Matoa* elected from among their own nobility, but reconfirmed by the sultan (until 1860). In 1726-7, prince Aru Singkang from Wajo conquered for a short time Pasir and Kutai, but usually the Buginese supported the sultan, especially in his fights against the pagan Dayaks and the pirates. The relations with the Dutch, who first appeared in 1635, were, generally speaking, smooth, and these preserved to the sultan a considerable degree of internal jurisdiction based on Islamic and *adat* law.

Bibliography: C. A. Mees, *De Kroniek van Koetai*, Tekstuitgave met toelichting, Santpoort 1935 (diss.); W. Kern, *Commentaar op de Salasilah van Koetai*, The Hague 1956 (= *VKI*, 19).

(O. SCHUMANN)

KUTĀMA or KETAMA, one of the great Berber families; when Islam was introduced into North Africa, they occupied all the northern part of the region of the Constantincis, between the Awrās [*q.v.*] and the sea, that is the region containing the towns of Ikdjān, Seṭīf, Bāghāya, Ngaus (Niḳāwus), Tiguist (Tikist), Mīla, Constantine, Skīkda, Djidjellī, Bellezma, and also Lesser Kabylia. One legend flattering the national pride makes them to have been descended from the Ḥimyarites brought there by Ifrīḳus. Katām, the eponymous ancestor of their race, was said be the son of Bernes. He had two sons, Gharsen and Issūda, from whom are descended all the tribes of the Kutāma. They do not seem to have played a part in the civil and religious wars which desolated North Africa from the time of ʿUḳba to the days of the Aghlabids; we do not find them among the Khāridjīs. When ʿUbayd Allāh gave himself out to be the Mahdī, his emissaries met some Kutāma pilgrims in Arabia and converted them to Ismāʿīlī doctrines. The principal convert was Mūsā-chief of the Sakyān, a branch of the Djamīla whose name survives in the town of this name. The missionary (*dāʿī*) Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] settled in Ikdjān and succeeded in maintaining his position there in spite of the efforts of the Aghlabids. From there he was able to extend his conquests and to deliver the *Mahdī*, who was a prisoner at Sidjilmāsa.

The empire of the Fāṭimids was thus founded with the help of the Kutāma. It was they who furnished its main strength and supplied the means of conquering Egypt. But these continual efforts exhausted them. Those who remained in the Maghrīb after the departure of al-Muʿizz were forced to submit to local rulers, as Ibn Khaldūn tells us. In our day the principal representatives of the Kutāma are the Zuwāwa of the Djurdjura and the population around Djidjellī and in Lesser Kabylia. We do not know at what date Ismāʿīlī doctrines disappeared from among them, but long afterwards their attachment to this teaching was regarded as a subject of obloquy, and for this reason the powerful tribe of Sedwīkish, of Kutāma origin, renounced all connection with this family. At the present day, all the Berbers of this region are Sunnīs.

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, iv, 32 ff., vi, 148-52 (*Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, i, 291-9, ii. Append., 510 ff.); M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, index; F. Dachraoui, *Le califat fāṭimide au Maghreb* (in the press); H.-R. Idris, *Zīrides*, index; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, index.

(R. BASSET)

AL-ḴUṬĀMĪ ("the falcon"), the name of several poets (including one from Dubayʿa b. Rabīʿa and another from Kalb; see al-Āmidī, *Muḫtalif*, 166); the best-known of these was ʿUMAYR B. SHUYAYM B. ʿĀMR, who probably came from the Djusham b. Bakr of Taghlib (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Register*, 474). On account of one of his verses, he was also given the name of Ṣarīʿ al-Ghawānī "the one felled by beautiful maidens". Like his fellow-tribesman and maternal uncle (?) al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*], he was involved in the quarrels of the second half of the 1st/7th century between the Taghlib and Ḳays ʿAylān in the region of the Khābūr [*q.v.*].

In opposition to late sources which depict him as a convert to Islam, it seems correct to follow the author of the *Aghānī*, who states that he remained a Christian. The verses favourable to Islam figuring in piece No. 20 of the *Dīwān* could have been added later or could have resulted from an attitude dictated by gratitude; the eulogies of the Umayyads, and especially of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (No. 29), prove nothing about his adhesion to Islam. This point has been discussed by Father L. Cheikho, with strong arguments (*Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya baʿd al-Islām*, 191-203).

Al-Ḳuṭāmī's Dīwān was published, with notes, by J. Barth (*Dīwān des ʿUmeir ibn Schujeim al-Quṭāmī*, Leiden 1902), together with an anonymous com-

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mentary, and has also been the subject of a somewhat enlarged edition by I. Sāmarrāʾī and A. Maṭlūb (Beirut 1960). The first edition contains 35 pieces of varying length (the longest of 100, 71, 66 and 58 verses) and 9 isolated verses, making a total of 764 verses, to which should be added 52 hemistiches of *raǧaz*.

Al-Ḳuṭāmī was a Bedouin poet who detested the townspeople, and who hymned his own military exploits and those of his tribe, together with the virtues of *sayyids* like Zufar b. al-Ḥārit̲h. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (iii, No. 5619), he died in 101/719-20.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given above and the introds. to the editions of the *Dīwān*, see Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Shākir, 452-7 and index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 453-6; *Aghānī*, xx, 118-31 (ed. Beirut, xxii, 175-236); Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, i, 128-9; Baghdādī, *Ḵhizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, i, 391-4 = ed. Cairo, ii, 320-6 (*shāhid* No. 143); Brockelmann, S I, 94-5; R. Blachère, *HLA*, 474-5.

(H. H. Bräu - [Ch. Pellat])

ḴUTAYBA B. MUSLIM, Abū Ḥafṣ Ḳutayba b. Abī Ṣāliḥ Muslim b. ʿAmr al-Bāhilī, Arab commander under the Umayyad caliphs. He was born in 49/669 into a family influential at the court and with extensive possessions in Baṣra. His father Muslim was the boon-companion of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, and during the revolt of al-Mukht̲ār [*q.v.*], he was in charge of the prison at Baṣra; but he later sided with Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and was killed in 72/691-2 when Muṣʿab's dominion in ʿIrāḳ was ended, after having failed to secure a pardon from ʿAbd al-Malik. The family nevertheless continued to be important in Baṣra, and a tribal mosque of their branch of Bāhila, the *masdjid Banī Ḳutayba*, is mentioned (see Balād̲hurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 11, 87, 91-2, v, 341-2).

Ḳutayba himself attracted the attention of the governor of ʿIrāḳ and the east, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, after participating in the warfare against the rebel ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ash̲ʿat̲h [see Ibn al-Ashʿath]. He was given the governorship of Rayy in 83/701 after he had expelled from there the rebel ʿUmar b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt (see G. C. Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, New York 1938, 9). Then at the end of 85/704 or beginning of 86/705 he was appointed by ʿAbd al-Malik to succeed al-Muhallab b. al-Muhallab as governor of Khurāsān under al-Ḥadjdjādj, thus reversing the position in Khurāsān, where the Yamanī Muhallabīs had previously been dominant, for the Bāhila tribe [*q.v.*] generally allied itself to the Ḳaysī or North Arab interest in the Marwānid period.

There thus begins the ten years' governorship of Ḳutayba, which contributed much to the extension of Islam in what is now Afghānistān and Central Asia, and which forms one aspect of the wave of Arab expansionism which characterised al-Walīd's caliphate. Ḳutayba's administrative talents, backed by the authority of al-Ḥadjdjādj, had full play in the consolidation of Arab rule in Khurāsān, although the momentum was not maintained after his death. An appreciable factor in his success here seems to have been some recognition of the position of the indigenous Iranian population, and some care to use their administrative talents. There were in his time perhaps as many as 7,000 *mawālī* troops registered in the *dīwān* and receiving regular pay, and in addition to these regular forces, Ḳutayba required *ad hoc* levies of soldiers from the towns of Khurāsān for his spring and summer campaigns into Central Asia; in Ṭabarī, ii, 1245, the contingents from Bukhārā and Kh*ārazm besieging Samarḳand in 93/712 are described as "the slaves" (*al-ʿabīd*). Also, he left the local Persian *dihḳāns* in power on payment of tribute, apart from the planting of Arab garrisons in Bukhārā, Samarḳand and probably Kāt̲h in Kh*ārazm. With regard to the Arab tribesmen in Khurāsān, Ḳutayba organised these, on the Baṣra model, into the five groups of the Azd, Tamīm, Ahl al-ʿĀliya, Bakr and ʿAbd al-Ḳays; at least, it is in his time that such a division is first mentioned. (See for general reviews of Ḳutayba's political and social policies, Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 29-31, and Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, 63 ff.)

The military campaigns of Ḳutayba's governorship have been divided by Gibb, *op. cit.*, 31 ff., into four periods: firstly, the recovery of Bādghīs and Ṭukhāristān in 86/705; secondly, the conquest of Baykand and Bukhārā from the local Soghdians, 87-90/706-9; thirdly, the consolidation of Arab authority in the Oxus valley and the securing of Kh*ārazm and Samarḳand, 91-3/71-12; and fourthly, expeditions into the Jaxartes valley from Shāsh against Isfidjāb and Farghāna, 94-6/713-15. Many of these undoubtedly remarkable successes were achieved through Ḳutayba's own blend of military skill and ruthlessness, combined with a willingness to use treachery, if need arose, and to exploit local divisions, as amongst the princes of Ṭukhāristān and Soghdia and amongst the rival claimants to the throne of Kh*ārazm.

In 86/705 Ḳutayba moved against the princes of the upper Oxus valleys of Shūmān, Akhrūn and Čaghāniyān, and he also persuaded Ṭarkhān Nīzak, ruler of the northern Hephthalite principality in Bādghīs [see Hayāṭila], to submit to the Arabs and accompany Ḳutayba on the ensuing campaign against Bukhārā. The campaigns of 87-90/706-9 against Baykand and Bukhārā were long and arduous. Ḳutayba's savage sacking of Baykand stiffened the resistance of the Soghdians under Wardān Khudāh, but Bukhārā was in the end stormed against fierce local resistance, apparently backed up by Turkish help. A tribute of 200,000 dirhams was imposed on the city and an Arab garrison placed in it; in 94/712-13 Ḳutayba built a mosque inside the citadel, but had at the outset to pay the local people to attend the worship. In 91/709-10 Ḳutayba and his brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muslim were occupied with suppressing the last rebellion of Nīzak, now in collusion with the *Yabghu* (Arabic form *Djabbūya*) or local ruler of Ṭukhāristān. On capturing Nīzak, Ḳutayba had him killed, despite his earlier promise of *amān* or quarter; and although in the poetry quoted by Ṭabarī, ii, 1225-6, we find Nahār b. Tawsiʿa praising Ḳutayba's behaviour as salutary for the interests of Islām, like that of the Prophet towards the Jews of Medina, we also find a verse by Thābit Ḳuṭna warning against calling perfidy "resolute action". However, for the first time, Arab rule became reasonably secure in lower Ṭukhāristān, and Balkh now developes as a centre of Arab power and Islamic culture; a subsequent governor of Khurāsān, Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī, was to move temporarily the provincial capital from Marw to Balkh (118/736).

In 92/711 Ḳutayba was in Sīstān, which was at that time under the subordinate governorship of his brother ʿAmr. Here, the Arabs in their strongpoints of Zarang and Bust faced the powerful ruler of the southern Hephtalites, the Zunbīls of Zābulistān (see Zunbīl]. Ḳutayba's presence scared the Zunbīl into temporary submission, but as always happened, once the Arab forces departed, all obedience was

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renounced. The conquest of Khʷārazm in 93/712 was a spectacular feat of Ḳutayba's, and it led to the tentative implanting of Islam there, though it was several decades before the people of the province or their Shāhs were fully converted; for details, see KHʷĀRAZM. In the last years of his governorship, Ḳutayba's attention was focussed on Soghdia again. In 93/712, on the way back from Khʷārazm, he attacked Samarḳand and imposed a fresh peace treaty on its ruler Ghūrak; the breaking thus of an earlier agreement considerably tarnished Ḳutayba's reputation in Soghdia amongst the Iranian population. It may be that it was at this point that the Western Turks or Türgesh intervened in Transoxania at the request of the Soghdian princes; at all events, Ḳutayba endeavoured to secure the regions of the Jaxartes adjacent to the steppes of Turkistān, moving into Shāsh and Ushrūsana, and in 94-5/713-14 he led a series of raids into Farghāna. Whether Ḳutayba had expressly in mind the securing of the trade route through Central Asia towards China is uncertain, and the report in Ṭabarī, ii, 1276, that his troops crossed the Tien Shan Mts. to Kāshghar was rejected by Gibb as a fabrication, see his *The Arab invasion of Kashghar in A.D. 715*, in *BSOS*, ii (1923), 467-74.

The fall of Ḳutayba in 96/715 was ultimately the result of the change of régime in Damascus from al-Walīd to Sulaymān, the death of Ḳutayba's patron al-Ḥadjdjādj, and an expected reversal of the favour previously shown to the Ḳaysī elements in the empire. Ḳutayba was campaigning in Farghāna when he heard the news of al-Walīd's death, and though the new caliph confirmed him in his governorship, he feared an imminent change of attitude. He therefore proclaimed rebellion against the caliph's authority, but was supported only by his own family, the inadequate power-base of his fellow-Bāhilī tribesmen, and his bodyguard of Iranian archers; the mass of the Arabs mutinied and refused to support him, as also did the Persian *mawālī* troops under Ḥayyān al-Nabaṭī, formerly his faithful supporters. He and several of his family were therefore killed by their soldiers in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 96/August 715, or according to some sources, later in that autumn at the beginning of 716, and Wakīʿ b. Abi 'l-Sūd al-Tamīmī assumed power in the east in his stead.

Ḳutayba's death meant a halting for several decades, and indeed, a definite regression, in the momentum of Arab conquest beyond the Oxus; the Soghdians and their Turkish allies were now able to mobilise their forces for counterstrokes. He is undeniably one of the heroic figures of the age of Arab conquests, even if the Bāhilī tribal tradition enshrined in Ṭabarī tends at time to exaggerate his exploits, and this halo placed around his head brought about much confusion in the sources over the events surrounding his death.

The descendants of Ḳutayba continued to be influential in both the later Umayyad and the early ʿAbbāsid periods, with various of his sons and grandsons attaining official posts; his son Muslim (d. 149/766) was twice governor of Baṣra, and his grandson Abū ʿAmr Saʿīd b. Salm (d. 217/832) was governor of Armenia, Mawṣil, al-Djazīra, Sīstān, Sind and Ṭabaristān.

Bibliography: 1. Primary sources: Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 330, 342 ff., 354-5; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 419-26, 431; idem, *Ansāb*, ivb, v, indices; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, index; Dīnawarī, Cairo 1960, 317-18; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkkāsha, 406-8; Ṭabarī, ii, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 320-3 = §§ 3482-3; *K. al-ʿUyūn*, ed. de Goeje, 2-3, 17-19; *T. al-Khulafāʾ*, ed. Gryaznevich, ff. 135b-136b, 150b-153b; Narshakhī, *T.-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 43-54; *Aghānī*, index; *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, index; Ibn Khallikān, ed. ʿAbbās, iv, 86-9, tr. de Slane, ii, 514-20; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 311 ff., v, 2 ff.

2. Secondary sources: Muir, *The Caliphate*⁴, 349-53; Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, 267-78, Eng. tr. 429-44; Périer, *La vie d'al-Ḥadjdjādj ibn Yoûsof*, 232-45, 337; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 184-7; Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 29-58; Spuler, *Iran*, 29-33; M. A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 61, 63-75; idem, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 122-4, 128; A. N. Kurat, *Kuteybe bin Müslim'in Ḫvârizm ve Semerkand'i zabtı*, in *AÜDTCFD*, vi (1948), 385-430 (gives text of Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī on Ḳutayba's conquests in Khʷārazm and at Samarḳand). (C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-ḲUṬB (A.), pole.

1. As an astronomical term

In Arabic, *ḳuṭb* covers nearly the same field of semantic aspects as Greek ὁ πόλος: a pivot around which something revolves (in Arabic, especially the pivot for mill stones), which was extended to the revolution of the sky, designating the axis of the celestial east-west movement and, more specifically, its two "poles" (*LA*, Beirut 1955, i, 681b f.; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ḳuṭb*; Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English lexicon*, s.v. πόλος). Hence later, in Arabic translations of Greek works, *ḳuṭb* was often used as a rendering of πόλος, (e.g. Ptolemy, *Almagest*, i, 3 (both translations, al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar, and Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn); but Aristotle, *De caelo*, has *al-falak* in all instances, cf. Badawī's edn., Cairo 1961, 232 f., 280, 294).

The celestial pole was a known feature among the Arabs already in their "pre-scientific" period, i.e. before their contact with the scientific literature of the Greeks. Certain traditions concerning the location and nature of the pole have been transmitted in some philological and astronomical books (Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Anwāʾ*, Hyderabad 1956, 122 f.; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *apud* al-Marzūḳī, *K. al-Azmina wa 'l-amkina*, Hyderabad 1332, ii, 7 f., 371 ff.; Ibn al-Adjdābī, *al-Azmina wa 'l-anwāʾ*, Damascus 1964, 65 f.; Ibn Manẓūr, *K. Nithār al-azhār*, Istanbul 1298, 146, 173; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣūfī, *K. Ṣuwar al-kawākib*, Hyderabad 1954, 27 f. (repeated by al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, Göttingen 1849, 29; tr. H. Ethé, *El-Kazwînî's Kosmographie*, Leipzig 1868, 62); al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Tafhīm*, ed. and tr. R. R. Wright, London 1934, 77 [§ 163]; idem, *al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Hyderabad, iii (1956), 995 f.). Here it is stated that the [north] pole was not a star, but merely a spot (*nuḳṭa*, *buḳʿa*) in the sky. Its place was assumed to be in the middle of the figure of a fish (*samaka*; al-Bīrūnī has instead: *shakl hilāladjī*, "an elliptical figure") formed by two curved lines of stars, one consisting of the five stars β, ζ, ε, δ, α Ursae Minoris, and the opposite one of very small and faint stars (most of them not registered by Ptolemy in his *Almagest*), among which Fl. 5 and 4 Ursae Minoris and 32 H Camelopardalis. In some places, this statement is corrected, with the addition that the true place of the pole is not in the very middle of that figure, but more in the direction of α Ursae Minoris, near one of the small stars in the curved line of faint stars, (al-Marzūḳī, Ibn al-Adjdābī, al-Ṣūfī, *locc. cit.*). This difference in location obviously reflects the effect

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of precession, due to which the place of the north pole was near the star 32 H Camelopardalis in A.D. 1000, and still more southwards in A.D. 500. It was also observed that the opposite point of the sky, the south pole, was invisible in the lands of the Arabs (Ibn Ḳutayba, *loc. cit.*, 122; Ibn Manẓūr, *op. cit.*, 173)

After the introduction of scientific astronomy, it was known that this pole belonged to the equatorial system, hence it was occasionally called *ḳuṭb muᶜaddil al-nahār*, "pole of the equator", besides its other designations, such as simply *al-ḳuṭb*, or *al-ḳuṭb al-shamālī* (and *al-djanūbī* respectively), *ḳuṭb al-djudayy*, *ḳuṭb banāt naᶜsh*, *ḳuṭb al-falak*, *ḳuṭb al-kull*, etc. Al-Bīrūnī seems to be the first to declare α Ursae Minoris (= "Polaris") to be the nearest bright star to the [north] pole, at his time, and hence to serve as a substitute for the pole *wa-yanūbu ᶜani 'l-ḳuṭbi li-annahū fī zamāninā aḳrabu 'l-nayyirati ilayhi* (*Tafhīm*, 77 [§ 163]). At the same time, the ecliptical system was assigned two poles, as well, which were called *ḳuṭb[ā] falak al-burūdj* and *ḳuṭb[ā] dāᵓirat al-burūdj*, "pole[s] of the ecliptic" (al-Ṣūfī, *loc. cit.*, 25 f.; al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, 55 f. [§ 139]; idem, *Ḳānūn*, iii, 993, 995 ff.; al-Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, 27, tr. 59, and 52 f., tr. 108).

North and south pole became of actual value for the Islamic navigators of the Indian Ocean (*ca.* A.D. 1500), who used both of them for altitude measurements in order to fix their position and determine their routes. In their terminology the north pole was generally called *al-djāh* (a word of Persian origin, used both for the pole itself and for the Pole Star). Travelling south of the equator, they also acquired a complete knowledge of the south pole, *ḳuṭb suhayl* ("the pole [in the region] of the star α Carinae"), or simply *al-ḳuṭb* (as opposed to *al-djāh*), which they observed—in contradistinction to the north pole—not to be marked by a bright star near it, but having the two Magellanic Clouds at some distance (Aḥmad b. Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī; in English tr. see G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean*, London 1971, the glossaries and indexes, 518 and 547 [s.v. *al-djāh*], 538 [s.v. *ḳuṭb*], 609 [s.v. Polaris; Pole, North-South]).

The poles also seem to have excited the fantasy of astrologers, for two lists of magic virtues (*ḵhawāṣṣ*) appertaining to both of them are repeated by Ibn Manẓūr (*op. cit.*, 146-53; partially also in al-Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, i, 30 f. tr. 64 f. and 40, tr. 83 f.).

In modern terminology, the terrestrial poles are also called *ḳuṭb* (with adjective *ḳuṭbī*, "polar").

Apart from this, in the construction of the astrolabe *al-ḳuṭb* signifies the central pivot, or axis (elsewhere also called *al-miḥwar*), which keeps together its different discs, the spider, and the rule (*Alhidade*), latinised (since the 10th century) as *Alchotob*, *Alchitob*, *Alchitoth*, etc. See ASṬURLĀB; al-Khᵛārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ᶜulūm*, 235; al-Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, i, Milan 1903, 141 and 319; al-Bīrūnī, *Tafhīm*, 195 [§ 325], etc. Latin: J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig de història de les idees físiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*, i, Barcelona 1931, 278, 66; 288, 4; 289, 29. 32. 36; N. Bubnov (ed.), *Gerberti postea Silvestri II papae opera mathematica*, Berlin 1899, 123, 10; Herimannus, *De mensura astrolabii*, in Migne, *Patrologia latina*, cxliii, Paris 1882, 387 A; (Ps.-) Messahalla (Māshāᵓallāh), *De compositione astrolabii*, ed. R. T. Gunther, *Chaucer and Messahalla on the astrolabe*, Oxford 1929, 201, 202, etc.

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(P. KUNITZSCH)

2. In mysticism

In Islamic mysticism, this term (lit. "pole", "axis") denotes either the most perfect human being, *al-insān al-kāmil* [*q.v.*], who heads the saintly hierarchy [see AL-GHAYB and WALĪ] and is also referred to as *al-ḳuṭb al-ḥissī* ("the [temporal] phenomenal *ḳuṭb*"); or else *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya* [see ḤAḲĪḲA] which manifests itself in *al-insān al-kāmil* and is sometimes referred to as *al-ḳuṭb al-maᶜnawī* ("the [cosmic] noumenal *ḳuṭb*"). Both meanings of the term are covered by ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ al-Ḳāshānī's definition: "the place of God's appearance in the world at all times" (Kamāl al-Dīn Abī 'l-Ghanāᵓim ᶜAbd al-Razzāḳ b. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāshī [al-Kāshānī] al-Samarḳandī, *Kitāb Iṣṭilāḥāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. A. Sprenger, London-Calcutta 1845, 141; cf. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn b. al-ᶜArabī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Būlāḳ 1274/1857, ii, 6).

The conception of the temporal *ḳuṭb* (A. *ḳuṭb al-waḳt*, *ṣāḥib al-waḳt*, *ṣāḥib al-zamān*; P. *mard-i waḳt*), referred to by some authors as *al-ghawth* ("the helper") [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who exists by virtue of the cosmic *ḳuṭb* or *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb*, manifest in him, has been traced back to al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], whose *huwa huwa* (i.e. the image of God with all his *asmāᵓ* [*q.v.*] and *ṣifāt* [*q.v.*] in Adam) may be considered as the prototype of the conception of *al-insān al-kāmil* (cf. A. E. Afifi, *The mystical philosophy of Muhyid Din Ibnul Arabi*, Cambridge 1939, 79, 189), and also further back to pre-Islamic ideas, in particular to Iranian, Neo-Platonic and early Christian thought (see T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und glaube seiner gemeinde*, Upsala 1917, 333 ff.; and H. H. Schaeder, *Die islamische Lehre vom Vollkommenen Menschen, ihre Herkunft und ihre dichterische Gestaltung*, in *ZDMG*, N.F. iv [1925], 192-268).

The notion of the *ḳuṭb* as head of the saintly hierarchy is found in the teaching of al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī [*q.v.*] outlined by ᶜAlī b. ᶜUthmān al-Hudjwīrī in his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* (see R. A. Nicholson, tr., *The Kashf al-Mahjúb. The oldest Persian treatise on Ṣúfism*, Leiden-London 1911, 214, 228). The scriptural justification for the belief in this hierarchy, of which the different forms mentioned by a variety of authors are discussed by E. Blochet, *Études sur l'ésoterisme musulman*, in *JA*, xx (1902), 77 ff. (in addition, see Ḥasan al-ᶜIdwī al-Ḥamzāwī, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Shādhiliyya fī Sharḥ al-Burda al-Būṣīriyya*, Cairo n.d.; Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, in *La philosophie Shiᶜite*, ed. H. Corbin and O. Yahia, Bibl. iranienne 16, Tehran-Paris 1969, 446, and H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien. Aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, Paris 1971-2, i, 118 ff.), is a *ḥadīth* attributed to Ibn Masᶜūd (cf. Abū Muḥammad ᶜAbd Allāh al-Yāfiᶜī, *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn fī ḥikāyat al-ṣāliḥīn wa 'l-awliyāᵓ wa 'l-akābir*, Cairo 1286/1869-70, 10; Yūsuf b. Ismāᶜīl al-Nabhānī, *Shawāhid al-ḥaḳḳ fi 'l-istighātha bi-sayyid al-khalḳ*, Cairo 1323/1905-6, 101; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khabr al-dāll ᶜalā wudjūd al-ḳuṭb wa 'l-awtād wa 'l-nudjabāᵓ wa 'l-abdāl*, Cairo 1351/1932-3, 27). The reliability of the *sanad* of this *ḥadīth* was discarded by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (*al-Manār*, xi [1908], 50 ff.). Other *aḥādīth*, all without *isnād*, mentioning the existence of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb*, are listed in al-Yāfiᶜī's *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn*, 10 (see also al-Zamzamī al-Ṣiddīḳ, *al-Abdāl wa 'l-nudjabāᵓ wa 'l-akhyār fī ḥadīth sayyidinā Rasūl al-Mukhtār*, in *al-Muslim*, ii/6 [Cairo, September 1952], 18 f.), including the most frequently cited one attributed to Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī [*q.v.*].

The tentative suggestion by R. A. Nicholson (*The*

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idea of personality in Ṣúfism, Cambridge 1923, 44 ff.) that *al-muṭāʿ*, mentioned in al-Ghazālī's *Mishkāt al-anwār*, is identical with the *ḳuṭb* as *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya* was discarded by W. H. T. Gairdner, *Al-Ghazzālī's Mishkāt al-anwār* ("*The niche for lights*"). *A translation with introduction*. London 1924, 23 ff., who had earlier questioned L. Massignon's suggestion that *al-muṭāʿ* is an obscure allusion to the doctrine of the *ḳuṭb* as the head of the saintly hierarchy (idem, *Al-Ghazālī's Mishkāt al-anwār and the Ghazālī-problem*, in *Isl.*, v [1914], 144).

Each of the various ranks in the saintly hierarchy has also been conceived of as being headed by a *ḳuṭb*. From these *aḳṭāb* the saints who belong to these different ranks receive their knowledge, which they owe in the last resort to the supreme (temporal) *ḳuṭb* (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, ii, 7; Aḥmad Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Gümüshkhānlī, *Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl fi 'l-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 4; ʿAlī Sālim ʿAmmār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, ʿaṣruhu, taʾrīkhuhu, ʿulūmuhu, taṣawwufuhu*, Cairo 1951, i, 192; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAyyād, *al-Mafākhir al-ʿaliyya fi 'l-maʾāthir al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1964, 20 ff.).

For Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], the universal rational principle, the *rūḥ Muḥammad*, or *al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya* through which Divine knowledge is transmitted to all prophets and saints, finds its fullest manifestation in and is identical with the *ḳuṭb*, who is *al-insān al-kāmil*. He is the cause of creation, for in him alone creation is fully realised. He is *al-barzaḵh* [*q.v.*], the *ḥaḳīḳat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*, or in other words he is Muḥammad as the inward aspect of Adam, i.e. the real Adam (Mankind) or *al-lāhūt* [*q.v.*], which is forever manifesting itself on the plane of *al-nāsūt* [*q.v.*] in prophets and saints (i.e. in *aḳṭāb*) who come within the category of *al-insān al-kāmil*, since they are perfect manifestations of God and have realised, in mystical experience, essential oneness with Him. This makes *aḳṭāb* infallible, and since there is only one *ḳuṭb* at a time (*al-ḳuṭb al-wāḥid*), he is God's real *ḵhalīfa* [*q.v.*], who is the preserver and maintainer of the universe, the mediator between Divine and human, who passes on knowledge of the *manāzil* (degrees of mystical perfection [see MANZIL]), which cannot be entered by anybody else except by him, through virtue of his being in the *manzilat tanzih al-tawḥīd* (absolute transcendence of God); cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, i, 168 ff., 201 ff., 253 ff.; ii, 7 ff., 77, and in particular iv, 80 ff.

These ideas were further elaborated by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī (cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 86 ff.). They were rephrased and/or simplified by other authors (cf. Blochet, 86 ff.) and have remained part of the mainstream of Islamic mystical thinking ever since.

An identical conception of the *ḳuṭb* as the active principle (or interior, *bāṭin*; cf. al-Kāshānī, 141) in all inspiration and revelation, comparable to the νοῦς in Neo-Platonism and manifesting itself in the form (*ṣūra*) of a prophet, is found earlier with ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ (cf. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī, *Ibn al-Fāriḍ wa 'l-ḥubb al-ilāhī*, Cairo 1945, 273). This idea as noted by Ḥilmī, ibid., 277, has a striking similarity to the Ismāʿīlī [*q.v.*] belief in the personification of *al-ʿaḳl al-awwal* in (*al-imām*) *al-nāṭiḳ*. Other authors have equally drawn attention to the similarity between the Shīʿī conception of the *Imām* as a manifestation of the Divine Logos and the conception of the cosmic *ḳuṭb* in Islamic mysticism, or the possible identity of both concepts (see e.g. Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *al-Ṣila bayn al-taṣawwuf wa 'l-tashayyuʿ*, Cairo 1969, 463, and Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, i, 92). Several authors have noted the analogy between the Ismāʿīlī (Fāṭimid) *daʿwa* hierarchy and the mystical hierarchy under the *ḳuṭb* (see e.g. al-Shaybī, 457 ff. and Y. Marquet, *Des Iḫwān al-Ṣafāʾ à al-Ḥaḳḳ ʿUmar* (*b. Saʿīd Tall*), *marabout et conquérant toucouleur*, in *Arabica*, xv [1968], 27) or have regarded the mystical hierarchy as derived from it. The historical possibility of such a derivation was discarded by W. Ivanow, *An Ali-Ilahi Fragment*, in *Collectanea*, i, The Ismaili Society, Series A, No. 2, Leiden-Bombay 1948, 166.

Among the Shīʿī scholars, some have stated explicitly that *ḳuṭb* and *Imām* are terms which have the same meaning and which refer to one and the same person (Amoli, *La philosophie shīʿte*, 223; ʿAllāma Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shīʿite Islam* (tr., ed., introd. and notes by Seyyed Hossein Nasr), London 1975, 114; Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, 76). The notion of the saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb* is considered by H. Corbin as basically a Shīʿī idea which has been appropriated by Sunnī mysticism (see e.g. his *En Islam iranien*, i, 229, iii, 279; cf. al-Shaybī, 213). Several of his publications contain phenomenologically-inclined analysis of the hermeneutics involving conceptions of *ḳuṭb* in a perspective of Iranism (see e.g. his *L'homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien*, Paris 1971, *passim*, and his *En Islam iranien*, i, 186 ff.).

Conceptions of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb* and distinct from the hierarchy headed by the *Imām* are found in the works of ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī (cf. M. Molé, ed., *ʿAzizoddin Nasafi, Le livre de l'homme parfait* (*Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil*), Bibl. Iranienne xi, Tehran-Paris 1962, 20, 26) and ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Simnānī (*idem, Les Kubrawiyya entre Sunnisme et Shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'Hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 107 f.; cf. Corbin, *op. cit.*, ii, 74). Similar conceptions are held in contemporary Shīʿī mysticism (cf. R. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Zweiter Teil: Glaube und Lehre*, Wiesbaden 1976, 160 ff.). Shīʿī mystics have referred to the twelfth Imām as *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb* (Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, 74-5, iv, 357) or *ḳuṭb-i shamsī* (Gramlich, *op. cit.*, 158), and to the head of a *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*] as *ḳuṭb*, *ḳuṭb-i ḳamarī* and *ḳuṭb-i zamān* (idem, 159 ff. for further references and additional detail).

Belief in the existence of *aḳṭāb* and in the whole saintly hierarchy was denounced by Ibn Khaldūn (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, ed. de Slane, ii, 164; iii, 74, 105-6; Ibn Ḫaldūn, *Ṣifāʾu 's-Sāʾil litehzībi 'l-Mesāʾil*, ed. M.B.T. al-Ṭanjī, Istanbul 1958; H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ʿArabī*, Leiden 1919, 113 f.), and has been under attack by those adhering to a non-mystical conception of Islam up to the present day (see e.g. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Wakīl, *Hādhihi hiya 'l-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo 1375/1955, 124 ff.).

The *ḳuṭb* is regarded as being able to perform distinct *karāmāt*, which reveal his *maḳām* (cf. Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Sakandārī, *Laṭāʾif al-minan*, Tunis 1304/1886-7, 57 f.; and ʿAmmār, i, 193), to know the meaning of the letters at the beginning of the *sūras*, which he has received from God directly—this qualifies him for *al-ḵhilāfa* (al-Idwī, *op. cit.*, ii, 98), which is known as *ḵhilāfat ūlā 'l-iṣṭifāʾ* (see e.g. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlawī b. Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭās, *Ẓuhūr al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī bayān al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, Bombay 1312/1894-5, 263; Muṣṭafā Yūsuf Salām al-Shādhilī, *Djawāhir al-iṭlāʿ wa-durar al-intifāʿ ʿalā matn al-Iṣfahānī Abī Shudjāʿ*, Cairo 1350/1931-2, 270)—and to incorporate the *ṣifāt* of the *nuḳabāʾ*, the *nudjabāʾ*, the *abdāl* and of all those who belong to the saintly hierarchy (al-Gümüshkhānlī, *Djāmiʿ al-uṣūl*, 4; ʿAmmār, i, 192).

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in consequence of the fact that he is the means by which *al-ḥaḳḳ* sees his own names and *ṣifāt* (cf. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djīlī, *al-Insān al-Kāmil fī maʿrifat al-awāḵhir wa 'l-awāʾil*, Cairo 1328, ii, 48). All secret beings and every animate and inanimate body have to give him their pledge (*bayʿa*) except for the following three classes of beings: *al-afrād*, who belong to the angels and are independent of the *ḳuṭb* (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Futūḥāt*, i, 223); the *djinn* who are under the authority of al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] (cf. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn b. al-ʿArabī, *Kitāb Manāzil al-ḳuṭb wa-maḳāmihi wa-ḥālihi*, Ḥaydarābād 1948, 4); and those belonging to the tenth stratum of *riḍjāl al-ghayb* [see AL-GHAYB], namely *al-ḥukamāʾ* or *al-wāṣilūn* (cf. al-ʿIdwī, *op. cit.*, ii, 101). According to Dāwūd al-Ḳayṣarī in his *Sharḥ Muḳaddima al-tāʾiyya al-kubrā* (the relevant section is published in al-Tirmidhī, *Kitāb Ḵhatm al-awliyāʾ*, ed. ʿUthmān I.Yaḥyā, Beirut 1965, 494 f.) only the *awtād* [*q.v.*] do not come under the authority of the *ḳuṭb*: they are equal to him in rank, they owe to God everything they are but they have not been granted the *maḳām al-ḵhilāfa* (*ibid.*, 495). In another treatise, *Maṭlaʿ ḵhuṣūṣ al-kilam*, al-Kayṣarī states that al-Khaḍir was the *ḳuṭb* in secret at the time of Mūsā before the latter became *ḳuṭb* on the plane of manifest being (see Andrae, 345).

Belief in al-Khaḍir as a mortal being identical with the temporal *ḳuṭb* is reported as being held by contemporary Shīʿī mystics (Gramlich, 146). The possibility of such an identification is implicit in the conception of a mortal Khaḍir, related by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-Ṣaḥāba*, Cairo 1358/1939, i, 434-5. This scholar, however, expresses himself in a *fatwā* to the effect that the orthodoxy of the belief in the *ḳuṭb* (*al-ghawth*) cannot be established (cf. al-ʿIdwī, ii, 98).

Early belief in the existence of a saintly hierarchy headed by the *ḳuṭb* (cf. Nicholson, *Studies*, 78 f.) seems in the course of time to have been elaborated into a conception of a secret assembly (*dīwān bāṭinī*) where the saints presided over by the *ḳuṭb* directed the affairs of the seen and unseen worlds (see Aḥmad b. Mubārak al-Sidjilmāsī, *al-Ibrīz min kalām ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz*, Cairo 1292/1875-6, i, 2 ff. Al-Sidjilmāsī relates the sayings and ideas of his *shaykh*, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dabbāgh. Al-Dabbāgh's description of the composition and functioning of the *dīwān* has found its way into the works of Muḥammad al-Makkī b. Muṣṭafā b. ʿAzūz, *al-Sayf al-rabbānī fī unḳ al-muʿtarid ʿalā al-ghawth al-Djīlānī*, Tunis 1310/1892-3, 74; and ʿUbayd Allāh Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳusanṭīnī al-Ḥanṣalī, *Fatḥ al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān bi-sharḥ naṣīḥat al-iḵḵwān*, Cairo 1312/1894-5, 176). This conception is prominent in certain mystical traditions to the present day (see Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Maʿ al-Badawī al-muftarī ʿalayhi*, in *al-Muslim*, xv/7 (Cairo, June 1965), 15; and *idem*, *Maʿ ḳadiyyat al-aḳṭāb al-arbaʿ wa-marātib ahl al-ghayb*, in *al-Muslim*, xx/11 (August 1970), 11 f.: and ʿAbd Rabbihi b. Sulaymān al-Ḳalyūbī, *Fayḍ al-Wahhāb fī bayān ahl al-ḥaḳḳ waman ḳalla ʿan al-ṣawāb*, Cairo 1964, v, 57 ff.).

Opinions as to the whereabouts of the *ḳuṭb* vary. According to Ibn al-ʿArabī (cf. *Futūḥāt*, i, 168; *Manāzil al-ḳuṭb*, 4), the *ḳuṭb* is corporeally present at Mecca; according to Aḥmad Muḥammad Riḍwān, *al-Nafaḥāt al-rabbāniyya*, Cairo 1390, 270, his bodily presence is confined to Upper Egypt. Popular belief in Egypt held him to be miraculously present in a niche behind one of the doors of Bāb al-Zuwayla, the southern gate of Cairo (see E. W. Lane, *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1860, 231 f.; and H. H. Harrison, *The Bab il Metawalli*, in *MW* viii [1918], 141-4), which was a site for veneration and votive offerings (cf. J. W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941, 141). In contemporary Islamic mysticism, the dominant view seems to be that only his spirit is seen at Mecca, i.e. at the Kaʿba, which is the *maḳām* [*q.v.*] of his spirit and the throne of his heart (see Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Kulaymāt mukammilāt li-mawḍūʿ al-aḳṭāb*, in *al-Muslim*, xv/8 [June 1965], 8).

A few cases are found where a *ṭarīḳa* teaches explicitly that the *ḳuṭb* will always belong to this particular *ṭarīḳa*. Examples are al-ʿAzāziyya (see the relevant section in F. de Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt*, forthcoming) and al-Shādhiliyya (see Ibn ʿAyyād, 105). The latter *ṭarīḳa* teaches that God gave Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī the *bayʿat al-ḳuṭbiyya* after the death of Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj al-Uḳṣurī (b. ʿAyyād, *ibid.*, 35). The *silsila* of the *ṭarīḳa* is referred to as the *silsilat al-aḳṭāb* (Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Bannānī, *Madārid̲j al-sulūk ilā Mālik al-Mulūk*, Cairo 1330/1912, 90) going back to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib through his son Ḥasan, who is considered the first *ḳuṭb* (al-Sakandārī, 59; Ibn ʿAzūz, 75; al-Ḳusanṭīnī, 181).

Distinct cosmological systems revolving around a conception of *ḳuṭb* and derived from the ideas outlined above, and presenting or incorporating a modified version, have been developed and have gained some degree of significance at distinct times and places. Notable are, in chronological order, Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī's [*q.v.*] presentation of the Mughal emperor Akbar [*q.v.*] as *insān al-kāmil* or temporal *ḳuṭb* around whom the world revolves in his *Akbar-nāma*; Aḥmad Sirhindī's [*q.v.*] conception of the *ḵayyūm*—the vicar of God on earth to whom the *ḳuṭb* is a servant under his rule, a rank which he ascribed to himself and which was claimed by four of his descendants (S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim revivalist movements in Northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Agra 1965, 266 ff.): this belief seems to have influenced the teaching of Mīr Dard (cf. A. Schimmel, *Pain and grace. A study of two mystical writers of eighteenth-century Muslim India*, Leiden 1976, 81); and Tidjānī doctrine centred upon the belief that Aḥmad al-Tidjānī [*q.v.*] was *ḵhatm al-wilāya* and *ḳuṭb al-aḳṭāb* simultaneously (J. M. Abun-Nasr, *The Tijaniyya. A Sufi order in the modern world*, London 1965, 27 ff.).

Before and after Aḥmad al-Tidjānī, Sūfīs claimed or were considered to be *aḳṭāb*. Some examples from among the earlier mystics are listed in Gramlich, 168, n. 910). Other notable examples among the later mystics are Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Ḵhayr (see Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn Munawwar b. Abī Saʿd Asʿad, *Asrār al-tawḥīd fī maḳāmāt al-shaykh Abī Saʿīd*, ed. Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, Tehran 1348, 352 f.), ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḳināwī (cf. Aḥmad Ḥusayn Djabaruh, *Kalima mutawāḍiʿa ʿan ḳuṭb Ḳinā sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḳināʾī*, n.p. Ḳinā] 1388/1968); Abu 'l-Ḥadjdjādj al-Uḳṣurī (see Ibn ʿAyyād, 35); Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī (see al-Sakandārī, 68); ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*], Aḥmad al-Rifāʿī, Aḥmad al-Badawī [*q.v.*], and Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī [*q.v.*]. The last four of these are frequently referred to as *al-aḳṭāb al-arbaʿa* (see Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Suṭūḥī, *al-Taṣawwuf waaḳṭābuhu*, Cairo 1970, 15, 24; cf. Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Maʿ ḳadiyyat al-aḳṭāb al-arbaʿa*, 6 ff.). In some mystical cosmologies they are presented as occupying a position of pre-eminence in the successive stages of pre-creation out of *al-nūr al-muḥammadī* before their birth, as successors to the four *ḵhulafāʾ al-rāshidūn* during their lifetime, and as continuing forces in the world of the unseen after their death

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(see ʿAḳīl Maẓhar, *Ḳufra min baḥr al-Ḳurʾān*; *dawlat Abi 'l-ʿAynayn*, in *Sanābil* v (Cairo-Kafr al-Shaykh, April 1967), 41; and Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Maʿ al-Badawī*, 8 ff.; cf. idem, *Kulaymāt mukammilāt li-mawḍūʿ al-aḳṭāb*, 8 ff.).

In some mystical traditions, those belonging to the saintly hierarchy, including the *ḳuṭb*, are held to be identical with the serious mystical teachers present at a certain time but whose spiritual rank remains undivulged to those outside this hierarchy (cf. ʿImrān Aḥmad ʿImrān, *al-Talbiya fī wuḏjūd shaykh al-tarbiya*, Asyūṭ 1354/1936, 14). This tenet may imply the belief that potentially everybody can become *ḳuṭb* by means of following the *ṭarīḳa*, i.e. by means of the method prescribed by a distinct mystical tradition (cf. Sulaymān al-Djamal, *al-Futūḥāt al-ilāhiyya bi-tawḍīḥ Tafsīr al-Djalālayn bi 'l-daḳāʾiḳ al-khafiyya*, Cairo 1913, i, 114).

The statement by J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 163 f., that the conception of the *ḳuṭb* has gone through a process of vulgarisation would seem to be in need of further substantiation.

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(F. DE JONG)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN [see MAWDŪD B. ZANGĪ; AL-NAHRAWĀLĪ].

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AYBAK, the first ruler of the Indo-Muslim state which arose after the death of the Ghūrid Shihāb al-Dīn (Muʿizz al-Dīn) Muḥammad b. Sām in 1206 and was subsequently to be based at Dihlī. Brought as a slave from Turkestān first to Nīshāpūr and then to Ghazna, he was purchased by Muḥammad, then engaged in the reduction of the independent Hindu principalities in northern India, and rose to be *amīr-i āḫūr* (master of the horse) and *muḳṭaʿ* of Kohrām (now Ghurām in Patiāla) and Sāmāna. The sources for this period, composed either under Aybak's hegemony or under his successors, ascribe to him personally the capture of Meerut, Dihlī, Kōl (ʿAlīgaṛh), Thankīr (Bayāna), Gwāliyār, Badāʾūn, Kanawdj and Kālindjar, between 587/1191 and 599/1202-3, and the sack of Nahrwāla in Gudjarāt (593/1197).

On his master's assassination in 602/1206, he moved from Dihlī to Lahore, where he is said to have ascended the throne on 17 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/25 June, and which became his permanent residence. Aybak's precise status is problematical. No coins of his are extant, and the statement of Ḥasan Niẓāmī that the *ḫuṭba* was read and coins struck in his name is not corroborated elsewhere. Djūzdjānī on the contrary specifies at one point that these prerogatives were retained by Muḥammad's immediate successor Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who now reigned at Fīrūzkūh, though elsewhere he says that Maḥmūd conferred on Aybak the title of Sulṭān. In view of Aybak's slave rank, it is most likely that he was simply manumitted by the new Ghūrid sovereign, as we read in Ibn al-Athīr, and remained his subordinate, receiving a diploma and canopy of state as *malik* of Hindūstān. Aybak's attentions appear to have been absorbed by the situation in the north-west, where the Ghūrid empire was succumbing to pressure from the Khʷārazm-Shāh Muḥammad b. Tekish, and it is significant that no efforts to extend the Muslim conquests in India are recorded for his reign. He engaged in hostilities with another Ghūrid slave officer, Tādj al-Dīn Yildiz, who was based at Ghazna and who endeavoured unsuccessfully to take Lahore in 605/1208-9. Aybak's own subsequent occupation of Ghazna, however, was merely temporary, and he was expelled by the citizens in favour of Yildiz. He died at Lahore in 607/1210-1, of wounds sustained in an accident during a game of polo (*čawgān*), and his successor Ārām Shāh, whose relationship to him is uncertain, was soon set aside in favour of the *muḳṭaʿ* of Badāʾūn, Aybak's son-in-law Iltutmish [*q.v.*, and see also DIHLĪ SULTANATE].

Aybak, who has achieved renown as the builder of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār [*q.v.*] at Dihlī, was a patron also of the literary arts. Fakhr-i Mudabbir [*q.v.* in Suppl.], author of a manual of war, the *Ādāb al-ḥarb*, dedicated to him his book of genealogies, and it was probably under Aybak's régime that Ḥasan Niẓāmī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] began writing his florid *Tādj al-maʾāthir*, which was completed under Iltutmish. Both are important sources for the early period of Muslim rule in Hindūstān.

Bibliography: Fakhr-i Mudabbir, ed. Sir E. Denison Ross, *Taʿrikh-i Fakhru 'd-din Mubārak-shāh* [*sic*], London 1927 (James G. Forlong Fund, iv); Ḥasan Niẓāmī, tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867-77, ii, 212 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, esp. 163-5; Djūzdjānī, tr. H. G. Raverty, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, London 1873-81 (*Bibliotheca Indica*), 398-9, 469-71, 502-3, 512-31, 605-6; A. B. M. Habibullah. *The foundations of Muslim rule in India*, 2nd ed., Allāhābād 1961, 61-92. (P. JACKSON)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN BAKHTIYĀR KĀKĪ, a Ṣūfī who settled at Dihlī during the reign of Iltutmish [*q.v.*].

Khʷādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār (Aḥmad b. Mūsā al-Kākī al-Ushī) was a native of Ush, a town in eastern Farghāna. The *taḏkira* literature depicts him as the disciple of Muʿīn al-Dīn Čishtī (d. 634/1236), the founder-figure of the Čishtī affiliation in India. The accounts disagree on whether the two contemporaries first met at Ush, or at Iṣfahān, or in the Ṣūfī circle of Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), or in the mosque of Abu 'l-Layth al-Samarḳandī at Baghdād. After years of wandering, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn came to Multān early in the 7th/13th century during the rule of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḳabāča (d. 625/1228). There Farīd al-Dīn Masʿūd (d. 664/1265) sought his company, while Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyāʾ (d. 666/1268) seems to have encouraged his departure for Dihlī. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn settled outside the walls of Dihlī near the tank, *ḥawḍ-i shamsī*, during the reign of Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36), but declined the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* offered to him by the Sulṭān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was well-known for his Ṣūfī practice of listening to music (*samāʿ*), and is said to have died during a *samāʿ* performance on 14 Rabīʿ I 633/27 November 1235. His tomb is in the vicinity of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār at Mihrawlī. The Ḳuṭb Mīnār [*q.v.*], completed by Iltutmish in 629/1229, is believed to derive its name from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār (not from Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak).

The Čishtī affiliation venerates Ḳuṭb al-Dīn as one of the outstanding members of its founder-generation in India, and records him in its *silsila* as the link between Muʿīn al-Dīn and Farīd al-Dīn. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn is the alleged compiler of the apocryphal *malfūẓāt* of Muʿīn al-Dīn, entitled *Dalīl al-ʿārifīn* (Lucknow 1868), whereas his own sayings supposedly have been collected by Farīd al-Dīn in the spurious *Fawāʾid al-sālikīn*. A more reliable source, however, appears to be the *Miftāḥ al-ṭālibīn*, which was compiled in the immediate circle of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's associates at Dihlī.

Bibliography: Amīr Ḥasan Sidjzī, *Fawāʾid al-fuʾād*, Lucknow 1302; Ḥamīd Ḳalandar, *Khayr al-madjālis*, ʿAlīgarh 1956; Amīr Khʷurd Kirmānī,

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Siyar al-awliyāʾ, Dihlī 1302; Muḥammad Akbar Ḥusaynī, *Ḏjawāmiʿ al-kalim*, Kānpūr 1356; Djamālī, *Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, Dihlī 1311; ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Dihlawī, *Aḵẖbār al-aḵẖyār*, Dihlī 1309; Dārā Shīkūh, *Safīnat al-awliyāʾ*, Nawal Kishore 1872, 94-6; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Murādābādī, *Anwār al-ʿārifīn*, Lucknow 1876, i, 342-8; Ghulām Sarwar Lahawrī, *Ḵẖazīnat al-aṣfiyāʾ*, Lucknow 1872, i, 267-76; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Hindū, *Taʾrīḵẖ-i Firishta*, Nawal Kishore 1323, ii, 378-83; Minhādj al-Dīn Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. H. G. Raverty, London 1881, i, 621 f.; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Mulūk Shāh Badāʾūnī, *Muntaḵẖab al-tawārīḵẖ*, tr. Ranking, Lowe, Haig, Calcutta 1925, i, 92, 123, iii, 19, 45; K. A. Niẓāmī, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, Bombay 1961; R. N. Munshī, *The history of the Ḳuṭb Mīnār*, Bombay 1911. (G. BÖWERING)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN AL-IZNĪḲĪ, MUḤAMMAD AL-RŪMĪ, early Ottoman Ḥanafī scholar and father of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn-zāde Muḥammad [*q.v.*]. He was born at Iznīḳ [*q.v.*] and died there on 8 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 821/7 December 1418. Popular story puts him in contact with the conqueror Tīmūr when the latter occupied Anatolia, and he was the author of commentaries on the work of the great Spanish mystic Ibn al- Arabī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ṭāshköprüzāde, *al-Shaḳāʾiḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, Beirut 1395/1975, 24, German tr. O. Rescher, Constantinople-Galata 1927, 18-19. (ED.)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUBĀRAK [see KHALDJĪS]

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD [see KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS].

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN SHĪRĀZĪ, MAḤMŪD B. MASʿŪD B. MUṢLIḥ, Persian astronomer and physician, was born in Ṣafar 634/October 1236 in Shīrāz and died in Tabrīz on 17 Ramaḍān 710/February 1311.

Like many Muslim medical men, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn belonged to a family of distinguished physicians; at the same time, however, he was not only a prominent medical man, at least as regards his writings, but he distinguished himself also in astronomy, philosophy, and the treatment of religious problems. This versatility induced Abu 'l-Fidāʾ to give him the name *al-mutafannin* "experienced in many fields". He received his medical training with his father Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Masʿūd al-Kāzarūnī, i.e. of Kāzarūn (to the west of Shīrāz), in the hospital of Shīrāz. He lost his father at the age of 14 and then became a pupil of his uncles Kamāl al-Dīn Khayr al-Kāzarūnī and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zakī al-Rushkānī (Suyūṭī has Rukshawī) and Shams al-Dīn al-Kutubī; he then went to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, studied with him and surpassed everyone. It was probably Naṣīr al-Dīn who stimulated him to study astronomy. While still quite young he conceived the idea of editing the *Kulliyyāt*, the first theoretical part of the *Ḳānūn* of Ibn Sīnā. He next sought instruction with the physicians in Shīrāz and then studied deeply the works of earlier scholars. He then travelled in Khurāsān, the two ʿIrāḳs, Persia, Anatolia, and Syria. Everywhere, as he tells us in the introduction to the commentary on the *Kulliyyāt*, he sought the acquaintance of scholars. It was probably after these journeys that he became associated with the Mongol rulers of Persia, the Il-Khāns; in what year and under which ruler this happened, we do not know. In any case in 681/1282 he was *ḳāḍī* of Sīwās and of Malaṭya in Anatolia under Aḥmad Nīkudār (680-3/1281-4). There he was still engaged on the *Kulliyyāt*; he must have played a part in politics, as Aḥmad sent him with his uncle Kamāl al-Dīn to Egypt to the Mamlūk Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Ḳalāwūn (678-89/1279-90 [*q.v.*]). He was sent to report the former's conversion to Islam, no doubt the result of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's influence, and to conclude a peace between the Mnslims and the Mongols. The latter part of his mission was a failure. In Egypt also he collected material for the *Kulliyyāt*. He dedicated the work, probably fiuished shortly after his return from Egypt, to Muḥammad Saʿd al-Dīn, Aḥmad Khān's vizier, and called it *al-Tuḥfa al-Saʿdiyya*, "the present to Saʿd", or *Nuzhat al-ḥukamāʾ wa-rawḍat al-aṭibbāʾ*, "the delight of the wise and garden of the physicians".

In his later years Ḳuṭb al-Dīn retired to Tabrīz. Towards the end of his life he ardently studied *ḥadīth* and made critical notes on the subject, e.g. on the *Djamʿ al-uṣūl* ("Encyclopaedia of principles") and to the *Sharḥ al-Sunna* ("Commentary on the *Sunna*"). Ibn Shuhba and al-Subkī give a sketch of the character of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn. He had a brilliant intelligence, combined with unusual penetration; at the same time his humour was innocent; he was known as "the scholar of the Persians". It is evidence of his efforts to preserve his independence that, in spite of his prestige with princes and subjects, he lived remote from the court. He also led the life of a Ṣūfī. It is emphasised that he had many pupils; among these was Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī (see below), who cannot praise him highly enough: he also induced al-Taftāzānī (d. 766/1364; see Brockelmann, II², 271, S II, 293-4) to come to critical decisions (*muḥākamāt*) on the *Ishārāt* of Ibn Sīnā on points disputed between Naṣīr al-Dīn and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, No. 743). He neglected his religious duties; nevertheless, al-Suyūṭī mentions that in Tabrīz he always performed his *ṣalāt*s with the congregation. He loved wine and sat among the scorners. He was a brilliant chessplayer and played continuously; he was also skilled in the tricks of the conjurer and played the small viol (*rabāba*). His commentary on the *Ḥikmat al-ishrāḳ* ("the philosophy of illumination") of Suhrawardī is undoubtedly connected with his religious attitude. Nevertheless, as Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (No. 1169) emphasises, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn distinguished himself in theology. He annotated the Ḳurʾān very thoroughly and in a fashion that won recognition in his *Fatḥ al-mannān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*; in the *Fī mushkilāt al-Ḳurʾān* he also dealt with passages in the Ḳurʾān difficult to reconcile with one another. He wrote a commentary on *al-Kashshāf ʿan ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-tanzīl* of al-Zamakhsharī. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn played a special part in the history of optics, because he called the attention of his pupil Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] (d. *ca.* 720/1320) to the *Optics* of Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*], with which he had become acquainted on his travels, and procured a copy for him. Al-Fārisī wrote a commentary on it and extended it by his own observations. It is noteworthy that Ḳuṭb al-Dīn so completely forgot Ibn al-Haytham's expositions that he based his observation not on rays of light like the latter, but on rays of vision.

In the two comprehensive astronomical works *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk*, the "highest intelligence in the knowledge of the spheres", and *al-Tuḥfa al-shāhiyya fī l-hayʾa*, which are very similar to each other, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn has given what is conceivably the best Arabic account of astronomy (cosmography) with mathematical aids. It closely follows the al-*Tadhkira al-naṣīriyya*, the memoranda of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, his teacher. But Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's works are very much fuller and deal with many questions which Naṣīr al-Dīn did not touch; they are therefore much more than commentaries. The

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Nihāya discusses, for example, details of the cosmography of al-Khirakī or Ibn al-Haytham, which are again found in Roger Bacon. Passages from these works are discussed by E. Wiedemann in: *Zu den optischen Kenntnissen von Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Schīrāzī*, in *Archiv für die Gesch. der Naturwissensch., etc.*, iii (1912), 187-93; *Über die Gestalt, Lage und Bewegung der Erde, sowie philosophisch-astronomische Betrachtungen von Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Schīrāzī*, in *ibid.*, 395-422; *Beiträge*, xxvii, *Auszüge aus al-Schīrāzīs Werk über Astronomie*, in *SBPMS Erl.* xliv (1912), 27-35, reprinted in *Aufsätze zur arab. Wissenschaftsgesch.*, Hildesheim 1970, i, 802-10; *Erscheinungen bei der Dämmerung und bei Sonnenfinsternissen nach arabischen Quellen*, in *Archiv für Gesch. der Medizin*, xv (1923), 47-8; *Inhalt eines Gefässes in verschiedenen Abständen vom Erdmittelpunkt*, in *Zeitschr. für Physik.*, xiii (1923), 59-60.

One work is entitled *Sharḥ al-taḏhkira al-naṣīriyya*. As an appendix to the *Nihāya*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn wrote the *Fī ḥarakāt al-ḏaḥraḏja wa 'l-nisba bayn al-mustawī wa-'l-munḥanī*, "On the motion of rolling and the connection between the straight and the crooked". Other works are *al-Tabṣira fi 'l-hay'a* and a work with a very peculiar title, *Kitāb faʿaltu fa lā talum fi 'l-hay'a*, "Work on astronomy; I have composed it but blame it not".

Besides the works by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn already mentioned, there are also recorded a treatise on diseases of the eye and a commentary on the *Urdjūza* of Ibn Sīnā; a work on medical ethics, the *K. Bayān al-ḥādja ilā 'l-ṭibb wa-ādāb al-aṭibbā' wa-waṣāyāhum*; commentaries on the work, mainly grammatical, of al-Sakkākī and on a work of Ibn al-Ḥādjib, and an encyclopaedia of philosophy, the *Durrat al-tādj*, written for one of the Isḥāḳwand amīrs of Gīlān [see RŪMAN], which includes an important section on music.

After his death, Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī wrote verses on Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, in which he expresses surprise that the mill (*raḥā*) of knowledge still turns after it has lost its axis (*ḳuṭb*).

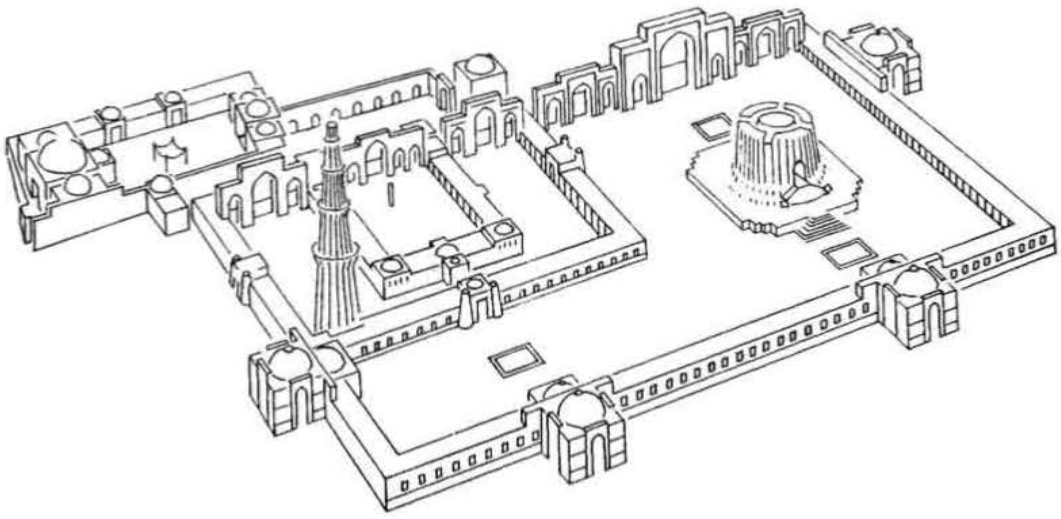
Bibliography: Abu 'l-Fidā', *Annales moslemici*, ed. J. J. Reiske, 1794, v., 63, 243; Taḳī al-Dīn Ibn Shuhba, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ms. Gotha 1763; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vi, 248; Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ*, i, 164; F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der arabischen Ärzte und Naturforscher*, Göttingen 1840, No. 247; H. Suter, *Die arabischen Mathematiker und Astronomen*, No. 387 and supplement; L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe* (contains the substance of the autobiography at the beginning of the *Kulliyyāt*), Paris 1876, ii, 129-30; Brockelmann, II², 274-5, S II, 296-7; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin in Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1970, 178, 225; Schacht and Bosworth (eds.), *The legacy of Islam*², Oxford 1974, 482-3, 491. According to Brockelmann, there is also biographical information in Khʷāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, lith. Bombay 1857, iii, 1, 67, 112, and Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, 389. (E. WIEDEMANN)

ḲUṬB AL-DĪN-ZĀDE, MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. ḲUṬB AL-DĪN IZNĪḲĪ, Ottoman scholar and mystic. He was born in the early 9th/15th century, the son of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Iznīḳī (d. 821/1418 [*q.v.*]), himself a scholar and the author of works on *tafsīr* and *fiḳh* (see *ʿOthmānlī mü'ellifleri*, i, 144, romanised version, i, 124-5). He was in his early years the pupil of the famous *muftī* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, Mollā Fanārī (d. 834/1431) [see FENĀRĪZĀDE], and later became interested in Ṣūfism. He wrote several works, many of them commentaries, e.g. on the mystical works of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his pupil Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḳūnawī, and others on the interpretation of dreams (*taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*). He died in 885/1480 and was buried in the Tatār Khān cemetery at Edirne.

Bibliography: Ṭashköprüzāde, *al-Shaḳā'iḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, Beirut 1395/1975, 65, Tkish. tr. Medjdī, 124-5, German tr. O. Rescher, Constantinople-Galata 1927, 63; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī mü'ellifleri*, i, 159-60, romanised version, Istanbul n.d. (1972?), i, 133-4; Brockelmann, S II, 328. (ED.)

ḲUṬB KHĀN LŌDĪ [see LŌDĪS].

ḲUṬB MĪNĀR, a lofty tower of red sandstone, said by Fergusson (ii, 206) and Diez (165) to be one



Reconstruction of the area of the Ḳuṭb Mosque. From left to right: ʿAlā'ī Darwāza (705/1305), Ḳuṭb-Mīnār (591/1198) and unfinished tower ʿAlā'ī Mīnār (after A. Volwahsen, *Islamisches Indien*, Munich 1969, 40).

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of the most beautiful buildings of its kind in the world.

It is situated about 11 miles from the modern city of Dihlī [*q.v.*], in the ruins of the first city of that name, and about 160 feet from the great mosque which was erected by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [*q.v.*] in 589/1193, just after the capture of the city from the Hindu king, Prithvīrādj. Like the Mīnār at Ghazna [*q.v.*] and the Mīnār at Koyl [*q.v.*] (no longer in existence), it is an isolated structure, from which the *muʾaḏḏhin* gave the call to prayer, and is 238 feet in height; it is not attached to the mosque, but stands in the southeastern corner of the southern outer court, which was added in 622/1225 to Aybak's mosque by Iltutmish [*q.v.*]; it is not straight, but tapering, and is divided into five stories, above each of which (with the exception of the topmost story) are boldly projecting balconies, with richly-sculptured bands of inscriptions below them. The basement storey appears to have been built while Aybak still recognised the overlordship of Muʿizz al-Dīn Ghūrī (i.e. before 601/1205); the second, third and fourth stories were built by Iltutmish, but during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] the building was struck by lightning, and this king in 769/1368 had it repaired and added a fifth storey. The two uppermost stories, both of which in their present form are probably the work of Fīrūz Shāh, have a plain surface, chiefly of white marble, with bands of red sandstone; but the rest of the surface of the tower is entirely of red sandstone, and is not round but made up of flutings, which in the basement story are alternately round and angular, in the second rounded only, and in the third angular only. The line of each fluting is carried up unbroken through each story. The inscriptions are partly historical in character and partly made up of quotations from the Ḳurʾān; they have been reproduced and translated in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1911-12).

Recently, the prototype of this Mīnār was discovered in the ruins of the tower at Khʷādja Siyāh Pūsh in Afghān Sīstān: in the ground plan of the regularly alternating 8-rounded and angular flanges, we can recognise the transition between the Eastern Iranian stellate plan, continued for example at Ghazna [see GHAZNAWIDS. Art and monuments] and the round plan of Djam [see GHŪRIDS] in Central Afghānistān (K. Fischer, ed., *Nimruz*, pls. 252-4).

The tower derives its name from the saint Khʷādja Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 633/1235 [*q.v.*]), who was held in high honour by Iltutmish.

Bibliography: Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Āṯār al-ṣanādīd*, ed. Dihlī 1847, i, 128-33; ed. Lakhnaw 1876, i, 54-57; G. Le Bon, *Les monuments de l'Inde*, Paris 1893, 183-4; H. C. Fraushawe, *Delhi, past and present*, London 1902, 265-8; J. Fergusson, *History of the Indian and Eastern architecture*, ed. J. Burgess, London 1910, ii, 205-6; J. Horovitz, *The inscriptions of Muḥammad Ibn Sām, Qutbuddin Aibeg and Iltutmish*, in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1911-12), Calcutta 1914, 12 ff.; E. Diez, *Die Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Berlin 1915, 165; G. Sanderson, *Archaeological work at the Qutb, Delhi 1912-13*, in *Archaeological Survey of India. Annual Report 1912-13*, Calcutta 1916, 120 ff.; J. A. Page, *An historical memoire on the Qutb*, in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 22, Calcutta 1926; P. Brown, *Indian architecture (Islamic period)*, Bombay 1964, pls. III-V; A. Volwahsen, *Islamisches Indien*, Munich 1969, 40; *Nimruz*, ed. K. Fischer, Bonn 1974-6, pl. 68; K. and Ch. Fischer, *Indische Baukunst islamischer Zeit*, Baden-Baden 1976, Pl. II. (T. W. ARNOLD-[K. FISCHER])

ḲUṬB SHĀHĪ, the name of an Indo-Muslim dynasty that dominated the eastern Deccan plateau as one of the five successor states to the Bahmanī kingdom. Basing their power on the city and hill-fort of Golkondā [*q.v.*], the Ḳuṭb Shāhī kings achieved *de facto* independence with the decline of the parent Bahmanī kingdom in the early 10th/16th century, maintaining effective rule until Mughal armies under Awrangzīb conquered and annexed the kingdom in 1098/1687.

The founder of the dynasty, Sulṭān Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk, was a Turkoman adventurer of the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu clan [*q.v.*] who, having migrated from Persia to India as a youth, rose in Bahmanī service until in 901/1496 he was appointed governor over the easternmost Bahmanī dominions. Although he never claimed legal sovereignty during his long rule, Sulṭān Ḳulī managed to carve out for himself and his descendants the broad territorial outlines of a kingdom over which they held effective sway for nearly two hundred years. He also gave the dynasty ideological definition by declaring Shīʿism the official creed, following the precedent set by Shāh Ismāʿīl of Persia in 907/1501. This orientation, continued by all of Sulṭān Ḳulī's successors, caused the dynasty to identify ideologically with Persia as its link with *Dār al-Islām*, rather than with the Ottoman or Mughal empires, which were Sunnī. The sequence of Ḳuṭb Shāhī kings is as follows:

Ḳulī Ḳuṭb al-Mulk	901-50/1496-1543
Djamshīd b. Ḳulī	950-7/1543-50
Subḥān b. Jamshīd	957/1550
Ibrāhīm b. Ḳulī	957-88/1550-80
Muḥammad-Ḳulī b. Ibrāhīm	988-1020/1580-1612
Muḥammad b. Muḥammad-Ḳulī	1020-35/1612-26
ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad	1035-83/1626-72
Abu 'l-Ḥasan, son-in-law of ʿAbd Allāh	1083-98/1672-87

Throughout most of the 10th/16th century and the early 11th/17th century, the Kingdom of Golkondā was engulfed in constant warfare either with the most powerful two of its sister successor states to the west, Bīdjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar, or with the Hindu state of Vijayanagar to the immediate south. These conflicts were sustained by mutual jealousies and petty intrigues, resulting in constantly shifting military alliances among these four principal states of the Deccan. Thus, although Golkondā, Bīdjāpūr and Aḥmadnagar were able to band together in 972/1565 to crush Vijayanagar and sack its wealthy capital in the battle of Talikota, immediately after this battle the three Muslim states resumed their mutual hostilities. This situation prompted increasing intervention in Deccan affairs by the Mughal empire, which was expanding its imperial interests in the 11th/17th century. Finally, in 1045/1636 Shāh Djahān forced ʿAbd Allāh Ḳuṭb Shāh to recognise the Mughal government's ultimate suzerainty over Golkondā in a "Deed of Submission". By clarifying Golkondā's relationship to Dihlī, however, this arrangement relieved ʿAbd Allāh of further anxieties about Mughal aggression so long as tribute was paid, and freed him to expand Ḳuṭb Shāhī arms southward as far as the Palar river (near Madras), absorbing a number of petty Hindu principalities formerly dependent upon Vijayanagar.

But the reign of ʿAbd Allāh's successor, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ḳuṭb Shāh, witnessed a dramatic transformation in the internal ruling structure of the kingdom as a number of Brahmins, especially the brothers Madanna and Akkanna, acquired the reins of central authority. This development, combined with the

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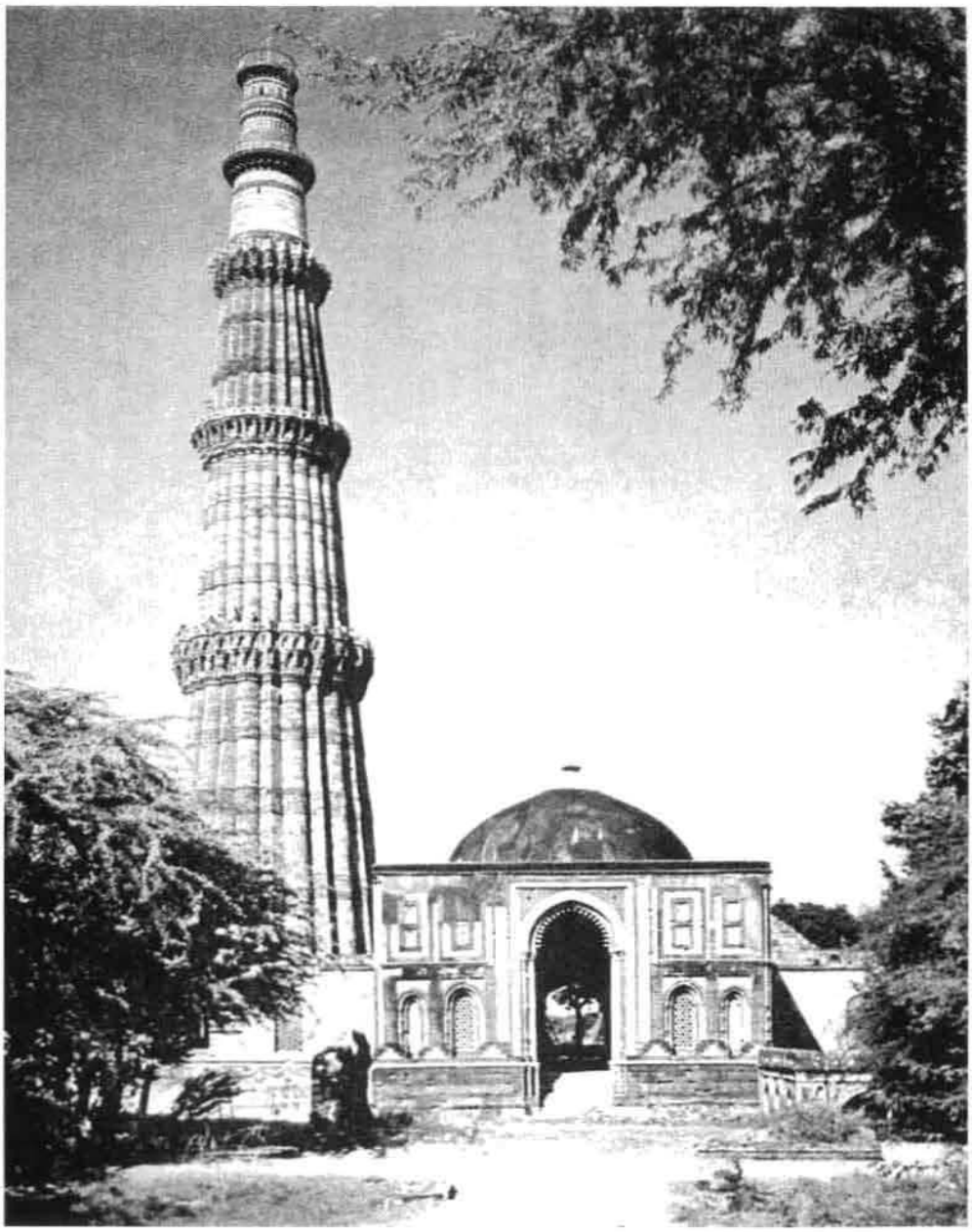
KUṬB MINĀR PLATE XXVIII



1. Dihlī, Kuṭb Mināŕ (594/1198) and ʿAlāʾī Darwāza (705/1305). (A. Volwahsen, *Inde islamique*, Fribourg 1971, 17)

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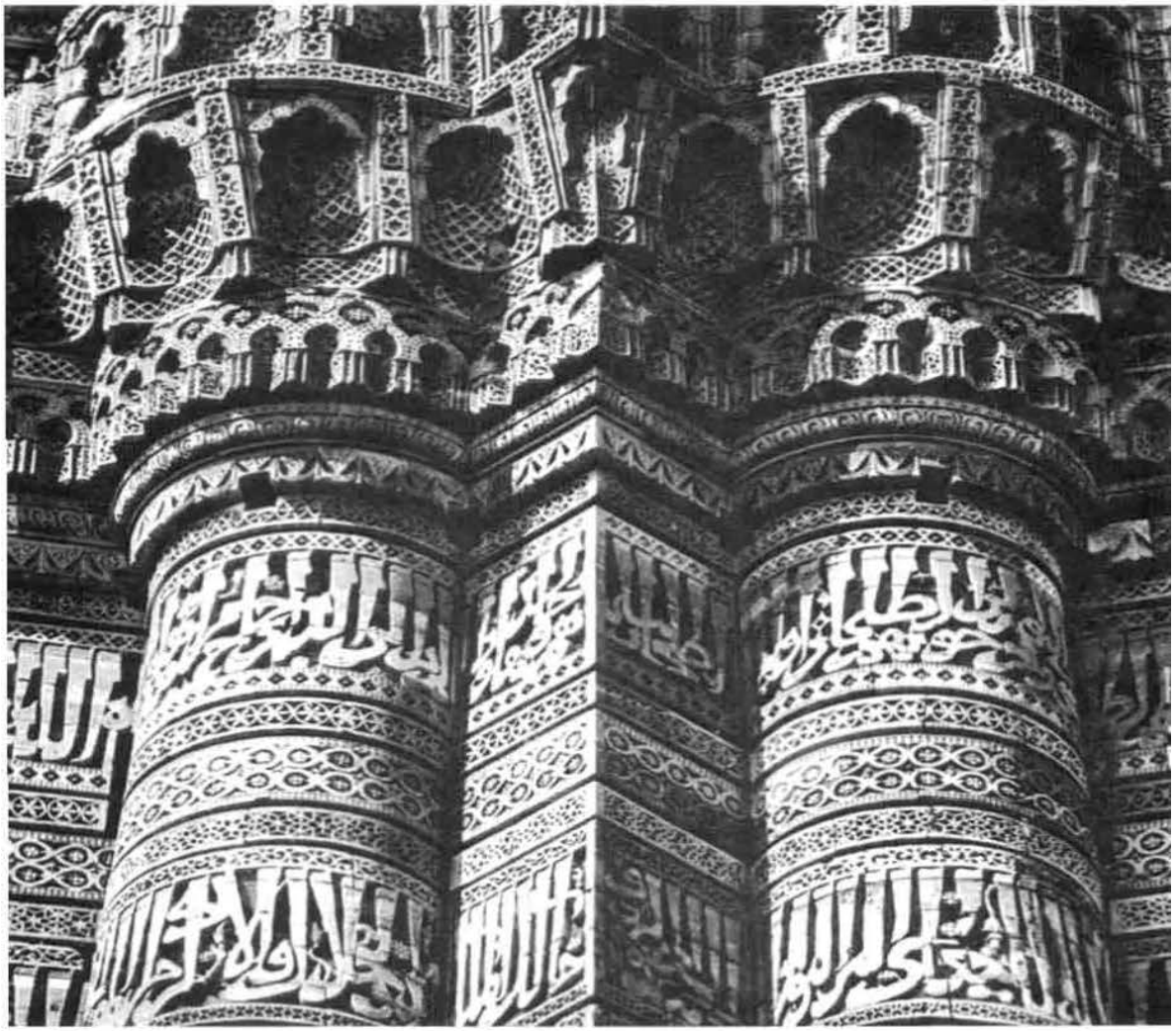
PLATE XXIX

ḲUṬB MINĀR



2. Ḳuṭb Mīnār, decoration and inscriptions. (A. Volwahsen, *Inde islamique*, Fribourg 1971, 19)

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state's official Shīʿī ideology, arrears of unpaid tribute to the Mughals, the general chaos in the Deccan prompted by the rise of the Marāṯhās, and renewed expansionist sentiment in the Mughal government now under Awrangzīb, led to a determined Mughal effort to end Golkondā's subordinate but semi-independent status and annex it to the Empire. In 1098/1687, after a protracted siege of Golkondā fort, the Mughal conquest and annexation of the kingdom was accomplished.

In its two centuries of rule, the Ḳuṭb Shāhī monarchy sank roots deep into Indian society and culture by successfully integrating multiple groups into its political fabric, by founding an efficient economic basis for the kingdom, and by forming a distinctive Indo-Muslim culture that accommodated itself in important ways with the pre-existing Hindu culture. On the political level the dynasty, faced with the choice of dislodging or absorbing the indigenous class of Hindu warrior chiefs (*nāyaks*) already dominant in Telugu society, adopted the latter alternative, employing *nāyaks* in garrisons throughout the kingdom and even in the royal guard at the capital. The other indigenous élite group, the Brahmins, were likewise absorbed into the dynasty's political structure, especially in the central revenue administration as clerks, accountants, and even chief administrators. On the local level too, virtually the entire revenue system was entrusted to Brahmins who functioned as agents, brokers or accountants. In fact the more important members of this rural gentry received royal orders guaranteeing their tenure, frequently hereditary, and assuring them of royal support against rivals.

By far the greatest share of the kingdom's revenue was derived from the land tax, collected in cash through a highly-organised and ruthlessly efficient revenue bureaucracy. Further contributing to the kingdom's economic stability, and also its notorious wealth, was the successful exploitation of a number of diamond mines discovered in the Krishna river valley during the early years of the dynasty's history. The diamond enterprise became a vast state monopoly that involved several hundred thousand labourers, officials, and merchants, and made Golkondā the world's most important diamond market in the 11th/17th century.

A distinctive aspect of the dynasty was its composite culture that combined Islamic and Indian styles, as reflected in the nature of its rule, in the flourishing of Telegu, Persian, and Dakhnī literature, and in painting and architecture. Having lived seven years in exile in Vijayanagar, where he learned Telugu and acquired a Hindu wife, Ibrāhīm Ḳuṭb Shāh set the tone of this syncretic culture. He adopted not only the usual symbols of Muslim sovereignty (*sikka*, *ḵẖuṭba*, etc.), but also the style of a traditional Hindu rajah, reserving tax-free lands for the support of Brahmins and temples, erecting pillars on which the sworn loyalty of *nāyaks* was inscribed, patronising Telugu poets, and reviving the ancient Telugu monarchical tradition of building large irrigation works. Moreover, extensive contact between Hindus and Muslims in the Deccan gave rise to a new language, Dakhnī, which achieved its first literary expression in Golkondā in the 10th/16th century, with Sulṭān Muḥammad-Ḳulī himself being one of the foremost writers in the language. A blending of Hindu and Muslim styles is similarly reflected in contemporary painting and architecture, especially the architecture of Ḥaydarābād. Planned in 999/1690-1 by Muḥammad-Ḳulī Ḳuṭb Shāh as a suburb of Golkondā fort, the city of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], with its gardens, bazaars, palaces, and such architectural masterpieces as the Čārminār, has indeed remained the dynasty's most lasting legacy.

Bibliography: Original authorities include *Burhān-i maʾāṯhir*, completed in 1004/1596 by Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, Dihlī 1936; Firishta, abridged tr., J. Briggs, *History of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India*, Calcutta 1910; *Taʾrīḵẖ-i Sulṭān Muḥammad Ḳuṭb Shāh*, compiled anonymously in 1026/1617, mss. in India Office Library, etc., see Storey, i, 747; *Ḥadīḳat al-salāṭīn*, completed in 1054/1644 by Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, ed. S. ʿAlī Bilgrāmī, Ḥaydarābād 1932; Mackenzie Collection, London, India Office Library; J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd. edn., London 1925; W. H. Moreland, ed., *The relations of Golconda in the early 17th century*, London 1931; S. N. Sen, ed., *Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi 1949. Secondary authorities include Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, Calcutta 1912-30; P. M. Joshi, *Coins current in the Kingdom of Golconda*, in *J. Num. Soc. of India*, v (June 1943), 85-95; Jagadish N. Sarkar, *Life of Mir Jumla*, Calcutta 1951; Abdul Majeed Siddiqui, *History of Golconda*, Hyderabad 1956; Percy Brown, *Indian architecture* (*Islamic period*), Bombay 1956; Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in Coromandel: 1615-1690*, The Hague 1962; J. F. Richards, *Mughal administration in Golconda*, London 1975; H. K. Sherwani, *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah*, London 1967; idem, *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*, New Delhi 1974 (the most comprehensive study). (R. M. EATON)

KŪTHĀ, a very old town of ʿIrāḳ, on one of the canals joining the Euphrates and Tigris and one stage from Baghdād on the Kūfa road. The town as well as the canal are often mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions (cf. the references in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1920-5, Indices, s.v. Kutû and the map by Schwenzner in vol. i). The town is said to be identical with the place mentioned in 2 Kings, xvii, 24, from which came a part of the people whom the king of Assyria settled in Samaria in place of the deported Israelites. The course of the canal, at least for its western part, coincided with that of the modern Ḥabl Ibrāhīm; on modern maps, this last ends in the Shaṭṭ al-Nōl; the Arab geographers make no reference to this, but make this canal flow direct into the Tigris (cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Map II facing p. 25).

The Arab geographers distinguish two places called Kūṯhā Rabbā and Kūṯhā al-Ṭarīḳ, but only give further information about the former. (The distances from other places are collected in Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, II.) The geographers also mention the bridge of boats over the canal at Kūṯhā, which gave it the further name of Djisr Kūṯhā, and the Abraham legends, which are associated with the town; al-Muḳaddasī (*BGA*, iii[1], 121) actually calls the town Madīnat Ibrāhīm, and to this day the ruins of the town are erroneously located in the Tell Ibrāhīm which lies approximately on the site of the ancient Kūṯhā. Abraham is said to have been born at Kūṯhā, and the name of the town comes from that of his maternal great-grandfather. When his mother (her name is very variously given: Yāḳūt writes Būnā bint Karnabā b. Kūṯhā; the Talmud, *Bābā baṯhrā*, 91[a], אמלתאיבת כרנבו; for other names, see Eisenberg, *EI*[1] art. IBRĀHĪM and *The life of the prophets according to Arabic legend*. ii. *The life of Abraham* [in Hebrew, 1912], 9 n.) was about to give

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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him birth, she had to take refuge from Nimrod in a cave outside the town. Later, Nimrod threw her into a fiery furnace; therefore, in the time of the Arab geographers, many heaps of ashes were still pointed out which came from this fire.

Kūthā is also the name of the *ṭassūdj* around the town, which comes within the district of Ardashīr Pāpakān and is in turn divided into 10 *rustāḳs*. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, *BGA*, viii, 79), Ūr Kashd (the Biblical Ūr Kasdīm) from which Abraham migrated is a place *min bilād Kūthā*. The *nisba* from *Kūthā* is *Kūthī* or *Kūthānī*.

Besides Kūthā in Mesopotamia, Yāḳūt and al-Bakrī also mention a place of pilgrimage of this name in Mecca.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Serapion, in *JRAS* (1895), 75; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 168 (ed. Kramers, 245, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 237); al-Muḳaddasī, 26, 121-2; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 7, 9, 125, 185, 236; Ibn Rusta, 174, 182 (tr. Wiet, 202, 210); Yāḳūt, iv, 317-18; idem, *Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 377; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 485; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, Ar. text, 80, tr. 183; Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, i, II, 16, 24; Le Strange, 68-9. On the question of the canals cf. also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 771. (M. PLESSNER)

KUTHAM B. AL-ʿABBĀS B. ʿABD AL-MUṬṬALIB AL-HĀSHIMĪ, Companion of the Prophet, son of the Prophet's uncle and of Umm al-Faḍl Lubāba al-Hilāliyya, herself Muḥammad's sister-in-law. Although the *Sīra* brings him into contact with Muḥammad by making him one of the inner circle of the Hāshimī family who washed the Prophet's corpse and descended into his grave, and although his physical resemblance to the Prophet is also stressed, he was obviously a late convert to Islam, doubtless following his father al-ʿAbbās [*q.v.*] in this after the conquest of Mecca.

Nothing is heard of him during the reigns of the first three Orthodox Caliphs, but then ʿAlī on his accession made Kutham governor of Medina (36/656), and in the next year, when menaced by his rivals for the caliphate, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and ʿĀʾisha, he made him governor of Mecca and al-Ṭāʾif. He seems to have retained this office all through his cousin's caliphate, leading the Pilgrimage in 38/659 (cf. Ibn Hishām, iii, 1018, 1020, tr. Guillaume, 687-8; Ibn Saʿd, ii/2, 70, iv/1, 2, 22, vii/2, 100; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, i, ed. Hamidullah 447, 569, 577-8; Ṭabarī, i, 1830, 1833, 3092, 3106, 3390, 3343; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 17, 46; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, vi, 351; etc.).

After this comparatively undistinguished career, Kutham achieved fame through the manner of his ostensible death. He was with the army of Khurāsān under Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān when the latter invaded Transoxania in 56/676 (cf. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, 19-20), and was allegedly killed (thus in Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, 107, and Zubayrī, *Nasab Kuraysh*, 27) or died a natural death (thus in Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 412) at the siege of Samarḳand in 57/677. Ṭabarī makes no mention of Kutham's death in his account of this campaign, and Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 298, tr. Wiet, 119, and Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 40, state that he in fact died at Marw.

Whatever the truth of the matter, the supposed tomb of Kutham at Samarḳand subsequently became a shrine and pilgrimage place; Barthold plausibly surmised that this cult was probably built up by his family, the ʿAbbāsids, when they came to power. It is, however, equally possible that some existing pre-Islamic cult of Soghdia was islamicised and transformed into the cult of Kutham. In the inscriptions of the later buildings making up the shrine complex of Afrāsiyāb, the citadel area of Samarḳand and the heart of the pre-Mongol invasion city [see SAMARḲAND], Kutham is generally referred to as the *Shāh-i zinda* "living prince" or *Shāh-i djawānān* "prince of the youths", and I. I. Rempel has suggested that Kutham is a syncretistic figure incorporating elements of the Islamic prophet Khiḍr [see AL-KHAḌIR] and of Siyāwush and other ancient Iranian heroes (in G. A. Pugačenkova, ed., *Iz istorii velikogo goroda*, Tashkent 1972, 36-52).

The shrine flourished greatly and was added to in Ḳarakhānid and Saldjūḳ times, so that a whole complex was formed there, and during Sandjar's sultanate, probably in the 520s/1130s, a *Madrasa Kuthamiyya* was founded. When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Samarḳand two centuries later, in the reign of the Čaghatayid ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tarmashīrīn (726-34/1326-34), he found the shrine opulently appointed and much visited by the local people of Samarḳand plus the Tatārs of the region. It had a *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] or hospice attached to it for pilgrims and travellers, and a scion of the ʿAbbāsids, the *amīr* Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, great-great-grandson of the penultimate Baghdād caliph al-Mustanṣir (623-40/1226-42), who had migrated from ʿIrāḳ to Transoxania, acted as *nāẓir* or superintendent of the shrine (*Riḥla*, iii, 52-4, tr. Gibb, iii, 568-9). The shrine continued to attract royal patronage, including from the Tīmūrids; a mausoleum, possibly to be ascribed to Ḳutlugh Āḳā, one of Tīmūr's wives, was built in 762/1361, and in the next century, Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*] added to it. Alterations were, indeed, made to it up to the early 19th century.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, vi, 29. For the development of the cult of Kutham at Samarḳand, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 91-2, and N. B. Nemtseva, *Istoki kompozitsii i etapi formirovaniya ansamblya Shakhi-Zinda*, in *Sov. Arkheologiya* (1976), No. 1, 94-106, Eng. tr. with commentary by J. M. Rogers and ʿĀdil Yāsīn, in *Iran, Jnal. of the Brit. Inst. of Persian Studies*, xv (1977), 125-47. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KUTHAYYIR B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN (better known as KUTHAYYIR ʿAZZA and often called al-Mulaḥḥ after Mulayḥ, a sub-tribe of Khuzāʿa, or Ibn Abī Djumʿa, after his maternal grandfather), a poet of the ʿUdhrī school of the Umayyad period. Like other poets of the same school, his life was a favourite field for the imagination of story-tellers who wrote entertaining *asmār* literature. In such cases, legend plays such havoc with history that it becomes almost impossible for later critical studies to separate one from the other. Legends were introduced to suggest pseudo-historical occasions for some poems, and some poetry was made to suit stereotypes of the ideal lover. Other factors, both political and sectarian, made it easy for the *ruwāt* to shroud Kuthayyir's character with ever thicker layers of legendary material. Nowhere else does authentic poetry stand in sharp contrast to the alleged character of its writer as it does in the case of Kuthayyir. When stripped of such accretions, the biography of such a poet becomes a mere skeleton.

Kuthayyir's parents were both from Khuzāʿa, and lived in Medina or in the adjacent hills to the east. If we believe al-Marzubānī, who states that the poet lived 80 or 81 years (*Muʿdjam*, Cairo 1960, 242), then he must have been born *ca.* 23 or 24/643 or 644 (since

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1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 5-1 Khe-Mahi (1302)

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there is no doubt that he died in 105/723). This date of birth seems very early if we consider that there are no traces of his poetical activities before 60/679, a fact which makes one think that he could not have been born earlier than 40/660. Although Kuthayyir's father died when he was still in need of a guardian, he is nevertheless accused of being an undutiful son (this is more likely a reflection of much later sectarian prejudice). When his father was afflicted with a sore in one of his fingers, Kuthayyir considered that as a heavenly punishment for the father, who used to raise that same finger whenever he swore falsely. The pious interpretation here is ignored, and the sharp comment is taken as indicating an unfilial attitude. Kuthayyir's uncle became a watchful guardian who, to keep the boy away from the vices of urban life, sent him to tend a herd of camels in the outskirts. At that stage, so the legend says, a brass figure trudging heavily appeared to him and ordered him to begin to recite poetry. Thus his inspiring *djinnī* disclosed himself to him at an early age. Yet it was not this *djinnī*, but the author of the legend, who reduced the camels to sheep and took Kuthayyir to al-Djār on the Red Sea coast where, on his way, he met a group of women, from among whom a young girl approached him in order to buy a sheep. The lad, who in his manhood became known for his proverbial stinginess (Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bukhalāʾ*, Cairo 1948, 165), gave her a sheep and refused to accept payment. This girl was inevitably ʿAzza, the daughter of Ḥumayl from the Dhamra tribe, who entangled Kuthayyir with her beauty. According to later evidence from a woman who knew ʿAzza, ʿAzza is described as a "sweet", pretty, clean and pale-skinned woman, whose conversation was most enchanting. ʿAzza's family must have previously given her as a wife to a first suitor because, shortly after that heady meeting, Kuthayyir's poetry became very embarassing to them. That same husband is referred to in his poetry as a jealous, impotent old man (*ḥawkal*), who used his authority over his wife to make her scold her lover and abuse him. It is also probable that the migration of ʿAzza and her husband to Egypt (*ca.* 67/686) was not only due to a drought that broke out in the Ḥidjāz, but also represented the husband's wish to avoid embarassment. Nevertheless, Kuthayyir, who cared but little about the feelings of his rival, found in travelling to Egypt a good opportunity to see both ʿAzza and his friend ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. Marwān, governor of Egypt. Through the latter, the poet's attachment to the Umayyad caliphs and *amīr*s was strongly established, an attachment which endured until his death.

Yet at a date previous to these travels, Kuthayyir is said to have met a man called Khandak who attracted him to the Kaysānī beliefs. In its early stage, the Kaysāniyya sect [*q.v.*] must have been compatible with the belief in the right of ʿAlī's son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, to the imāmate, as successor to his half-brother, Ḥusayn. The poet's relation with Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya is a historical fact, to which Kuthayyir's own poetry attests. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya was imprisoned by the rebel and anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and that imprisonment was strongly resented by the poet (*Dīwān*, Beirut 1971, 224). As for the other Kaysānī beliefs, such as those of the occultation of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in the mountain of Raḍwā, near Medīna and his final return (*radjʿa*), or the transmigration of souls, nothing is explicitly or implicitly expressed about them in Kuthayyir's poetry. Even his two surviving elegies for his friend Khandak are completely silent about any doctrines or beliefs. Yet the poet was later identified with the extremist Kaysānī poet, al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī (d. 173/789), and some of the latter's poems were ascribed to him. The *riwāyas* about his Kaysānī beliefs hardly conform with the accepted Kaysānī doctrines. Ludicrously enough, instead of believing in the return of his *imām*, Kuthayyir, according to these *riwāyas*, believed in his own *radjʿa*. In examining similar traditions, one can discover not only contradictions but also a humorous strain which was intended to mock Kuthayyir's own character. Kuthayyir's attachment to the Kaysāniyya must have been a short, emotional interlude, to which he was driven by his friendship with Khandak and his pity for Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya's imprisonment. When the latter acknowledged the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik in 69/688, the poet felt no ambivalence in his allegiance and became an Umayyad partisan till the end.

Some traits in Kuthayyir's character made it easy to ascribe rather ridiculous beliefs or modes of behaviour to him. He was a very short, ugly, red-faced, long-necked, huge-headed and very slender man, who adopted a haughty and conceited manner to mask his limitations. His naiveté and lack of urban sophistication are easily detected in his poetry. In one of his poems he bridles at ʿAzza's humorous comment that he has become pale and rough in manner of late, and accuses her of ridiculing him only to please her husband (*Dīwān*, 379). Yet he explicitly acknowledges, in the same poem, that he had really become a shadow of a man, "like the remnants of a rope", totally bony but, in spite of all that, naturally handsome, without adornment, "like a Byzantine *dīnār*". Madness, which must be taken to mean no more than eccentricity, becomes an easy accusation. But no mad person, in reality, could have enjoyed the durable favour and esteem which the poet gained from his Umayyad patrons, or could have become so well-loved that nearly all the men and women of Medina would throng his funeral in order to bid him a final farewell. Kuthayyir was also accused of being insincere in his love. Considered as a ʿUdhrī lover, this accusation might be true; at a certain time, he was temporarily attracted to another woman called Ẓallāma, whose "magical tie" was easily broken by ʿAzza. Other tales about his unfaithfulness in love are mere elaborations on the same theme by *asmār* writers. His poetry, in a way, gives credence to such an accusation because it shows a sober restraint which falls short of a passionate abandonment to love. Love, in Kuthayyir's poems, is conceived in the terms of friendship. Let it be also remembered that he, unlike other ʿUdhrī-love poets, like al-Madjnūn or even his tutor Djamīl, did not restrict himself to love-poetry. Not only his eulogies, but also his harsh satirical poems against his beloved's tribe, testify that love, in his heart, was rivalled by other strong emotions. His elegies on his friends, Khandak and ʿAbd al-ʿAziz, are not less in warmth than his love poems. His eulogies, though not so warm, are lengthy and symmetrical. In them, the poet's hard Bedouin life or the pangs of his forlorn love, are sharply contrasted with the luxurious life of the patron (*mamdūḥ*), and this latter is also drawn in contrast to the hardships which the patron faced in an inevitable war. Although the Umayyad *amīr* is an Arab chief who has, sometimes, the eyes of a snake and who seized sovereignty by force, it seems as if the poet resorts to a special set of distinguishing Umayyad attributes in his eulogies. Friendship, rather than financial benefit, is the stronger incentive for such poems This feeling of social equality helped

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the poet to preserve much of his dignity. But when such a feeling is exploited in love-poetry, it reduces the sense of sacrifice to a minimum. The lover even, in moments of self-esteem, acquires the awe of the sovereign when he describes how admiring women feel towards him and how he enjoys the sight of entreating "subjects". It is true that this is not always the case, but, being there for once, it can outweigh all his other expressions of total absorption in love.

Kuthayyir was a prolific poet. During his long life, he appears never to have stopped writing poetry except for a certain period, after the death of ʿAzza and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (86-99/705-17); the poet's use of a simple and direct style of composition helped that profuseness. When writing on love or praise, or combining both themes in one poem, his vivid descriptions of the scenes from the Ḥidjāz or those on the route to Egypt or Syria add much to the length of his poem. It is said that, of *lāmiyyāt*, he wrote 30 of considerable length. However, all that has survived of that poetry, scattered through the available sources, does not exceed 2,000 lines.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Ibn al-Nadīm, ed. Flügel, 110, 111, 306; Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. M. Shākir, Cairo 1952, 457; Ibn Ḳutayba *al-Shiʿr wa 'l-Shuʿarāʾ*, Beirut 1964, 410; Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, Beirut 1957-64, ix, 4, xii, 170, xv, 224; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*, Cairo 1965, 143; al-Murtaḍā, *al-Amālī*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1954, ii, 387; al-Bakrī, *Sharḥ al-Amālī*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Maymanī, Cairo 1936, 61; al-Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ*, Beirut 1958, i, 136; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1972, iv, 106; al-Anṭākī, *Tazyīn al-aswāḳ*, Cairo 1302/1884, i, 43; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Ḥadīth al-arbiʿāʾ*, Cairo 1926, ii, 116-26; Shawḳī Ḍayf, *al-Adab fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1963, 319-23; Aḥmad Rabīʿī, *Kuthayyir ʿAzza*, Cairo 1967; Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi 'l-taʾrīkh wa 'l-adab*, Beirut 1974, 312-22; Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 609-16 and index; Brockelmann, I², 44, SI, 79; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 408-9. Editions of the *Dīwān*: H. Pérès, *Kotayyir-ʿAzza, Dīwān, accompagné d'un commentaire arabe*, Algiers 1928-30; I. ʿAbbās, Beirut 1391/1971. (IḤSĀN ʿABBĀS)

ḲUTLUGH-KHĀNIDS. 1. a dynasty in Kirmān [*q.v.*] in the 7th/13th century, descended from the Ḳara-Khitay [*q.v.*] of Transoxania. The dynasty, successively vassals of the Khʷārazm-Shāh, the Mongol Great Khāns and the dynasty of Hūlāgū Khān (Īlkhāns), lasted from 619/1222 or 620/1223 to 706/1305-6, but never had more than local importance. It entertained close relations with the neighbouring dynasties of the Atābegs of Yazd, the Salghurids of Fārs and the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*] and came into occasional contact with the caliph and with India. The founder of the dynasty (from 619 or 620) was Naṣr al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Fawāris Ḳutlugh Sulṭān Burāḳ-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*], son of Kuldūz (?), d. 632/1235. His title Ḳutlugh Sulṭān was given him by the caliph, although his conversion to Islam was of a very recent date. He had a son Rukn al-Dīn Khādjadjūḳ (or Mubārak Khʷādja) and four daughters, of whom Sawindj Turkān was married to Čaghatay Khān, Khān Turkān to her cousin Ḳuṭb al-Dīn and the two others to members of the family of the Atābegs of Yazd.

Burāḳ appointed as his successor his nephew and son-in-law Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad Khān, whose father Khamītūn Tāyangū b. Kuldūz (variants: Khamītbūr, Khantimūr, Tānīkū) is perhaps identical with the Ḳara-Khitay chief captured by the Khʷārazmians in 607/1210; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 364. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn at the end of a year had to retire into Mongolia on the approach of Rukn al-Dīn, son of Burāḳ and Ukā-Khātūn, who after spending some time at the Mongol court received from Ögedey investiture for the fiefs of Kirmān and Narmashīr. He ruled for 16 years. He was not well disposed to the Tādjīks and men of letters, according to the *Simṭ al-ʿulāʾ*.

In 650/1252 he had in turn to make way for Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, who had in the interval been serving in China under Maḥmūd Yalawač and upon whom Möngke after his accession conferred the *yarlīḳ* over Kirmān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was authorised by the Ḳāʾān to put Rukn al-Dīn to death as he was suspected of intriguing with the caliph. He soon suppressed a rising by a pretender who claimed to be the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn. He severely punished the Kūč and Balūč [see BALŪČISTĀN and ḲUFṢ]. His successes were attributed to the advice of his wife, Ḳutlugh Turkān Khātūn, whose wisdom is highly praised by the historians. Some doubts exist as to her origin; according to the *Taʾrīkh-i guzida* she had been the concubine (*surriyya*) of Burāḳ (according to the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, that of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, brother of the Khʷārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn) and would thus be a different person from Khān Turkān, daughter of Barāḳ; this fact might explain her feud with the sons of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn.

Ḳuṭb al-Dīn died in 655/1257. His son Hadjdjādj being a minor, the notables asked the Ḳāʾān to entrust the government to the widow of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn ʿIṣmat al-dunyā wa 'l-Dīn Ḳutlūgh Turkān who ruled 655-81/1257-82 (in 662/1264 her powers were confirmed by Hūlāgū; cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 403).

Hadjdjādj when he grew up sought to get into touch with the sons of Ögedey and acted with little regard for Ḳutlugh Turkān, but the latter, strong in the support of her daughter Pādshāh-Khātūn, married to Abaḳa-Khān, forced Hadjdjādj to retire to Dihlī in 666/1267-8. Then the other son of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, Suyurghatmish, successfully disputed Turkān's power and she went to Tabrīz, where she died in 681/1282-3. Her daughter Bībī Khātūn, who had married the *amīr* ʿAḍud al-Dīn Ḥādjdjī, removed her remains to Kirmān. Marco Polo went through Kirmān (*ca.* 1272) in the reign of Ḳutlugh Turkān.

Djalāl al-Dīn Abū Muẓaffar Suyurghatmish (681-93/1282-94) received his investiture from the Īl-Khān Aḥmad, but could not agree with his sister Pādshāh-Khātūn. She had been brought up among her brothers under the name of Ḥasan Shāh (cf. MIRḴʷĀND) to enable her to escape compulsory marriage with a Mongol prince. She became, however, the wife first of Abaḳā and after his death, of his son Gaykhātū. The latter on coming to the throne in 690/1291 gave Kirmān to Pādshāh-Khātūn. The princess, who was a poetess of talent, was of a vindictive and passionate nature. At first, Suyurghatmish governed the province in the name of the Pādshāh, but she later threw him into prison. He was freed by his wife Khudāwand-zāda Kardudjīn, daughter of Mengū Tīmūr b. Hūlāgū and the Salghurid [*q.v.*] princess Abish, ruler of Fārs, and by his daughter Shāh ʿAlam. Gaykhātū, however, handed him over to Pādshāh-Khātūn, who had him strangled. His death was followed by the execution of his vizier, who was captured by stratagem. In 694/1295 Baydū,

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husband of ʿĀlam Khātūn, became king, and Pādshāh was handed over the vengeance of the wife and daughter of Suyurghatmish. In the reign of Pādshāh Marco Polo (ed. Yule-Cordier, 23, 91) passed through Kirmān on his return journey (*ca.* 1293).

In 695/1296 Muẓaffar al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad Shāh Sulṭān b. Ḥadjdjādj succeeded his aunt by command of Ghāzān Khān, but his brother slew his vizier and rebelled in Kirmān. The troops of Fārs and ʿIrāḳ besieged Kirmān for 18 months. Muẓaffar al-Dīn came from Tabrīz, forced the town to surrender and executed the ringleaders. His methods must have been summary, for his new vizier left him in terror. Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who loved wine, died in 703/1303-4 as a result of his excesses.

His nephew Sulṭān Ḳuṭb al-Dīn II Shāh Djahān b. Suyurghatmish succeeded him and ruled for two years and a half (until 706/1306-7). As he was very cruel and did not pay his dues regularly to the Mongol treasury, Öldjeytü deposed him and appointed a simple governor to Kirmān, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Burhān. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn II retired to Shīrāz to Kardudjīn, wife of his father. His daughter Ḳutlugh Khān (*wālidat al-salāṭīn*) in 729/1328-9 became the wife of Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad, the real founder of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, who later took possession of Kirmān (in 741/1340-1).

Before the earthquake of 1896 there still existed in Kirmān the *Ḳubba-yi sabz* (remains of the *madrasa* of Turkānābād) bearing the date 640/1121-3 (i.e. contemporary with Rukn al-Dīn). This "green mausoleum" was the family tomb for the dynasty (cf. P. M. Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia*, London 1902, 60-2, 194, 264). Turkān Khātūn founded the little towns of Sar-āsiyāb and Čatrūd, to which she brought a water supply. Suyurghatmish built the *madrasa* of Darb-i Naw, where he was buried.

Bibliography: The special history of the Ḳutlugh-Khānids is the *Simṭ al-ʿulā' li 'l-ḥaḍrat al-ʿulyā*, written in 716/1316-17, cf. Storey, i, 358, 1297. The author Nāṣir al-Dīn was the son of Khwādja Muntadjab al-Dīn Yazdī, the trusted adviser of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (cf. the Paris ms., B. N. Persian No. 1377, f., 125). On Burāḳ, Rukn al-Dīn and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, cf. Djuwaynī, ed. Ḳazwīnī, ii, 211-18, tr. Boyle, ii, 476-82. On the whole dynasty: *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Browne, 527-35, 625; Mirkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1266, iv, 128-31; cf. E. A. Strandman, *Chuandamir's afhandling om Qarachitaiska i Kirman*, Helsingfors 1869; Khwāndamīr *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay, ii/3, 10-12; Münedjdjim-bashī, Turkish tr., Istanbul 1285, iii, 587; Rieu also quotes Waṣṣāf, iii (to the year 694) and the *Geography* of Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, part ii, which seems to contain full references. Cf. also d'Ohsson, *Hist. des Mongols*, iii, 5, 19, 32, 131-3, 396; iv, 90-3, 269, 485; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 237; Boyle, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 323.

2. The title Ḳutlugh-Khān was conferred in 629/1231 by Ögedey on Abū Bakr b. Saʿd, the Salghurid [*q.v.*], cf. d'Ohsson, iii, 398.

(V. Minorsky)

ḲUTLUGH-SHĀH NOYAN, a notable Mongol *amīr* in Ilkhānid Persia, especially during the reigns of Ghāzān Khān and Öldjeytü (694-716/1295-1316). He was a member of the Manqut tribe, and a descendant of Čingiz Khān's general Djedey Noyan.

After the accession of Ghāzān, Ḳutlugh-Shāh led the pursuit of the *amīr* Nawrūz, besieged Harāt, where Nawrūz had taken refuge, and captured and executed him in 696/1297. He was also charged with the execution of the fallen *wazīr* Ṣadr al-Dīn. In 698/1299 he was sent by Ghāzān to Rum to suppress the revolt of prince Sūlāmīsh. In 699/1299 he accompanied Ghāzān's invasion of Syria, and was subsequently appointed by him *shaḥna* of Damascus. He commanded the right wing of the Ilkhānid army when the Mamlūk forces were defeated at Ḥimṣ. During the Syrian campaign of 703/1303, Ḳutlugh-Shāh was less successful; he was defeated by the Mamlūks at Marḏj al-Ṣuffar. He among others was held responsible by Ghāzān, and together with his fellow-general Čūbān he was sentenced to be beaten with rods at the judicial enquiry (*yārghū*) which followed his precipitate return to Persia. Any eclipse that Ḳutlugh-Shāh may have suffered as a result of this defeat was only temporary, however. On his accession in 704/1304, the Ilkhān Öldjeytü appointed him commander-in-chief. But in 707/1307 Öldjeytü's armies invaded Gīlān, and during the campaign Ḳutlugh-Shāh was defeated and killed. His death cleared the way for the later ascendancy of Čūbān in the Ilkhānid state.

Ḳutlugh-Shāh's eminence among the *amīr*s of his time is amply attested in anecdotes concerning him. Ḳāshānī records that during a dispute at court between Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs during the reign of Öldjeytu, Ḳutlugh-Shāh urged in his exasperation that the Mongols should abandon Islam—of whose tenets he is represented as having a very curious conception—and return to the *yāsāḳ* and *yūsūn* of Čingiz Khān (*Taʾrīkh-i Uldjāytū*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 98 = Aya Sofya MS 3019, f. 178a). On the other hand, in Ibn Bazzāz's *Ṣafwat al-ṣafā*, a near-contemporary life of Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn of Ardabīl, he is shown as a devotee of Ṣūfī *shaykh*s, and there is an entertaining account of how in a contest of piety and abstinence, Ḳutlugh-Shāh's favoured *shaykh* was beaten by Ghāzān Khān's candidate, Shaykh Zāhid Gīlānī (ed. Aḥmad b. Karīm Tabrīzī, lith. Bombay 1911, 38-9 = Aya Sofya MS 3099, f. 28b).

Bibliography: references in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, ed. J. A. Boyle, Cambridge, 1968; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*², Berlin 1968.

(D. O. Morgan)

ḲUṬN, Ḳuṭun (A.), cotton.

1. In the mediaeval Arab and Persian lands.

In the period of the Arab conquests cotton had already been propagated from India to eastern Persia and the neighbouring lands. It was cultivated everywhere and a flourishing industry produced cotton goods there. The Arab geographers, in describing the economy of these lands in the ʿAbbāsid period, speak especially of the production of cotton goods, but there is good reason to suppose that these factories used the cotton planted in their own regions.

In modern Afghānistān, Kābul and Herāt had cotton factories which were known for the excellent quality of their products. Kābul exported cotton goods as far as China. Marw and Nishāpūr were the most important centres of the cotton industry in Khurāsān. The province of Marw also exported large quantities of raw cotton, much appreciated for its softness. The cotton materials produced at Marw, especially *mulḥam*, a cotton and silk fabric, were so renowned that, according to al-Thaʿālibī, in all countries fine materials originating from Khurāsān were called *shāhidjānī* (after the name of Marw).

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The industry of Nīshāpūr was known for the material called *ḥaffī*. The cotton goods of these two towns passed in the caliphal empire, according to an observation of al-Djāḥiẓ cited by al-Thaʿālibī, as the best in the world. Transoxania also produced large quantities of cotton. From the province of Shāsh it was exported into the Turkish lands. Samarḳand, the small town of Wadhār not far from it, Bukhārā and Ṭawāwīs were the most important centres of the cotton industry there, whilst Bukhārā was renowned for its heavy cotton goods, whose firm fabric was praised. The cotton plantations had even been introduced into cold lands such as Khʷārazm. Factories for cotton goods were also developed there, whose products, such as those called *arandj* and *amīrī*, enjoyed a great reputation.

Djibāl itself produced cotton and had factories which worked it, although on a smaller scale than those of Khurāsān. The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century relate that the cotton of the province of Rayy was exported as far as ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān. Speaking of irrigation by means of subterranean canals in the province of Iṣfahān, Ibn Ḥawḳal remarks that it served for the cultivation of cotton. In Kirmān, there was a flourishing cotton industry at Bamm which doubtless used the raw material produced in the province. As for the province of Fārs, there is no room for doubt about its presence there, for Ibn Ḥawḳal points out to us the rate of tax levied on the cotton plantations in the district of Shīrāz. Yazd and Abarḳūya themselves had factories which certainly worked the cotton cultivated in their provinces. However, in this part of Persia, the cultivation of flax and its manufacture prevailed over that of cotton.

At the end of the 3rd/9th century and beginning of the 4th/10th century, there were already cotton plantations in Upper Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, but in these lands they constituted a new sector of agriculture. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, writing in the first half of the 4th/10th century, relates that in most of the lands of Rās al-ʿAyn, in Upper Mesopotamia, cotton was cultivated, and Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the cotton plantations and cotton goods production in the town of ʿArabān, in the same province. Al-Muḳaddasī, for his part, mentions cotton plantations in the district of Ḥarrān. Later on, Yāḳūt mentions cotton goods' production at Ḥazza, a small town near Rās al-ʿAyn. In the 4th/10th century much cotton was also planted in the province of Aleppo and in Palestine, in the region of the Ḥūla and in the Djawlān, near Bāniyās. To judge by the description of Palestine by al-Muḳaddasī, it was also cultivated near Jerusalem. A passage in the description of Upper Mesopotamia by Ibn Ḥawḳal reveals that the cotton plantations increased considerably in the 4th/10th century in this land, when the new lords, who had replaced the caliphal régime, established large estates and introduced the cultivation of industrial plants such as cotton. Ibn Ḥawḳal speaks of the Ḥamdānids, but there is reason to suppose that other dynasties were also involved. Whatever may be the case, the cultivation of cotton as yet only played a modest role in this period within the total agricultural production of these lands. Indeed, Ibn Ḥawḳal specifies that cotton goods were imported from Upper Mesopotamia into Syria.

In Egypt, the cultivation of cotton constituted, in this period and also later, under the domination of the Fāṭimids, a still more limited agricultural sector. Several papyri, it is true, testify to the cultivation of cotton in Egypt, in the 2nd-4th/8-10th centuries, and other documents refer to cotton plantations in Egypt under the Fāṭimids. According to al-Idrīsī it was even exported in this period from Egypt to Libya. On the other hand, numerous Judaeo-Arabic documents preserved in the Cairo Geniza from the second half of the 5th/11th and first half of the 6th/12th century show that cotton and cotton goods were imported from Sicily and especially from Syria and Palestine.

The same observation will be made as to the cultivation of cotton in the Maghrib in this period; it was planted almost everywhere but on a relatively small scale. Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions the cotton plantations in the districts of Tunis and M'sila in Algeria. Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī mentions too the cotton plantations in the province of M'sila and speaks of them further in his description of Mostaganem in western Algeria. In Morocco, cotton was planted, according to the reports of the Arab geographers, in the districts of Fez, Tādlā, Baṣra and Kurt. In Islamic Spain it was cultivated, in the 4th/10th century, in the province of Seville and also in the district of Guadix, to the east of Granada.

In the period of the Crusades, the cultivation of cotton developed to a great extent in Syria, especially in its northern provinces. Several treaties concluded between Venice and the Ayyubid princes of Aleppo and Ṣaḥyūn report the export of cotton from their states. However, the great rise of cotton cultivation in Syria was to begin later, after the fall of the Crusader states. When the farmers lost the great markets provided by the Crusaders' towns, there was a glut of cereals and they went over apparently to the cultivation of cotton. Already in 1304, some Venetian emissaries went to visit the Mamlūk governor of Ṣafad, doubtless to negotiate with him concerning the trade in cotton, the plantations of which had increased considerably in his province. The depopulation following the Black Death and the still further diminished demand for cereals accelerated this development, so that the export of Syrian cotton became an important sector of the Levant trade.

The connection between the reduced demand for cereals and the increase in cotton production emerges clearly from the development of agriculture in Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia. Marco Polo relates, at the end of the 13th century, that the provinces of Mush and Mārdīn produce enormous quantities of cotton which was worked there. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, writing in the first half of the 8th/14th century, also speaks of the cotton plantations in the district of Mārdīn and still others in the districts of Bāzabdā, Barṭallā and Irbil in Upper Mesopotamia and in the environs of Walasdjird in Armenia. The Venetian ambassador Giosafa Barbaro, who travelled across these lands in 1474, also mentions the cultivation of cotton and the cotton goods' factories at Mārdīn as well as plantations in the district of Ḥiṣn Kayfā. The fiscal regulations of Uzun Ḥasan, then lord of this country, refer to the cotton industries of Urfa, ʿArabgīr and Erzindjān, towns today forming part of Turkey. In ʿIrāḳ cotton was cultivated then in the districts of Baghdād, Kūfa and Ḥilla. The accounts of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī of the agricultural production of several provinces of Persia are particularly significant in this regard, in so far as they mention cotton plantations in some districts which do not figure as producers of cotton in earlier sources. He speaks of large harvests of cotton in several districts of Ādharbāydjān, Djibāl, Ḳūhistān and Kirmān. There is no doubt that the diminution of the population and consequently of the demand for

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cereals after the Mongol conquests led also the farmers of these regions to go over to the cultivation of cotton. Al-Mawṣil and several other towns then became centres of the cotton goods industry and their products were exported to other lands, such as Egypt.

In this latter country, the production of cotton also increased from the middle of the 7th/13th century, although it was still imported from the Sudan. The Irish pilgrim Simeon Simeonis, who in 1323 passed by Fuwwa in the western delta, describes the plantations of cotton which he had seen there and later, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, Emmanuel Piloti relates that cotton is the most important product of the province of al-Gharbiyya. Arnold von Harff, a German traveller of the end of the 9th/15th century, saw cotton plantations on his way from Kaṭya to Ghazza. In the late Middle Ages, Egypt was also able to export cotton to Europe.

Nevertheless, in no other country of the Near East was the role of cotton, in the late Middle Ages, as important as in Syria, nor was the volume of its production as considerable in relation to other crops; Syria exported large quantities of cotton to Europe, where it served as the raw material for the flourishing fustian industries in Lombardy and southern Germany. The great centres of the plantations were the region of Aleppo, the province of Ḥamā and the northern districts of Palestine. In northern Syria cotton was cultivated especially in the districts of Djabala, ʿĀzāz and Sarmīn (called Siamo by the Italians, by confusion with al-Shām), and in Palestine in the environs of Acre and in the valley of Jizreel. But cotton was also planted in the province of Tripoli and on the coasts of Lebanon, near Bayrūt, Ṣaydā and Tyre. In the travel books which pilgrims in the Holy Land have left for us, there is mention of cotton plantations near Jaffa and Ramla. In Transjordania cotton was planted in the district of ʿAdjlūn. According to the Merchants' Guide of Pegolotti, the cotton of Ḥamā was considered the best, and this statement is corroborated by numerous price lists of the Venice market. But all varieties of Syrian cotton were more appreciated in Europe than the cotton originating from other countries, such as Turkey, Cyprus, Egypt or Malta. It was appreciated for its longer fibres and for being more flexible. Part of the Syrian cotton fed the cotton goods' industry (especially "bocasin" from the Turkish *būghāsī*) which flourished at Baʿlabakk, in the villages of the Lebanon, to the east of Tripoli and in the villages near Aleppo. It appears however that this industry only worked up a small part of the cotton produced in the country and that the greatest part of it was in fact destined for export. From the end of the 15th century, the Venetians made the largest purchases, while the Genoese traded especially in the cotton originating from the Balkans or Turkey, where there existed important plantations in the provinces of Konya and Siwas. The Catalans, who, at the end of the 14th century, still bought on a large scale in Syria, were supplied in the 15th century especially in Sicily. Venice sent each year two convoys of cogs to Syria, one in February and the other in August. Numerous documents which have been preserved in the archives of Italy allow us to evaluate the volume of the export of Syrian cotton by the Venetians. It will be concluded that in some periods of good (political and economic) conjuncture, the Venetians exported each year from Syria 8,000 sacks of raw cotton (apart from relatively small quantities of cotton thread) and in others, 5,000. Since a sack contained, on average, 150 kg., the value of these exports may be evaluated at 90-140,000 ducats a year. But when the price of cotton rose, at the beginning of the 15th century, from 24-5 ducats a *ḳinṭār* (of northern Syria) to 30-5 ducats, the Venetian investment rose to 200-250,000 ducats and more. Also, there were some years in which the Venetians bought Syrian cotton for 300,000 ducats.

The registers of fiscal returns made in Palestine in 1525-6 and 1555-6 indicate the large volume of cotton production in Galilee and also in the district of Jaffa after the conquest of the land by the Ottomans. Indeed, Syria still exported cotton to Egypt and other countries until the end of the 18th century. In Egypt cotton was cultivated, at the beginning of the 19th century, near Damanhūr on the western branch of the Nile and in the provinces of Sammanūd and Manṣūra on its eastern branch. But these plantations were not of great extent. Then, in 1818 or 1819, the French engineer Louis Alexis Jumel discovered in Cairo a species of cotton which was distinguished by its long, strong fibres and began to cultivate it with the help of Muḥammad ʿAlī. As the new species fetched a much higher price in Europe than the others, it was cultivated from 1822 on a large scale, principally on the eastern bank of the eastern branch of the Nile. Always under the sponsorship of Muḥammad ʿAlī, experts on cotton cultivation were invited to Egypt and in 1830 a type of agricultural code (*lāʾiḥat zirāʿat al-fallāḥ*) containing detailed instructions for the cultivation of cotton was published. However, the great rise of its cultivation in Egypt only began in the 1860s, when the Civil War in America made the price of Egyptian cotton rise and the plantations were greatly enlarged. It is from this time that cotton has come to occupy a place of the first rank in the agriculture of Egypt.

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(E. Ashtor)

2. In the Ottoman Empire.

In western Turkish dialects, *pan(m)buḳ*, *pamuḳ*, *bamuḳ* or *mamuḳ* (see G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*) "cotton" is derived from Middle Persian *pambaḳ*, while in eastern dialects cotton is *paḵhta*, *baḵhta*, or *baḳta* (Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türkdialecte*, iv) and cotton cloth *boḵhtāy* (Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Divānü Lûgāt-it-Türk*, facs. ed. B. Atalay, 550; in Chinese *po-tie*, see J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouighours*, Paris 1955, 57-8). In Uyghur, *kebez* designated cotton. The word *bāz* (*bez*) is a common word for coarse cotton cloth in various dialects (also in the forms of *böz*, *biz*, or *bös*, with a theory of its derivation from the Greek βύστος, Assyrian *busu*, W. Bang, *Vom Köktürkischen zum Osmanischen*, Berlin 1921, 14 n. 2, now challenged; see G. Doerfer and S. Tezcan, *Wörterbuch des Chaladsch*, Budapest 1980, 91; H. Ecsedy, *Böz, an exotic cloth in the Chinese imperial court*, in *Alt-orientalische Forschungen*, iii, 145-63).

Continuing a long tradition of cotton growing and industry in Central Asia, the Uyghur Turks produced cotton and exported cotton textiles to China, as recorded in the Chinese sources of the 9th century (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, Index, s.v. *po-tie*). Under the Saldjūḳs [*q.v.*], cotton production and manufacture had apparently a considerable development in Asia Minor, in which principal towns had cotton bazaars (for instance, *panbaḥ furūshān* in Ḳonya, Aflākī, *Manāḳib*, 618) and caravanserais of cotton textiles (for al-Khān al-Bazzāzī in the *Sūḳ al-Bazzāzīn* in Ḳırshehir, see A. Temir, *Caca oğlu Nūr el-Din*, 23). "Cotton fabrics edged with gold embroidery" of Lādhiḳ (Laodicaeaon-Lykos, today Denizli) noted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 733/1322 (tr. Gibb, ii, 425) were famous all over Anatolia and referred to as late as the 9th/15th century (see ʿĀshıḳ-Pashazāde, ed. Giese, 52).

Although European markets preferred better-quality northern Syrian types (Ḥamā, Aleppo) and those of Cilicia and Cyprus (in the 1330s, Pegolotti: *cotone*; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 463), a substantial part of the cotton imported into Europe in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries came from western and southern Anatolian ports—Ayasoluk (Ephesus), Balat (Palatia), Alanya (ʿAlāʾiyya, Candelore), Antalya (Satalia), and Ayas (Lajazzo) (Heyd, ii, 463; H. Wescher, 2335; M. Mazzaoui, ch. 2). Cotton was grown in the immediate hinterlands of these ports. The island of Chios became the main entrepôt of the Anatolian cotton exported by the Genoese in this period. In the mid-15th century, the value of the annual export of cotton via Chios was estimated at 600,000 ducats. Turkish cotton was re-exported by the Genoese to other European countries and even to the Maghrib (J. Heers, 393).

Over the course of time, Venice tried to monopolise the import and distribution of imported cotton in the West. Venetian annual cotton trade with Lombardy alone was estimated to be worth 250,000 gold ducats in the 9th/15th century (Wascher, 2337; M. Mazzaoui, *ibid.*). By the end of the 10th/16th century, Venice imported an average 4,000 tons annually from the Levant (8,000 sacks from Cyprus and 6,000 from Izmir). The expanding Swiss and German fustian industries were dependent on the cotton imported from the Levant.

Although first known in Germany in *ca.* 978/1570, cotton from Brazil and the West Indies became a serious competitor only after the mid-18th century. At that time, the cotton industries in France and England began to experience rapid growth. Favoured by special trade privileges [see IMTIYĀZĀT] granted by the Ottomans, France, England, and the Netherlands were then directly importing cottons from the Levant, and superseded Italy in cotton industries in the 11th/17th century. The war of Cyprus (1570-1) can be taken as a turning point for the Venetian decline.

Cotton-producing areas in the Ottoman Empire before 1215/1800. Ottoman survey books, customs registers, guilds and price regulations, as well as *ḳāḍī* court records, attest to a very active cotton manufacturing industry with export capacity in Anatolia, both in the small towns near main cotton producing areas as well as in the large cities with extensive dye-houses in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries.

Apart from a growing demand by the Europeans and from internal trade, the state's need of cotton products for the navy and army too appears to have become one of the factors contributing to the extension of cotton production and that of certain kinds of cotton fabrics. According to the tax regulations of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Index, s.v. *panbuk*, *penbe*), tithes on cotton produce were collected in the provinces of western Anatolia (Khudāwendigār, Ḳarasī, Kütahya, Aydın), of the Aegean Sea and Greece (Triccala, Morea, Euboea, Chios), of southwestern Anatolia (Ḳaramān, Ḥamīd-ili, Ič-il, Adana, Sīs, Özer) and south-eastern Anatolia (Malatya, Beḥisni, ʿArabgīr, Kemāḵh, Ergani, Mārdīn, Urfa, Diyārbakir, and Mawṣil). Northern limits of cotton cultivation on the southern Mediterranean coast reached as far as north as Egirdir lake (X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne*, fig. 7). Today, the cotton cultivation is concentrated in the valleys of Gediz and the two Menderes rivers, and in the Çukurova (Cilicia), and to a lesser degree, in the Antalya, Hatay, Marʿash, and Diyārbakr areas (*Atlas of Turkey*, map no. 75).

The Ottoman survey of the Aydın province dated 859/1455 (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Istanbul, No 1/1M), which included the Küçük-Menderes and Büyük-Menderes valleys with the Izmir (Smyrna) area, attest to extensive cotton cultivation in the region. In many villages (Adakitlü, Yūsuflu, Bozdeghan, Haydara, Orta-Seyid, Čalishu, Ḳalu-beglu, Ḳutlldj, etc.) cotton production was near or sometimes exceeded wheat production. Ḳalu-beglu, for example, where two Türkmen nomad groups had settled, produced about 8.44 tons of cotton against 5.83 tons of wheat in 858-9/1454-5. These were flooded lands and mostly settled by Türkmen nomads by the mid-15th century. Obviously, cotton production in this area was oriented to supplying distant markets as well as to supplying towns and cities exporting cotton goods in the region. In the interior, the Beypazarī-Mikhaličclḳ area in the Saḳarya-Kirmir valley, a number of villages (Čeltük, Ḳaraköy, Sürmeli, Ḳayalar, Sobran, Kızıldja-vīrān, Bash-vīrān, Yarimdja-Avshar, Čay, etc.) showed a different structure with a much more limited production of cotton compared to other crops—wheat, barley, and rice (see the *taḥrīr* and *waḳf* registers of Khudāwendigār province, ed. Ö.L. Barkan). Apparently, this area supplied cotton to the nearby towns as well as to Ankara, the important centre of loom industries in this region. The area of Toḳāt, another important centre of cotton industry, displays a similar situation. Here, Venk, Ḳarabiṣār, Niksar, Fells,

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Katar, and Ḳaraḳush in particular, cotton cultivation constituted only a small percentage of the overall agricultural production (H. İslamoğlu, *Dynamics of agricultural production*, ch. 2) The general trend, however, showed an increase in cotton production, over ten times in some areas. In no case is there a shift to monoculture in the period before the 13th/19th century.

According to the Ottoman surveys of the 10th/16th century (Soysal, 32), 6,506 hectares or 19% of the cultivated land in the *sandjaḳ* of Adana was devoted to cotton, while barley and wheat cultivation took an area four times larger. By the middle of the 12th/18th century, the cotton production of the Čukurova appears to have been quite important. O'Heguerty (200) tells us that in the good harvest years, "cotton of Adana" was exported from Izmir.

Varieties of Indian *gossypium herbaceum*, the so-called *yerli* ("native") cotton, were well suited to the climate and soil conditions, and were known as the only varieties cultivated in Asia Minor until the 13th/19th century. Yielding a coarse fibre, thick, short, and of unequal length and curl, this variety was not considered suitable for fine cotton fabrics. However, in the Ḳırḳaghač area in the Baḳırčay valley, in the Ḥamīd-ili, Gelibolu (Gallipoli) the Čukurova (Adana, Cilicia), and Toḳāt areas, superior varieties were produced for making fine *boghasī* fabrics. It was in the second half of the 13th/19th century that American and Egyptian varieties were introduced and cultivated in Asia Minor and the Balkans. In 1333/1941, however, 90-95% of the cotton production in western Anatolia and the Adana region still came from the *yerli* varieties (W. F. Brück, *Türkische Baumwollwirtschaft*, tr. C. Issawi, *The economic history of Turkey*, Chicago 1980, 242-6; *Türk ziraat tarihi*, 129-35)

At the exhibition of Istanbul of 1279/1863, many qualities of cottons from various parts of the Empire were displayed: 24 varieties from western Anatolia, 4 from Içel (Ič-il), 3 from Adana, 1 from Marʿash, 1 from Mārdīn, 1 from Diyārbakir, 7 from Amasya, 6 from Serez, 4 from Filibe, 3 from Edirne, 3 from Drama, 1 from Trikkala, 1 from Rhodes, 9 from Syria, and 4 from Egypt. Egyptians cottons were considered the best quality, while those of Aydīn, though of short fibre, were preferred for their colour and strength (*Türk ziraat tarihi*, 166). Of the varieties of western Anatolia, that of Subiča and Ḳırḳaghač were rated first, with those of Aḳḥiṣār, Ḳaṣaba, Ḳlnık, and Baylndlr coming next. Ḳirḳaghač and Aḳḥiṣār, as well as Gelibolu, were the chief suppliers of the Istanbul cotton industries in the 11th/17th century (*Eṣnāf niẓāmları*, in the *Müftülük Arşivi*, Istanbul).

Cotton-producing lands were listed among the best quality lands, and a higher land tax was imposed (Uluçay, doc. 41). Tithe on cotton was, as a rule, one-tenth, while in grain it was one-eighth.

Irrigation works for cotton growing were carried out only on large farms organised and created by the élite (see *Vakıflar dergisi*, ii, 364-5). On big farms, *ortaḳdjıs*, sharecroppers, were usually employed, and one-third of the crop went to the landowner (at Turgutlu in Ṣaruḳhān, see Uluçay, doc. no. 33). Such farms of the élite were almost always converted into *awḳāf*. On lands under the *tīmār* [*q.v.*] system, cotton was grown by individual peasants using primitive means, and often with no irrigation. Disputes arose when cotton prices were low and the *tīmār*-holder tried to leave the tithe to the peasant and ask instead for cash (examples in Uluçay, docs. 33, 41).

In Ottoman Egypt, cotton was grown on irrigated land in parts of Middle Egypt and the Delta. Egypt, however, had to import cotton from Syria to meet the needs of its cotton industries. By the end of the 12th/18th century, the imports of Syrian cotton reached 2,000-3,000 bales (Raymond, i, 190, 250, 273, 317-18). A special *muḳāṭaʿa* [*q.v.*] was established on the cotton trade in the ports of Rosetta and Būlāḳ in 1132/1720-1 and 1161/1740 respectively, which provided evidence of the growing importance of cotton in the Egyptian economy. During the same period, the cotton markets at Būlāḳ, Damietta, Rosetta, Maḥallat al-Kubrā, Manṣūra and Semenûd, united under one *muḳāṭaʿa*, brought 2,195,000 *para*s per year in tax revenues collected on cotton grown in Egypt or imported from Syria. The total amount of this cotton was approximately 24,000 bales (1 bale = 325 *raṭl* or 143,9 kg). The *muḳāṭaʿa* figures show an eight-fold increase in the period 1169-82/1755-68, falling to half that amount in the following period 1183-1213/1769-98 (see S. Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt*, Index, s.v. *cotton*; for the following period, see E. R. J. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian economy*, Oxford 1969).

Already in the 9th/15th century, the coastal plains between Drama and Karaferye (Verroia) and Vodena formed an important cotton producing area in Rumili. In 1163/1751, the Venetian consul Choidas estimated the total amount of raw cotton exported from this area to be 13,000 bales (7,000 for France, 4,000 for Venice; in Salonica, 1 bale was equal to 110, sometimes 100 *okka*s, see Svoronos, 249), while in 1212/1797, Felix de Beaujour's estimate was 60,000 bales of both raw cotton and cotton yarn exported (40,000 to Germany, 10,000 to France). In 1211/1796, de Beaujour gives a record 98,500 bales for the total export of raw cotton (50,000 to London and Amsterdam, 30,000 to Germany and 12,000 to France). De Beaujour that only 10,000 bales were consumed in the area itself.

The cotton boom in the second half of the 12th/18th century was apparently responsible for the structural changes in the area, sc. the shift from rice cultivation to cotton, the reclamation of new land for cotton agriculture, the extension of big *čiftlik*s and commercialisation of agriculture, and the growing prosperity of the big *aʿyān*s with increasing control of the land and peasant labour.

The organisation of cotton trade and industries. The *ḳāḍī* court records and market regulations provide us with quite detailed information on the processes of cotton trade and manufacture in the Ottoman towns (see *Iḥtisāb* regulations in *Tarih vesikaları*, nos. 5, 7, 9; for court records see Eluçay).

In cotton producing areas, *ḳozaḳ*, i.e. cotton bolls, and cotton cleaned from its seeds, was brought to nearby town markets, usually by camels (Uluçay, doc. 22). In towns, special markets, *penbe pazarı*, were reserved for cotton sale. Most of the crop was purchased in small quantities by local *djullāh*s or *čulāh*s, spinners who were poor townsfolk, mostly women. Usually, foreign merchants from the port cities tried to reach producers or local markets through their agents. In order to get the best grade cottons, the merchants, in keen competition among themselves, used a system of advanced payment for a crop directly to the producers through their "factors". The system of a future contract was bitterly denounced by the French, since they said it caused scandalous competition, resulting in higher prices (Masson, ii, 435). Also, native middle-men or speculators in the cotton trade, mostly consisting of members

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of the Ottoman élite along with Jews and Armenians in the Izmir area, bought the next season's produce in advance. Such contracts, called *salam*, widely practised in Islamic countries, were strictly regulated in Islamic law because of the uncertainty about the subject of contract (see al-Ṭaḥāwī, *Kitāb al-Shurūṭ al-kabīr*, ed. J. A. Wakin, New York 1972).

The customs registers provide definitive evidence that there was a group of Anatolian merchants who specialised in the cotton trade and who took their cotton goods as far as the northern Black Sea ports (İnalcık, *The Black Sea*, 91-107). The cottons in hairsacks or bales were taken in caravans into centres such as Kayseri, Ankara, Bursa, Ḳasṭamonu, Toḳāt and other parts of the Empire or by sea to Europe. Public regulations provided that all cotton imported for sale in the large cities had to be brought into a special building, called the *penbe ḵabbānī*. Cotton was to be weighed, taxed, and distributed there. For accomodating caravan merchants with their cotton goods, special caravanserais (*penbe-ḵhānī*, *wakālat al-ḳuṭn* in Egypt) were built (Raymond, ii, 640).

In the *penbe ḵabbānī*, each member of the guild of *ḥallādj*īs purchased his share of cotton at the officially-fixed price (*narḵh-i dj̲ārī*) under the supervision of the *ḳadḵhudā* and *yigit-baṣhī* of the guild. The *ḥallādj*īn, or carders, separated the fibre from the seed by beating (*atma* or *čalma*) the cotton with a *kemān* or *yay*, a bow-like instrument, to make the cotton clean and fluffy. The *ḥallādj*īn were also cotton dealers in the cities. According to a regulation dated 1138/1717 (Istanbul *eṣnāf niẓāmları*), there were 104 *ḥallādj*īs in Istanbul, 15 in Galata (Pera), 9 in Üsküdar and 4 in Eyüp.

Each group of artisans was responsible for a stage in manufacturing. They were organised in *ḥirfe*ts, guilds, and their shops occupied the same street or *ḵhān*.

For example, in Magnisa, a relatively small town but an important centre of production of cottons, we find *pamuḳdj̲ular* (cotton dealers), *dj̲ullāhlar* or *bezdj̲iler* (weavers of coarse cottons), *boghasīdj̲īllar* (weavers of fine cottons), and *bezzāz*s (dealers of cotton stuffs) directly involved in cotton trade and industry, while *boyadj̲īllar* (dyers), *takyedj̲iler* (cap-makers), *yorghandj̲īllar* (quilt-makers), and *terziler* (tailors) were considered as related crafts. In 980/1572, there were 520 *ḥallādj*īs, 120 dyers, and 150 *bezzāz*s in Magnisa (Uluçay, doc. 64). Each craft guild elected its governing body, a *shaykh*, a *ḳadḵhudā*, a *yigit-baṣhī*, and a committee of experts (*ehl-i ḵhibra*) responsible for the supervision of the guild regulations, called *niẓām* or *ḳānūn* [*q.v.*]. *Dj̲ullāh*s in Magnisa had an *aḵhī baba* [see AḴHĪ] as the head of the guild (Uluçay, doc. 38, dated 1044/1634). In important cities, these men obtained through local *ḳāḍī*s the Sultan's diploma empowering them to exercise authority over their guild members and to get the support of the local law-enforcing bodies.

In Istanbul, the guilds using cotton goods were *ḵhayyāṭān* (tailors), *ḳawuḳdj̲uyān* (makers of wadded headgear for men), *tākyedj̲iyān* (quilt-makers), *yorghandj̲iyān* (quilt-makers), *gömlekdj̲iyān* (shirt-makers), *dülbenddj̲iyān* (dealers of muslim turbans), *yaghlıḳdj̲iyan* (dealers of napkins and handkerchiefs), and *čadırdj̲ıyān* (tent makers); for Cairo, Evliyā Čelebi (x, 370-1) gives a similar list of crafts and dealers. In both cities, guilds dealing with cottons were included in the group of 14 crafts connected with clothing or home furnishings, headed by the chief tailor.

*Bazzāz*s (in Turkish *bezzāz*), textile dealers, can be classified into two groups: big merchants of international or interregional connections; and local traders (see *Edirne askerî kassâmı*, ed. Barkan, 143, 261, 303, 306, 308, 325, 344, 352, 406, 421). The former dealt with costly goods, cottons, silks, and woollens, products of Anatolia, Aleppo, Damascus, Yemen, Egypt, Baghdād and India. Their stocks and credits amounted to big sums, sometimes over one million *aḳča*s or about 16,000 Venetian ducats in the 10th/16th century. They supplied the local guilds of dressmakers, cap makers, etc. with imported materials or re-exported them to distant areas usually on credit. These big merchants usually had their shops in the *bazzāziyya* or *bazzāzistān* (in Turkish, *bedestan* or *bedesten*) in the cities (see İnalcık, *The hub of the city: the Bedestan of Istanbul*, in *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, i, 1-17), and were the wealthiest and most respectable members of the society. As far as their social background was concerned, many of them came from the ruling élite (*ibid.*).

The second group included those dealers of modest capital, dealing only in local trade in the city. Their stocks usually consisted of cheap cottons, and a large variety of textiles in small amounts. In Edirne, we find former Janissaries among their ranks (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 306, 308), but also a big merchant of Janissary origin (270).

Some of the big *bezzāz*s specialised in importing or selling particular kinds of cotton goods.

Market dynamics. Artisans and dealers in cottons had a variety of difficulties as a result of shortages of raw materials, competition from other centres of production, and intrusions by related guilds in procurement of raw materials and marketing. It was in large cities or export-oriented production centres with a dynamic economy that strains and conflicts were particularly acute and recurrent. There was a kind of delicate balance established by custom and regulation among the guilds which performed successive stages of manufacturing. If one guild in cotton crafts or some members of it diverged from the standards or marketing rules laid down in the regulations, the other guilds were disturbed and the whole system affected. Consequently, the government was usually scrupulously conservative in keeping the old standards and regulations, and often intervened authoritatively to restore the established norms. However, should the public interest require modifications, the innovations were accepted and introduced into the regulations. It was usually through the local *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*] that the government changed the regulations; he consulted with the guild officers and elders in making these changes.

In the regulations, the quality and measures of each product were laid down. Prices were fixed periodically, every three or six months, by the *ḳāḍī* in consultation with the representatives of each guild. *Dj̲ullāh*s, for example, were required to make coarse cotton fabrics called *baladī*, three *arshīn* or 2.04 metres long, and *buču*k *ve rub*ᶜ or 49.5 cm wide, with 1,600 threads at warp (*Bursa iḥtisāb*, II-7, 33, 908/1502).

It was the duty of the officers of the guild, *yigit-baṣhī* and *ahl-i ḵhibra*, in particular, to supervise the standards during the process of manufacturing. The goods were also inspected by the *muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA] when marketed. Periodically, the government conducted inspections using special inspectors (*müfettiṣh*) sent from the capital (see *Bursa iḥtisāb*, *loc. cit.*). In larger cities, growing demand and the

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import of cheaper grades of cottons caused difficulties for the town handicrafts under regulations with strict standards. Despite the periodic inspections, the regulations and standards for town handicrafts were often ignored in order to produce cheap products so as to compete with imports (see *ibid.*).

Not being organised as a guild, spinners of cotton yarn in cities came from among the poorest segments of the population, mostly poor women and children. They purchased cotton at the cotton market directly from the peasants or from the *ḥallādj*s. This group of spinners, the real proletariat in the Ottoman cities, was particularly vulnerable to the speculation which caused unfair competition and unemployment among them. They often claimed that the merchants caused shortages and high prices by purchasing and re-exporting the imported cotton. Also, since too many spinning wheels depleted quickly the cotton supply at the market, the government restricted the number of the wheels in a town so that hand spinners could find enough raw cotton for their use (Uluçay, doc. 25). Sensitive to the complaints of the poor masses in the towns, the government repeatedly ruled that no merchants could purchase raw cotton until after the town spinners and weavers had completed their purchases at the cotton market.

Cotton manufacturers in large cities distant from the cotton producing areas were usually supplied with imported cotton yarn (*Bursa iḥtisāb*, II-7, 33) as opposed to bulky raw cotton with high transportation costs. Under regulations, imported yarn was to be available to the weavers directly from the importers. The regulations forbade the dealers of cotton yarn of the city to re-sell imported yarn to merchants—a measure taken to prevent the prices of cotton goods from going up and disrupting the price system set up by the regulations. Actually, better prices offered by the Europeans tempted local merchants to engage in smuggling with the foreigners. The government acted energetically to prevent this (Faroqhi, *Şehirleşme*, ch. 2, 73-4).

The important issue for *bezzāz*s, sellers of cotton textiles, was to protect their monopoly of sale in the city. Both weavers in the city or merchants from outside (in Magnisa, native Armenians or those of Persia) sometimes sold their wares in the bazars of *ḫān*s (caravanserais) or as peddlers in the back streets. All finished goods, however, either locally made or imported, had to be sold under regulation to the dealers of cotton in the city (Uluçay, docs. 16, 44, 43, 48, all belonging to the 11th/17th century). In Magnisa the *bezzāz*s obtained the Sultan's order, which protected their monopoly and banned Armenians of Persia from having shops and competing with the town dealers (Uluçay, doc. 61; cf. A. Refik, *Istanbul 1100-1200*, 40-1).

*Bezzāz*s were also concerned with keeping up the standard in the size of the cottons and the quality of cotton and dyes used in the fabric. The finished goods were to be inspected and stamped by the government agents at a specified place in the cotton textile market (*boghasī-pazarī*). Those products found short of standards were fined one *akča* for each two *parmak*s (1 *parmak* = 2.83 cm.) of coarse *boghasī* and for one *parmak* of fine quality (Uluçay, doc. 3). The *resm-i tamgha* or stamp tax was 2 *akča*s for each two *dhirā*'s (1 *dhirā*' of the bazaar = 68 cm.) of fine cotton fabrics such as *elvān*, *aladja* and white *boghasī* and for each ten *dhirā*'s of *astarlīk*, a kind of coarse cotton fabric (this rate was valid in the provinces of Şarukhān, Aydın, Menteshe, and Sughla in Ramaḍān 1070/1659; Uluçay, doc. 46).

Concentration in cotton loom industries. In the 12th/18th century, the makers of towels of all kinds (*peshtemāl*, *ḥawlu*, and *sirediek*), kerchiefs (*makrama* or *mahrama*), white "raw" *aladja*, and bundle wrappers (*boghča*) were permitted to work only in the workshops in the three *ḫān*s in the district of Kız-tashı in Istanbul (Ṣıdḳı, *Gedikler*, Istanbul 1323/1907, 17).

Again in Istanbul, the makers of printed cottons (*basmadjī*), all located at Wezīr-khānī, were organised in 27 *gedik*s or workshops with patent. In 1138/1725, there were 192 *basmadjī*s in the *gedik*s, each *gedik* consisting of one master, one associate (*sherīk*) and several journeymen (*khalīfa* or *ḫalfa*). Thirty-three of them were Muslim and the rest were Armenian. The *kadkhudā*, or head of the guild, was Muslim, while his associate was an Armenian. Considered as "workers" (*'amele*), they worked for merchants or individual citizens in return for a fee (*Eṣnāf niẓāmları*). Such centres of manufacturing activities were created, as a rule, as part of the *waḳf* [*q.v.*] establishments and were rented to the members of the guilds (see A. Refik, *Istanbul 1100-1200*, 98). Thus the state or the members of the ruling élite became instrumental in constructing "factories" (*kārkhāne*) or workshops which brought together the artisans of the same manufacture in one place. The confessed purpose for it was to serve the public by making goods abundant and cheap (*rāyegān ve rakhīṣ*). The leases for the shops included the provision that the leasers acquired the monopoly of the manufacture of a specific product. In 1102/1690 the *basmadjī*s obtained such a monopoly in an area from the Black Sea mouth of the Bosphorus down to the mouth of the Dardanelles on the Aegean. Also, the Ottoman government sent orders to the main production centres for large quantities of sailcloth for the navy (Uzunçarşılı, *Bahriye*, 515) and coarse cottons for lining and underwear for the soldiery in Istanbul (Uzunçarşılı, i, 282-4).

Government orders involving the output of large quantities of cotton goods in a limited period of time appear to have generated changes in the volume, prices, and even in the organisation of manufacturing in the centres of cotton production. The areas most affected by this situation were those closest to the Ottoman capital or those connected with it by sea—Gelibolu, Bergama, Cyprus, Livadia, Athens, Euboea, Stifa and Aleppo (Uzunçarşılı, *Bahriye*, 515; Faroqhi, *Şehirleşme*, 65-73).

Export centres. It can safely be said that, next to leather manufactures, the cotton industry with a large export capacity was the most important of all the industries in the Ottoman dominions, particularly in western Anatolia, Syria, upper Mesopotamia and southern Macedonia. It constituted the foundation of economic prosperity and urban development in the empire until the 13th/19th century. The high cost of transport of the bulky raw cotton accounted for the concentration of cotton industries in districts near cotton production areas, whereas finished goods, costly cotton textiles, *boghasī* and *dülbend*, as well as cheaper cottons, *kirbas* and *astar*, and cotton yarn were sent by sea or land to all part of the Empire and to Europe.

First among the main areas of cotton industries with large export capacity was western Anatolia during the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries. The most active towns in this region at this period were Bergama, Magnisa, Menemen, Tire, Uşak, Gördes and Denizli. Tire specialised in making pillow and mattress cases, *aladja*, as well as cotton thread, called

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